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## A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE

LYNDON UPSON PRATT  
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BEFORE ENTERING upon a discussion of new material concerning *The Red Badge of Courage*, it is necessary to review the old. Information relating to sources and origins of the novel has always been meager. It is commonly said that the book was undertaken because of a dare which Crane accepted to surpass Zola's depiction of war, *Le Débâcle*, which he read one afternoon during the winter of 1892-1893.<sup>1</sup> Shortly thereafter, he is known to have spent some time searching through old magazines and poring over the stiffly pictured heroics of the *Century's* "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Beer has also shown that, during Crane's boyhood, realistic war reminiscences had impressed him, such as the fatuousness of burying the regimental dead with canteens of whiskey still upon them.<sup>3</sup> Other Crane authorities, notably Mr. Follett, have mentioned the existence of a relative whose war stories Crane listened to during the years at Port Jervis.<sup>4</sup> Finally there is the statement that Stephen's older brother William was considered an expert in the strategy of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.<sup>5</sup> But fragments as scarce as these are suggestive rather than illuminating.

Mr. Beer was apparently led to believe that, while at Claverack, Crane sensed much the same irony in the presence of military pomp that he later wrote into "War Is Kind."<sup>6</sup> Evidence that this view is inadequate has already been offered.<sup>7</sup> The record of Crane's activity in the school battalion as shown by his repeated promotions can hardly be construed as evincing either lack of interest or deficiency of skill. When one considers that military drill was compulsory for the boys at Claverack, and that the masculine part of the school's enroll-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Beer, *Stephen Crane: A Study in American Letters* (New York, 1924), p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson Follett, "The Second Twenty-Eight Years," *Bookman*, LXVIII, 532-537 (Jan., 1929).

<sup>5</sup> Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> *The Collected Poems of Stephen Crane*, ed. Wilson Follett (New York, 1930), pp. 77-78.

<sup>7</sup> Lyndon U. Pratt, "The Formal Education of Stephen Crane," *American Literature*, X, 460-471 (Jan., 1939).

ment stood in 1890 at about one hundred,<sup>8</sup> Crane's acting as the Colonel's adjutant seems no less remarkable than his being singled out in June for one of the next year's captaincies.<sup>9</sup> Finally it should not be forgotten that the company of which he was then lieutenant won the Washington's Birthday "prize-drill," earning by the precision of its manoeuvres the praise of the judges and the smiles of the young ladies.<sup>10</sup> It seems probable, in fact, that Crane's success in the school battalion would, in itself, have tended toward keeping pleasantly alive his boyish interest in war. There is little reason to doubt that Crane's memories of Claverack were in his mind as he drew the picture of Henry Fleming's farewell to his schoolmates at the "seminary."<sup>11</sup>

But there is another possible connection between Claverack and *The Red Badge of Courage* of considerably greater potential importance. One of the judges of the "prize-drill" which Crane's company won was General John Bullock Van Petten, professor of history and elocution at Claverack.<sup>12</sup> It seems altogether possible that *The Red Badge of Courage* owes more to General Van Petten than to any other single source of influence.

While at Claverack Crane had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the General. The relatively small size of the institution meant, in fact, that everyone knew everyone else, and the custom of commemorating the various holidays throughout the year brought students and faculty together in assemblies as well. The more elaborate of such exercises took the form of banquets, after which toasts and speeches were given.<sup>13</sup> At the conclusion of the dinner on Thanksgiving, 1889, one of the toasts, delivered by Captain Puzey of Company D of the battalion, was reprinted in the *Vidette* as follows:

I would today present to you a member of the Grand Army of the Republic; an organization whose name implies patriotism, bravery, and indomitable energy. . . . The member whom I would toast is one of its most honored and respected. One who has bravely endured the hardships of

<sup>8</sup> *Claverack Catalog* (1890), p. 25. Of course, some of the boys would have been too young to serve as officers.

<sup>9</sup> Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> "The Red Badge of Courage," *The Work of Stephen Crane* (hereinafter referred to as *Work*) (New York, 1925-1926), I, 28.

<sup>12</sup> *Claverack Catalog* (1890), p. 2. See also Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

<sup>13</sup> *Vidette* (the Claverack school magazine), I, 4 (Dec., 1890).

war as well as enjoyed the pleasures of peace. One who, in the service of his country, has stood before the cannon's mouth, and in the service of his God appeared in the pulpit to instruct and enlighten his fellow-men, and now in his old age is imparting to the young, knowledge of incalculable worth,—a brave soldier, a true Christian, and an enlightened scholar. The Rev. General Van Petten, Ph. D., LL. D.<sup>14</sup>

The *Vidette*'s next sentence reads: "This toast was received in a manner showing the estimation in which the worthy General is held, alike by pupils and teachers."

On the same occasion the General himself was called upon to speak. The *Vidette* further reports that "Prof. McAfee next introduced General Van Petten, from whom we are always glad to hear." From this and other references equally cordial in tenor, the inference is clear that the General was a genuinely popular as well as a prominent figure in school life. At the Washington's Birthday devotions, he "very appropriately had charge of the Service" and chose the hymns.<sup>15</sup> Later in the year, when spring came, the condition of his garden received attention by the *Vidette*.<sup>16</sup> And before the summer vacation, his plans were announced as follows: "Gen. and Mrs. Van Petten will attend the National Grand Army Encampment at Boston. The General's class will also meet at Wesleyan [Conn.] for the 40th Anniversary, with which he will meet."<sup>17</sup>

In the natural course of Crane's schoolwork, contact with the General was inevitable. Declamation was required of each student during his stay at the institution,<sup>18</sup> and the *Vidette* for the month following the occasion reported that the exercises preceding the Christmas, 1889, recess included orations by the members of the fourth form, "under the tutorship of Gen'l Van Petten." As has been indicated, the General also taught classes in Roman, English, and American history, although the first two were optional. In addition, the General's wife, listed in the catalog as Mrs. M. B. Van Petten, A.M., taught French, and Crane, by his own admission, studied French while at Claverack.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8. Mr. Beer (*op. cit.*, p. 162) notes Crane's fondness for elderly people.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2 (March, 1890).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 10 (April, 1890).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 13 (June, 1890).

<sup>18</sup> *Claverack Catalog* (1890), p. 16. The curriculum is reprinted by Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 462-463.

<sup>19</sup> *Claverack Catalog* (1890), p. 2. See also Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

Since General Van Petten's career forms a considerable basis of what follows, a biographical summary<sup>20</sup> is here inserted for convenience:

Van Petten, John B., educator; *b.* in Sterling, N. Y., June 19, 1827; *s.* Peter and Lydia (Bullock) V.; grad. Wesleyan Univ., Conn., 1850; completed conf. course in divinity, 1856 (Ph.D., Syracuse Univ., 1888); *m.* Aug. 10, 1850, Mary B. Mason. Prin. Fairfield (N. Y.) Sem., 1855-61 and 1866-9. Was clergyman, M. E. Ch., chaplain 34th N. Y. inf., June 15, 1861, to Sept. 22, 1862; lt.-col. 160th N. Y. inf., Sept. 25, 1862, to Jan. 20, 1865; in permanent command of regiment over 2 yrs.; comd. 2d brigade of 1st div., 19th corps, at Pt. Hudson, June 14, 1863; severely wounded at battle of Opequan, Sept. 19, 1864; complimented in gen. orders by Gen. Sheridan for conspicuous gallantry; col. 193d N. Y. inf. and bvt. brig.-gen. U. S. V., comdg. dist. of Cumberland in W. Va., June, 1865, to Jan., 1866; State senator, 1868-9. Prin. Sedalia, Mo., Sem., 1877-82; prof. Latin and history, Claverack Coll., N. Y., 1885-1900.

Doubtless the reader will have noted one singularity in Van Petten's war record: his commission as lieutenant-colonel of the 160th infantry followed with peculiar suddenness his discharge as chaplain of the 34th regiment. Attention is thus naturally directed to the circumstances surrounding such an immediate change in his status, and the search for a possible explanation leads to the history of his regiment during the latter part of September, 1862.

The 34th New York Volunteers, or Herkimer regiment,<sup>21</sup> had served in the Peninsular campaign during 1862, participating in the battles of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Allen's Farm, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, and the Second Bull Run.<sup>22</sup> At the beginning of September, Pope's unsuccessful army of Virginia being amalgamated with the army of the Potomac, and the whole command reverting to McClellan, the 34th New York constituted one of the many regimental units of the Second Corps under General Sumner. Within the Second Corps, Sedgwick commanded the Second Division, in the first brigade of which, that of General Gorman, was the 34th New York regiment under Colonel Suiter.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Who's Who in America*, 1903-1909.

<sup>21</sup> Frederick H. Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, 1908), p. 1416.

<sup>22</sup> Louis N. Chapin, *A Brief History of the Thirty-fourth Regiment N. Y. S. V.* (New York, 1903), *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> Frederick Phisterer (comp.), *New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (3d ed., Albany, 1912), III, 2125-2137, *passim*.

After Lee's invasion of Maryland had been partly checked at South Mountain, the two armies faced each other on September 16 along a line extending north from the village of Sharpsburg, Maryland. That evening McClellan advanced his right wing to the attack, Hooker and Mansfield crossing Antietam Creek and occupying a position to the north of the Confederate left wing. The next morning they advanced southward to the attack, and fought a severe but indecisive engagement until they were in need of reinforcements. General Sumner's Second Corps marched to their relief late in the forenoon of the seventeenth, the General himself accompanying Sedgwick's 2nd Division which led the attack. "Shortly after nine, Sedgwick's three brigades in three columns emerged from the belt of woods east of the Hagerstown turnpike, deployed, and in three lines, facing west, crossed the cornfield and the turnpike, passing Greene's troops who heartily cheered them, and, leaving the Dunker Church on their left, entered the woods which lay west of the turnpike."<sup>24</sup> The line of Gorman's leading brigade, however, somehow became over-extended, and the regiment on the extreme left, while under severe enemy fire, lost touch with the other regiments of its brigade.<sup>25</sup> This unfortunate regiment was the 34th New York Volunteers.<sup>26</sup> The Confederates, sensing their advantage, advanced at this time, and were thus in a position to deliver a fire upon the flank of the 34th as well as in front.<sup>27</sup>

At this difficult juncture of events, an attempt was made by the 34th New York to extend its own front perhaps in order to reestablish contact with Union forces next to it.<sup>28</sup>

... The manoeuvre was attempted under a fire of the greatest intensity, and the regiment broke. At the same moment the enemy perceiving their advantage, came round on that flank. Crawford was obliged to give way on the right, and his troops pouring in confusion through the

<sup>24</sup> John C. Ropes, *The Story of the Civil War* (New York, 1898), Pt. II, p. 363.

<sup>25</sup> Colonel Suiter, in his official report, says: "From some cause to me unknown, I had become detached from my brigade, the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers being on my right . . ." (*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington, 1901, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 316. Hereinafter called *War Records*.)

<sup>26</sup> *War Records*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 312.

<sup>27</sup> William A. Crafts, *The Southern Rebellion* (Boston, 1870), II, 243.

<sup>28</sup> The (New York) *Tribune*, Sept. 20, 1862, p. 5. The account was written by George N. Smalley, the *Tribune's* special correspondent, from the "battlefield, near Sharpsburg," Wednesday evening, Sept. 17, 1862. This *Tribune* account is also printed in *Rebellion Records*, ed. Frank Moore (New York, 1863), V, 469.

ranks of Sedgwick's advance brigade, threw it into disorder and back on the second and third lines. The enemy advanced their fire increasing.

General Sedgwick was three times wounded, in the shoulder, leg, and wrist, but he persisted in remaining in the field as long as there was a chance of saving it. . . . Lieutenant Howe, of General Sedgwick's staff, endeavored to rally the Thirty-Fourth New York. They were badly cut up and would not stand. Half their officers were killed or wounded, their colors shot to pieces, the color-sergeant killed, every one of the color-guard wounded.<sup>29</sup>

Other less hysterical sources, while varying in detail, corroborate the essential features. The brigade-commander, General Gorman, reported:

The Thirty-fourth New York, being upon the extreme left in the front line of battle, after having withstood a most terrific fire, and having lost nearly one-half of the entire regiment in killed and wounded, was ordered by Major General Sedgwick, as will be seen by Colonel Suiter's official report, to retire and take up a new position behind a battery to the right and rear. Immediately ordered them to reform on the left of the brigade, which they did.<sup>30</sup>

Colonel Suiter's report, naturally, pays less attention to the details of his regiment's rout than to the bravery of certain individuals under the galling circumstances of the battle.

Of my color-sergeant [Colonel Suiter writes] I cannot speak in too high terms. He had carried the banner through all of the battles in which we have been engaged while on the Peninsular without receiving a wound. Here it was his fate to be struck five times, and when he was compelled to drop his colors he called upon his comrades to seize them and not to let them fall into the hands of the enemy. This was done by Corporal G. S. Haskins, who nobly bore them from the field.<sup>31</sup>

The casualties suffered by the unfortunate 34th, while actually less than the *Tribune* account would lead one to expect, were however considerable. The regiment lost in all 4 officers and 150 men, or about forty per cent of its total strength, although of this aggregate only ten were ultimately reported missing.<sup>32</sup> In other words, despite the heavy casualties suffered, and the probability that during the flight many of the men became separated from the regiment,

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* There seems to be disagreement among the sources as to the origin of the order.

<sup>30</sup> *War Records*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 312.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 316.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, Pt. 1, p. 192.

these men sought out their command and returned to it, until all but ten were accounted for. Of these ten it is likely that several were among the unknown dead on the battlefield.<sup>33</sup>

Such was the course of events that so closely preceded Van Petten's transfer and promotion, although it is not the purpose of this study to infer any causal relationship between these happenings. The significance for the present purpose surely lies in the fact that Van Petten's regiment was forced into flight at the Battle of Antietam, and that he in all probability was an eyewitness to the scenes described. If this was indeed the case, it is unlikely that even his subsequent responsibilities and honors would have wholly obliterated from his mind the memory of his regiment's rout.<sup>34</sup>

It is reasonable to expect that General Van Petten's public utterances would have contained no mention of the 34th at Antietam. Certainly his Thanksgiving speech at Claverack in 1889 is filled with conventional patriotic fervor.<sup>35</sup> But not all of his contacts with the students were formal, and the tone of the *Vidette's* paragraphs concerning him surely indicates that he possessed a compelling, human side. He even used to lend his choice sword to a favored student to wear on dress parades.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The 34th Regiment enjoyed an excellent record throughout the war. Except for the disaster at Antietam, no regiment of Sumner's corps lost a gun or a flag up until May 10, 1864, and was, in fact, "the only corps in the army which could make that proud claim" (Francis W. Palfrey, *The Antietam and Fredericksburg*, New York, 1897, pp. 81-82).

<sup>34</sup> It should be here admitted that no specific mention of Van Petten's presence at Antietam has been found. There are even discrepancies in the sources concerning the date of his discharge. However, besides the entry in *Who's Who in America* already cited, the records of the 34th regiment filed with the Adjutant General of the State of New York specify September 20. (This information was furnished by Mr. William A. Saxton, Chief, Bureau of War Records, State of New York, in a letter dated Feb. 19, 1937, to the present writer.) September 20 is also given by Frederick Phisterer, *op. cit.*, III, 2136. Finally in Van Petten's Declaration for Original Invalid Pension, dated Nov. 17, 1888, now on file in the office of the Adjutant General of the War Department in Washington, he himself states that he served as Chaplain of the 34th "to about 25 Sept. 1862." (This information is taken from a letter dated April 30, 1937, written by Mr. Nelson Vance Russell, Chief, Division of Reference, The National Archives.)

It is in the statements Van Petten made during later years that discrepancies occur which are quite irreconcilable. But the earlier mentions seem reasonably consistent, and a New York State Senator who was also a Brevet Brigadier General, and had been cited for gallantry in action, certainly cannot be considered remiss, because of a slight inexactitude in dates. Finally, probability of Van Petten's presence at Antietam becomes almost a certainty when the fact is noted that he was a trustee of the National Cemetery at Antietam (*Who's Who in New York City and State*, rev. ed., New York, 1905, p. 914).

<sup>35</sup> *Vidette*, I, 5 (Dec., 1889).

<sup>36</sup> Letter of Aug. 10, 1936, to the writer from the late Rev. Robert W. Courtney, who attended Claverack between 1891 and 1894.

At Claverack the custom obtained of having faculty members preside over the tables in the dining hall. General Van Petten had charge of one such table, and thus, three times a day, a small group of students would be gathered around him under circumstances which, while assuredly polite, were to a certain degree informal. Under such conditions as these it is not impossible to conceive of the General remembering Antietam. A feminine student of the time was able to recall the following: "While at Claverack I was at General Van Petten's table for one year and he often recounted some of his war experiences. I can not now recall them, of course, but he became much excited as he lived over the old days."<sup>37</sup>

The aim of the foregoing pages has been to establish a sequence of likelihood, not to claim a factual necessity. It has already been shown that Crane, fond of war from boyhood, became while at Claverack still more interested in military matters. Furthermore, it seems certain that the elderly Van Petten, who had real war anecdotes to tell, was exactly the sort of man to whom Crane would have been responsive. Under these circumstances, then, Crane would surely have disregarded no opportunity to absorb further the lore of the battlefield from this veteran whose eyes had witnessed the scenes he so eloquently described.

It would be useless, of course, for anyone to seek in *The Red Badge of Courage* a transliteration of the Battle of Antietam. Numerous details of the story, such as the references to the pontoon-bridges,<sup>38</sup> the plank road,<sup>39</sup> and the Rappahannock,<sup>40</sup> obviously support the traditional view that Crane had Chancellorsville in mind.<sup>41</sup> But in other respects the story more closely resembles certain aspects of Antietam than coincidence would seem to dictate.<sup>42</sup> As a result,

<sup>37</sup> Letter to the writer dated Feb. 5, 1937, written by Mrs. Bertha Holmes Courtney.

<sup>38</sup> *Work*, I, 46; and Abner Doubleday, *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg* (New York, 1912), p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Work*, I, 113; and Doubleday, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Work*, I, 140; and Doubleday, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> Ripley Hitchcock, in his introduction to the second edition of *The Red Badge of Courage* (New York, 1900) has written: ". . . the battle which he [Crane] had in mind more than any other was that of Chancellorsville." But the very phrase "more than any other" clearly implies plurality, and, since Hitchcock had himself been the book's purchaser for Appleton's in 1894, his information should have been correct. See also Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>42</sup> Note, for example, the number assigned to Fleming's mythical regiment, the 304th New York (*Work*, I, 57). Since there was no actual 304th regiment among the New York contingent ("Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War," *United States War Department Library*, 3d ed., Washington, 1913, p. 546), it seems, to say the least, uncanny that

the novel may rather be regarded as a synthesis of more than one battle than an historical portrayal of a single engagement. In all probability, some elements were drawn from one source, and some from another. If this principle is accepted, the higher reality of the story is made more credible by broadening the basis in fact even from one battle to two. Thus, if Chancellorsville contributed the general setting and rough plan of the novel, Antietam may well have provided at least two additional elements: the idea of Henry's panic and flight,<sup>43</sup> and the heroism of the wounded color-bearer.<sup>44</sup>

Of these two elements, the latter is admittedly the sort of incident that is traditional in war, and Crane might have found his inspiration in a score of other sources as well. But the former element, that of Henry's flight, seems clearly otherwise, for honest treatments of such disasters do not abound either in pictures or in writings dealing with the Civil War. It should be especially recalled, moreover, that Crane's unheroic treatment of the panic-stricken youth has been largely responsible for the notable position of *The Red Badge of Courage* among war novels.

From this viewpoint, a corresponding importance accrues to the various possible springs of Crane's thinking. Realisms of war remembered since boyhood, as well as unrecorded presumptive conversations with William Crane, are in this sense consequential, since their reflection at least is to be found in *The Red Badge of Courage*. But the weakness of attaching an exclusive momentousness to such origins as the war tales of Crane's "grandfather," for example, as Mr. Follett appears to do, seems apparent in the fact that to annotate

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Crane should have happened by chance upon a fictitious number so similar to that of Van Petten's 34th New York Volunteers.

Other details in the novel are worth noting. When the 304th is sent into the line as a relief regiment (p. 52; this and the following page numbers refer to the *Work*, Vol. I), the men march westward to their assignment (p. 39). The battle itself is commenced by the brigade on their right (p. 56), and their division occupies a position in the center of the line of battle (p. 59). After the first day's fighting, the number of men "missing" gradually dwindles from half the enrollment of the regiment to a mere handful as the stragglers make their way back (p. 133). When the 304th is itself relieved, the men are marched to the rear, past a battery of artillery, and across the same stream over which they had come to the battle field (p. 196). Although these details are by no means uniquely true of the Battle of Antietam, they more nearly describe the rout of Sedgwick's brigade in that engagement than they do the destruction of Howard's corps at Chancellorsville, for example (Palfrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-88, and Doubleday, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-40; also Ropes, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-365, and Pt. III, Book I, pp. 161-165). In opposition, however, such statements cannot be ignored as that the 304th was an inexperienced regiment (p. 33), and that it awaited an attack instead of delivering one (p. 62).

<sup>43</sup> *Work*, I, 74 ff.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

# HAROLD FREDERIC AND AMERICAN NATURALISM

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WHEN THE historian of our literature approaches his study of the American novel after 1880, he is apt to lead up to his consideration of the techniques of writers like Norris, Crane, and Dreiser by mentioning earlier writers whose works, he believes, foreshadow what was new in the method of these later novelists. He may refer to them as realists, or even as naturalists.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, however, such figures have not been carefully analyzed: the few critics who have granted them more than a passing phrase have been inclined to condemn them as "journalists"<sup>2</sup> or to examine their place in the growing social consciousness of the period,<sup>3</sup> rather than to study the novels themselves in order to determine their peculiar literary characteristics. This essay will consider one of these figures in some detail in order to show whether he is in actual fact a precursor of later American naturalism and to determine what particular mixture of fictional elements results in the characteristic form of two of his novels.

Literary naturalism may be defined in terms of subject matter, tone, and philosophy. Materials formerly taboo were, ostensibly under the aegis of "science," brought into the novel by Zola and others. Also associated with naturalism is the tone of objective, dispassionate recording of precise detail. These two qualities may be found, however, in any sort of novel—romance, thriller, or realistic study of manners. A novel in which they appear will be naturalistic only when the philosophy of materialistic monism is somehow applied to its conception or execution. The perfectly naturalistic novel

<sup>1</sup> The writers usually included in this group are Harold Frederic, Joseph Kirkland, Henry Blake Fuller, Hamlin Garland, and possibly Edgar Watson Howe.

<sup>2</sup> Fred Lewis Pattee writes that Frederic "was a journalist with newspaper standards . . . he lacked repose and the sense of values" (*A History of American Literature since 1870*, New York, 1915, p. 401).

<sup>3</sup> See Granville Hicks, *The Great Tradition: An Interpretation of American Literature since the Civil War* (New York, 1933), pp. 158-159; and John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform: Being a History of the Rise, Life and Decay of the Progressive Mind in America* (New York, 1932). Chap. iii, "The Minority Report of the Novelists," considers these early figures very briefly.

would be one in which the action was completely determined by material forces—economic, social, physiological. For this condition to exist a corollary requirement with respect to the characters in the novel must be fulfilled: they too must be explained in terms of purely material causation, and they must be so completely explained in these terms that impressions of free will and ethical responsibility do not intrude to disrupt the relentless operation of these material forces. In practice, however, the principle of determinism has never been able entirely to supplant the everyday belief in ethical freedom upon which all our reactions to the conduct of others are based. Plots, furthermore, have in the past been constructed around personal conflicts and choices which always depend for their importance upon the assumption of free will and ethical responsibility in the actors. Hence a study of naturalism in the novel may resolve itself into a study of how and to what degree the philosophy of materialism has with respect to structure and characterization replaced this ethical attitude toward the judgment of human affairs.

Harold Frederic (1856-1898) wrote two novels which have been considered significantly realistic. The first of these was *Seth's Brother's Wife* (1887), "a novel of New York farm life, Garland-like in its depressing realism."<sup>4</sup> Seth, the hero, grows up in the mean and narrow atmosphere of farm life. Breaking away from this blighting environment he journeys to a small town to work on a newspaper; but the "profession" of journalism turns out to be a matter of cutting and pasting, of running the same stories over and over, and of trying to keep testy subscribers mollified. Seth next comes in contact with the pettiness and chicane of local politics. His brother is busy with political strife, and Seth himself, having achieved a position of some importance on his paper, is driven by his sense of right to oppose the corrupt machine by which his brother hopes to be elected senator. But at the same time Seth is conducting an epistolary flirtation with his brother's wife—a city-bred young lady who must have some amusement to lighten the dreariness of life on the farm. The letter writing is begun because of Seth's eagerness for communication with a comparatively sophisticated mind, but though inspired by high

<sup>4</sup> Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. 401. The small group of post-Civil War novels that called in question the current convention which pictured the rural town as "the last home of virtue and benevolence," is discussed by Harry Hartwick, *The Foreground of American Fiction* (New York and Chicago, 1935), pp. 256-257; and by Harlan Hatcher, *Creating the Modern American Novel* (New York, 1935), pp. 12-13.

ideals, he makes a fool of himself and gains the reader's contempt. Midway in the novel Seth's evil brother is murdered, suspicion falls on everyone, including Seth himself—and happiness is not restored until the murderer is apprehended and Seth's eyes are opened to the shameful wickedness of his brother's wife—so that he becomes aware of his genuine love for the local girl who has adored him unfalteringly throughout the story. Before we comment upon the structure of this novel we may examine some of its leading ideas.

The opening chapters suggest that the whole story is to be built around the deadening effects of country life, of which the city girl remarks,

"Oh, it must be such a dreary life! The very thought of it sets my teeth on edge. The dreadful people you have to know: men without an idea beyond crops and calves and the cheese-factory; women slaving their lives out doing bad cooking, mending for a houseful of men, devoting their scarce opportunities for intercourse with other women to the weakest and most wretched gossip; coarse servants who eat at the table with their employers and call them by their Christian names; boys whose only theory about education is thrashing the school teacher, if it is a man, or breaking her heart by mean insolence if it is a woman; and girls brought up to be awkward gawks, without a chance in life, since the brighter and nicer they are the more they will suffer from marriage with men mentally beneath them—that is, if they don't become sour old maids."<sup>5</sup>

That the bitterness of this indictment comes from the author's heart is proved to some extent by the fact that the tone of the novel is set in the opening pages as if it were to be a polemic against the meanness of rural life: "Perhaps there may have been a time when a man could live in what the poet calls daily communion with nature and not starve his mind and dwarf his soul, but this isn't the century."<sup>6</sup> The servants and farm hands presented in support of this attitude illustrate it with a vengeance. They are sordid, mean, quarrelsome, jealous, completely unenlightened, and apparently quite devoid of all the higher or kinder feelings.

Country politics are equally evil, degraded, and repellent to Seth's budding idealism. Commanded to support his brother's candidacy for Congress, Seth replies to him:

"We regard politics from totally different standpoints. I believe that your methods and aims . . . are scandalous, corrupting and ruinous. I believe

<sup>5</sup> *Seth's Brother's Wife* (New York, 1887), pp. 32-33.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

that if some check is not put upon the rule of the machine, if the drift of public acquiescence in debased processes of government is not stopped, it will soon be too late to save even the form of our institutions from the dry rot of venality."<sup>7</sup>

The problem that has troubled many American writers—notably Robert Herrick—of where to find an honorable career in a land of men who have sold their ideals for gold is, in this novel, frequently before us. This dilemma is the link between the hero and the episodes in journalism and politics which constitute a large portion of the action. His inability to resolve it accounts for his bitterness and for his failure to find a satisfying place in the world. Writing about it provides an outlet for the author's disgust with the condition of rural life.

The summary and quotations presented here will suffice to show that *Seth's Brother's Wife* contains no evidence of a concern with science comparable in any way to that of the French naturalists. Neither is there any concept of heredity as a major force in the lives and characters of men. Very little indeed is made of the fact that three brothers (the third does not have an important part in the story) present three entirely different personalities and views of life. This is of course perfectly possible, and the author rests his case upon that assumption. Certainly no effort is devoted to showing that the three brothers represent variations upon some hereditary theme. As for Zola's Rougon-Macquart family tree—there is no imaginable similarity to that in *Seth's Brother's Wife*.

These naturalistic qualities eliminated, we have remaining a reasonably clear concept of determinism. It is not an assumption that a particular fact can be reduced to its final elements—the assumption which was made by the earlier Continental worshipers of science—but rather a recognition of the part played in people's lives by the environment in which they move. This concept of determinism consists of transforming a *setting* which is brought into the novel because it is colorful or picturesque into a *force* which has considerable influence upon the characters and activities of the people who move through its pages. This distinction may be illuminated by reference to a passage written in 1883, by a critic who is explaining the function of the "color" in local color fiction and its relation to problems of character:

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.

Local color counts for much with us; our stories might all be called studies of phases of human nature, of types of humanity. . . . He who can truthfully describe the human being of any special environment, either as to his inner character or his external diction, appearance, manner, he is our successful novelist. That the reader's pleasure consists in finding under these differences common human nature, there is no doubt; but the author's method is to specialize his types. All this is only saying that fiction of the American school consists strictly of "studies"—however faulty, however ridiculously far from a faithful copy of life, still studies.<sup>8</sup>

The reader will observe that this critic does not take his settings seriously. Their function, he thinks, is to provide a diverting background for the action; the "significant" aspect of these novels is their study of the unchanging depths of human nature, depths which underlie the relatively unimportant surface differences, as he would say, that are caused by the characters' living in different locales. Such an attitude is antipodal to determinism, for it depends upon a belief in independence of will and personal self-direction capable of transcending environmental pressures and hence making the individual morally responsible. Jane Austen's characters do not seem to derive their personalities from their surroundings; in her novels the surroundings are presented for the reality which they possess in themselves. Her characters, however, are entirely free; and their personalities—inherited and unchanging—account for what they do. An historical novel by Scott may go back to the Middle Ages for an unusual setting, but again the characters are free men who do not seem to be conditioned by the pressure of environment upon them. The determinist, on the other hand, believes that a man can be known in terms of the forces which have acted upon him. And Frederic shows at least a trace of this determinism by the way in which he transforms rural "setting" into an active force that changes, fundamentally, the people who come under its influence.

One may well qualify a bit here: A popular novelist is apt to be a generation or two behind the scientists and philosophers of his time. When ideas filter down to him they are more than likely to come in popular patterns, catch-phrases, and tags which are indeed ultimately derived from complete philosophical systems but which do not argue a complete knowledge of those systems by their popular users. Today the man on the street can employ the terminology of

<sup>8</sup> From an unsigned editorial, *Overland Monthly*, Second Series, I, 431 (April, 1883).

Freudianism glibly without having read Freud's works and without any clear idea of Freud's system. And at the turn of the twentieth century it is sure that a good deal of scientific jargon was being used by people who did not understand the premises of science. An author, likewise, might employ naturalistic situations or motifs, not because he was a thoughtful determinist but because such things were in the air—just as a number of motion picture producers will be simultaneously bombarding the public with examples of a currently popular genre. Writers are influenced in the same way—and some such reservation must always be made when we attempt to infer a deterministic ideology for a writer who seems to be employing aspects of the naturalistic technique. The depths of Frederic's determinism are hidden; and one cannot be sure what ideas lie behind each one of his situations, even though they are situations that must be ultimately dependent upon deterministic thinking.

In the early pages of *Seth's Brother's Wife* it has been expressly stated that narrow farm life produces narrow minds and souls. At the end, when the murder is traced to the hired man, the district attorney explains:

"The rural murderer (I am speaking of native Americans now) plans the thing in cold blood, and goes at it systematically, with nerves like steel. He generally even mutilates the body, or does some other horrible thing, which it makes everybody's blood boil to think of. And so long as he isn't found out, he never dreams of remorse. He has no more moral perspective than a woodchuck. But when detection does come, it knocks him all in a heap. He blubbers, and tries to lay it on somebody else, and altogether acts like a cur—just as this fellow's doing now, for instance."<sup>9</sup>

And in the penultimate chapter the dying grandmother gives the following bitter account of her sufferings:

"P'raps it'll sound ridiculous to yeh, but yeh don't look unlike what I did when I was your age. The farm ain't had time to tell on yeh yit. But it will! It made me the skeercrow that you see; it'll do the same for you. When I was a girl, I was a Thayer, the best fam'ly in Norton, Massachusetts. We held our heads high. . . . But I married beneath me, an' I come up here into York State to live, on this very farm. With us, farmin' don't mean a livin' death. P'raps we don't hev sech fine big barns ez yeh build here, but our houses are better. We don't git such good crops, but we pay more heed to education and godly livin'. It's th' diff'rence 'twixt folks

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 387-388. This seems to come as the author's own opinion.

who b'lieve there's somethin' else in life b'sides eatin' an' drinkin' an' makin' money, an' folks that don't. . . . Look at Lemuel Fairchild's wife Cicely—she was a relation of yours, wasn't she?—see how the farm made an ole woman o' her, an' broke her down, an' killed her! You're young, an' you're good lookin' yit, but it'll break yeh, sure's yer born. Husban's on these farms ain't what they air in the cities."<sup>10</sup>

This continued denunciation of farm life rests upon the clearly deterministic conception that the farm bends people according to its unlovely patterns; but Frederic is unable in any way to involve this concept with the structure of his story. *Seth's Brother's Wife* is a hodgepodge of themes and incidents. Its ideas do not force their way into the movement of the plot; nor is the plot, for that matter, built around any central theme. Journalism, politics, murder, and not one but two "eternal triangles" make up the content of a story that is too full for unity of movement, too diversified for continuity of theme. Although unable to make a book that is well knit structurally, Frederic has the ability to draw convincing characters and to write dialogue that holds one's interest. His first hundred pages present a telling picture of ugly conditions, and it might have been possible for him to have proceeded thence with a story that grew out of those conditions and depended upon them. That he was unable to do so may be traced in part to the weakness of his sense of form; but even had he possessed the faculty for planning unified plots, Frederic was too closely attached to the notion of ethical responsibility ever to see his characters as completely the creatures of external forces. In short, Frederic was unable to resolve the dilemma described in the second paragraph of this paper.

This point is well illustrated by the scene in which Seth, who has been called back to the farm, is about to declare his love to his brother's wife. With the declaration on the tip of his tongue he is interrupted by the unexpected return of his brother, whom he forthwith righteously accuses of political malpractice,<sup>11</sup> and whom he refuses to support in his paper. The irony of this sequence is striking. If Seth were not the hero he would appear a most despicable fellow. Indeed, he does appear so. But the reader excuses him because he is lacking in the background and experience which would enable him to see through the shallow woman and fulfill more suitably his growing need for intellectual companionship. But this is as far as

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397.

<sup>11</sup> See the quotation on pp. 13-14, above.

Frederic goes. The naturalistic novelist would proceed to make considerable use of such a situation. He would so exploit the conditions described as to show that Seth was, because of external factors, helpless before a problem which he had no way of knowing how to attack. Frederic never does this; rather he approaches every issue with an ethical yardstick which he is only too ready to apply. He simply has not thought through his rudimentary determinism and discovered its relation to our moral codes or our popular ideas of moral responsibility. He makes the reader hate the insolent servants who gossip in the kitchen. He forces the erring wife to admit that she is "a wicked woman!" And his official commentator displays, in the passage about country murderers quoted above, a most unnaturalistic dislike for the culprit.

Perhaps the crowning example of Frederic's ethical bias is displayed when the complicated gambit of local politics, involved by the death of Seth's brother and the wickedness of several county delegates, is played through into a checkmate of evil by the eleventh-hour conversion of the most corrupt and powerful of political bosses into a tower—or, to carry out the figure, a castle—of righteousness. The spirit of his conversion, indeed, seems to endow him with those very homely American virtues which Frederic has elsewhere been denying to those who lived in small towns or worked the soil. To such a degree may the exigencies of plot disrupt an author's underlying convictions!

The blasting denunciation of country town life which critics are fond of finding in Frederic's better known novel, *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896)<sup>12</sup> is really to be found more extensively carried out in *Seth's Brother's Wife*. There it was dwelt upon in descriptions and in ex cathedra disquisitions. In *Theron Ware* these evil conditions are assumed—in fact, they are effectively presented in the early pages of the book—but the author is soon drawn off into the treatment of another motif that causes him to neglect his indictment of rural meanness in favor of the rather remarkable study of his leading character.

A quotation or two will bring out the quality of his writing in this novel. First we are shown a Methodist conference at which Theron Ware hopes to be rewarded with a desirable ministry. The higgling pettiness of the churchmen is tellingly presented. The

<sup>12</sup> See Hartwick, *op. cit.*, p. 258; and Hatcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

Methodists of Tecumseh, New York, hope to be favored with the services of the capable and attractive Theron for the next three years, for

All were agreed—at least among those who paid pew-rents—upon the great importance of a change in the pulpit of the First M. E. Church. A change in persons must of course take place, for their present pastor had exhausted the three-year maximum of the itinerant system, but there was needed much more than that. For a handsome and expensive church building like this, and with such a modern and go-ahead congregation, it was simply a vital necessity to secure an attractive and fashionable preacher. They had held their own against the Presbyterians these past few years only by the most strenuous efforts, and under the depressing disadvantage of a minister who preached dreary out-of-date sermons, and who lacked even the most rudimentary sense of social distinctions. The Presbyterians had captured the new cashier of the Adams County Bank.<sup>13</sup>

But the place goes to an incompetent whose choice by the elders depends upon an obscure favoritism which is not explained.

The town to which Theron is sent is narrow and miserable, full of people whose “idea of hell is a place where everybody has to mind his own business.”<sup>14</sup> Those who control the church do not want any newfangled ideas, they do not want Theron’s wife to dress at all gaily, nor do they want to spend a cent more than they must to keep the young minister alive and presentable:

“We are a plain sort o’ folks up in these parts,” said Brother Pierce, after a slight further pause. His voice was as dry and rasping as his cough, and its intonations were those of authority. “We walk here,” he went on, eying the minister with a sour regard, “in a meek an’ humble spirit, in the straight an’ narrow way which leadeth unto life. We ain’t gone traipsin’ after strange gods, like some people that call themselves Methodists in other places. We stick by the Discipline an’ the ways of our fathers in Israel. No new-fangled notions can go down here. Your wife’d better take them flowers out of her bunnit afore next Sunday.”<sup>15</sup>

At this stage of the story Theron is seen as a young man full of hope and enthusiasm. He is perhaps weakly fond of the good things in life; but he is also sincerely devout, eager to perfect himself in the salvation of souls, stirred with vague yearnings after a richer spiritual and intellectual life.

<sup>13</sup> *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (New York, 1896), p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

If external forces have been shown to be acting upon Theron, they cease to do so at this point. The rest of the novel is devoted to the disintegration of his character and the disappearance of the good qualities which he had earlier displayed. The instruments of his damnation are the three people in Octavius who have any cultural background. They are Father Forbes, a Catholic priest, Dr. Ledsmar, retired, who dabbles in obscure science, and the beautiful, wealthy, and talented Celia Madden, who draws the men together. Theron is at first welcomed into this group; they are attracted by his candor and his eagerness to plunge into more spacious realms of thought than he has hitherto been able to attain. Theron's "illumination,"<sup>16</sup> however, brings about his destruction. He becomes the most contemptible sort of person, speaking slightlying of his loyal wife, losing his grip on his parishioners, feeling himself to be too good for his situation in life, persuading himself that he is in love with Celia Madden, and, at length, foolishly pursuing her to New York. When they meet there she sums up the whole situation:

"We were disposed to like you very much when we first knew you. . . . You impressed us as an innocent, simple, genuine young character, full of mother's milk. It was like the smell of early spring in the country to come in contact with you. Your honesty of nature, your sincerity in that absurd religion of yours, your general *naïveté* of mental and spiritual get-up, all pleased us a great deal. We thought you were going to be a real acquisition. . . . But then it became apparent, little by little, that we had misjudged you. We liked you, as I have said, because you were unsophisticated and delightfully fresh and natural. Somehow we took it for granted you would stay so. But that is just what you didn't do,—just what you hadn't the sense to try to do. Instead, we found you inflating yourself with all sorts of egotisms and vanities. We found you presuming upon the friendships which had been mistakenly extended to you. Do you want instances? You went to Dr. Ledsmar's house that very day after I had been with you to get a piano at Thurston's, and tried to inveigle him into talking scandal about me. You came to me with tales about him. You went to Father Forbes, and sought to get him to gossip about us both. Neither of those men will ever ask you inside his house again. But that is only one part of it. Your whole mind became an unpleasant thing to contemplate. You thought it would amuse and impress us to hear you ridiculing and reviling the people of your church, whose money supports you, and making a mock of the things they believe in, and which you for

<sup>16</sup> As the book was entitled in England.

your life wouldn't dare let them know you didn't believe in. You talked to us slightly about your wife. What were you thinking of, not to comprehend that that would disgust us? You showed me once—do you remember?—a life of George Sand that you had just bought,—bought because you had just discovered that she had an unclean side to her life. You chuckled as you spoke to me about it, and you were for all the world like a little nasty boy, giggling over something dirty that older people had learned not to notice. These are merely random incidents. They are just samples, picked hap-hazard, of the things in you which have been opening our eyes, little by little, to our mistake. I can understand that all the while you really fancied that you were expanding, growing, in all directions. What you took to be improvement was degeneration. When you thought that you were impressing us most by your smart sayings and doings, you were reminding us most of the fable about the donkey trying to play lap-dog. And it wasn't even an honest, straightforward donkey at that!"<sup>17</sup>

As this passage shows, the book is well written. The characters come alive, and the reader follows the adventures of Theron's decaying spirit with keen interest. But Theron is continually held responsible for his actions. If there is any guiding idea behind his disintegration it is that his Methodism and his limited background have failed to give him a cultural tradition upon which he could base his conduct. Thus when confronted with a new set of values in the outlooks of the priest, the girl, and the doctor, he has nothing to restrain or guide him. Yet one's judgment of Theron cannot be impersonal because this lack of background is not enough to account—to the reader's emotional satisfaction—for his contemptible weakness. That is laid to some personal failing within him, a failing which every line of the book shows that he is ethically responsible for. The modern reader is apt to think, upon reconsideration, that Frederic is much too hard on Theron—that he fails to see how helpless his meager outlook is before the first sophisticated people he has ever known. He condemns instead of explaining.

As a psychological study of a personality *The Damnation of Theron Ware* has very considerable merit. The faults of the book, like those of *Seth's Brother's Wife*, are largely structural: the action is not carefully integrated; there is no successfully worked-out movement; and—outstanding weakness—the beginning and end are so

<sup>17</sup> *Theron Ware*, pp. 477-480.

telescoped that there is a strange lack of feeling for the passage of time. The jump from Theron eager and candid to Theron the contemptible pretender is made too quickly; but the analyses of Theron in each of those states are masterful.

*Theron Ware*, to conclude, is not a naturalistic novel because its author could not eliminate ethical judgments and motivations in favor of materialistic ones. Yet it does begin with suggestions of a deterministic philosophy in its presentation of the narrowing influence of small-town Methodism. Frederic, always inept in the architecture of his novels, is here unable—if indeed he wished—to make any operation of determinism control the pattern of his story. Indignation at rural “wickedness,” combined with that faith in the common man which seems to have flourished as long as there were frontiers still open, have prevented him from achieving the scientific detachment and the dispassionate comprehension of social pressures which are, in some degree at least, essential to naturalism.

## MELVILLE'S ENGLISH DEBUT

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A COMPREHENSIVE study of Herman Melville's English reputation would not only form an interesting chapter in the history of Anglo-American literary relations, but it would also serve to destroy the legend which has grown up about the author of *Moby-Dick* as a prophet without honor abroad as well as in his own country. The present inquiry is confined to the contemporary reception of Melville's first two books.

The prevailing notion that from the beginning American critics were hostile to Melville was launched by his first biographer, who declared: "Both *Typee* and *Omoo* were scouted as impertinent inventions, defying belief," and the reviewers were "scandalized by his boastful lechery." In proof of this assertion, a violent and even vituperative attack in the *American Review* was cited as typical.<sup>1</sup> No other reviews were referred to. Recent investigation, however, has proved this to be quite the reverse of the truth. Out of fifteen American magazine reviews examined by the present writer, only two others were hostile, and both of these were far less violent than the *American Review*; all of the remaining twelve were favorable to both works, and, with the exception of one or two merely perfunctory notices, all were outspoken and even extravagant in their praise of the popular young author.<sup>2</sup>

Carrying his thesis abroad, this same biographer said: "Both *Typee* and *Omoo* stirred up a whole regiment of critics, at home, in England and in France. . . . In England, Melville was flattered . . . by vitriolic evangelical damnation."<sup>3</sup> Documentary evidence was added in the form of a long quotation from a scandalized critic in the *Eclectic Review*. This hostile attack was cited as typical of Melville's reception abroad: thus, lamented his biographer, Melville "unloosed upon himself exhibitions of venom of the whole-hearted sort that enamour a misanthrope to life."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Raymond Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), pp. 206-208.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Anderson, "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo*," *American Literature*, IX, 1-25 (March, 1937). <sup>3</sup> Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225. It is true that in another connection Weaver did quote a sentence from each of two favorable magazine reviews, only to add that "such pronouncements were

Examination of fifteen major British periodicals—the same number examined to correct the tradition of a hostile reception in America—proves that the facts have again been violently distorted. The proportion of favorable and unfavorable reviews was surprisingly similar in the two countries. The only noticeable difference between Melville's reception on the two sides of the Atlantic was just what one would expect: the seasoned and urbane British critics were not so extravagant in their praise or so long-faced in their censure. They took Melville's measure more accurately as a light-hearted raconteur of picaresque travel-fiction.

The only exception to this generalization is found in the one really hostile attack on Melville's first two books that came out of England—the one quoted as typical by Raymond Weaver. This was, indeed, an exhibition of venom of the wholehearted sort that would enamor a misanthrope to life, and as such it deserves lengthy quotation. On the appearance of Melville's first book, the *Eclectic Review* was roused to controversy, but there was a dignified effort to keep the debate fair in tone. *Typee* was even praised for being entertaining, though "some misgivings will probably occur to an intelligent reader." The nature of these misgivings is soon made manifest: the author disparages the work of the missionaries in Polynesia for the very obvious reason that their teachings tend to dissuade the natives from such sexual orgies as marked the reception of Melville's ship at Nukahiva; so, this reviewer complained:

The character and operations of Christian missionaries are perpetually assailed by visitors to these remote regions, and it is, therefore, needful the public should know how far the practices of such visitors are likely to disincline them to a candid construction and fair report of the proceedings of Christian missionaries. The worth of the testimony borne must, in all cases, be greatly diminished, when the witness is proved to have an interest in disparaging the party accused. The narrative before us furnishes painful evidence on this point, and we would have our readers ponder its statements well, in order that they may duly appreciate some of the opinions expressed. We must not permit a false delicacy to disqualify us for vindicating the character of our brethren from the misconstructions of men, whose anger has been aroused by the obstacles interposed to their criminal indulgences.<sup>5</sup>

no earnest of fame," though "they may have contributed somewhat to augment Melville's royalties." This does little, if anything, to relieve the impression that the English reaction to *Typee* and *Omoo* was highly unfavorable.

<sup>5</sup> *Eclectic Review*, XIX, n.s., 448-459 (April, 1846).

Thus, the *Eclectic* maintained, the author of *Typee* is a prejudiced and unreliable witness in his "obvious aim" to connect the Christian missionary with the atrocities perpetrated on savage tribes by white men. On the contrary, these outrages are the result of commercial enterprise, which brings the refuse of Europe and America in contact with uncivilized man; in the face of such exploitation, the missionary is his friend and indeed his only chance for life itself:

We doubt not that our American Brethren, to some of whose agents Mr. Melville disparagingly refers, will be able to rebut his ingenuous insinuations. Let him learn the worth of the morality taught by the Christian missionary before he ventures to criticise his motives or disparage his work. The world is too full of testimony in favour of our brethren to permit us lightly to credit an unknown witness against them.<sup>6</sup>

It was not until the appearance of Melville's second book, however, that the *Eclectic* "unloosed its venom," for *Omoo* contained a much more elaborate and sustained attack on missionary activity in the South Seas. In a somewhat tardy review, this pious critic then discovered a devil and fought him with Pentecostal fire:

We were under the illusion that the abettors of infidelity and the partisans of popery had been put to shame by the repeated refutation and exposure of their slanders against the "*Protestant missions*" in Polynesia; but Mr. Melville's production proves that shame is a virtue with which these gentry are totally unacquainted, and that they are re-sharpening their missiles for another onset.

In noticing Mr. Melville's book, our object is to show that his statements respecting the Protestant mission in Tahiti are perversions of the truth—that he is guilty of deliberate and elaborate misrepresentation, and—admitting the accuracy of the account which he gives of *himself*, and taking his own showing with regard to the opportunities he had to form a correct opinion of the subject—that he is a prejudiced, incompetent, and truthless witness. This is our object; and we intend that Mr. Melville himself shall establish the chief counts in our indictment. The conclusion is obvious; if we thus sustain our charges against him on so serious and grave a topic, it, of course, follows that his South Sea narratives—instead of being esteemed, as some of our leading contemporaries have pronounced them to be, faithful pictures of Polynesian life—should at once take their place beside the equally veracious pages of *Baron Munchausen*!<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, n.s., 425-436 (Oct., 1850). The chances that Melville saw this review are strengthened by the fact that it was reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, XXVII, 325-330 (Nov. 18, 1850).

By way of evidence, the reviewer then quoted Melville's derogatory account of the character of Pomaré II, King of Tahiti, and the mercenary motivations behind his acceptance of Christianity—all of which he flatly denied, but without offering proofs. Next, he quoted the attacks on missionary activity contained in the chapter entitled "Tahiti As It Is" in order to refute them, discounting Melville's authorities and declaring that all intelligent visitors report the reverse—but he failed to cite any. Finally, he impeached Melville's character as a witness by quoting passages from his own books in order to prove that he was a mutineer and a beachcomber, a sensualist and a profligate who had cohabited with a native girl, and worst of all that he was a Catholic! Having spent his wrath, he concluded:

Our task is done. We have permitted Mr. Melville to paint his own picture, and to describe his own practices. By doing so, we have fulfilled our promise, and have proved him to be a prejudiced, incompetent, and *truthless* witness. We have thus contributed our quota towards the formation of a correct estimate of his character; and we trust that our brethren of the press in North America—where he at present resides, and where his volumes have had an extensive circulation—will do justice to the Protestant missionaries and missions in Polynesia, by unmasking their maligner—MR. HERMAN MELVILLE.<sup>8</sup>

If Melville had "stirred up a whole regiment of critics" abroad like this one, then Mr. Weaver's interpretation of his English reception—treating the review in the *Eclectic* as typical—would be an accurate one. But, although this was indeed "vitriolic ecclesiastical damnation," the qualifying adjective gives the key to its explanation. For the *Eclectic Review* was a sectarian religious organ of the Dissenters, and it was only natural for such a journal to resent Melville's castigation of the Protestant missionary activities in Polynesia, to which they themselves so largely contributed. It so happens, however, that there were no other such envenomed attacks upon Melville's first two books in the British periodicals. All the rest can be classed as favorable reviews, for they unanimously testified in varying degrees of praise that *Typee* and *Omoo* were eminently readable, and they made no objections to Melville's strictures on the missionaries or to his "immorality." Even such doubts as they confessed were indirect compliments to the young author: first, his books are so entertaining that they must be embellished autobiography if not

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

an actual blending of fiction with fact; second, his style is so cultivated and so free from provinciality that it could not possibly come from the pen of an ordinary seaman or from any American whatsoever.

The disproportionate length of unfavorable and favorable reviews is somewhat misleading. The former are invariably long-winded, whereas the latter, unless they treat the book as a masterpiece or one that needs to be defended, are often merely perfunctory. In piling up the score for Melville, the brief notices will be presented first. For example, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which after a century of eminence had ceased to be of any real significance in the literary world, gave a scant expository paragraph to each book, expressing no doubts or objections to *Typee* and merely saying of *Omoo*: "We do not know how much of this narrative is authentic and how much embellished; but it is very entertaining and very pleasingly written."<sup>9</sup> *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* was equally brief, but somewhat more laudatory, declaring that the adventures must have been embellished because they were too entertaining to have happened actually, and announcing its suspicion that the style must have been touched up by "a literary artist."<sup>10</sup> A third short but enthusiastic notice appeared in Douglas Jerrold's *Shilling Magazine*. Treating *Typee* as a true travel book, the reviewer asked: "What will our juvenile readers say to a *real* Robinson Crusoe, with a *real* man Friday? . . . Although with little pretension to author-craft, there is a life and truth in the descriptions, and a freshness in the style of the narrative, which is in perfect keeping with the scenes and adventures it delineates. . . . What traveller would wish for a higher distinction?"<sup>11</sup> This magazine, established the year before "for the good of the people," had announced in its prospectus: "It will be an earnest desire to avail ourselves of all and every variety of literature, if illustrating and working out some wholesome principle." Yet, in his role as guardian of public morals, Douglas Jerrold found nothing in Melville's writing to condemn.

Among the literary weeklies the London *Spectator*, which was

<sup>9</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVI, 66 (July, 1846); *ibid.*, XXIX, 399 (April, 1848).

<sup>10</sup> *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, XIII, 268 (April, 1846). *Omoo* was not reviewed in this Edinburgh offshoot of the radical *Westminster Review*, in which literary interests were subordinated to political.

<sup>11</sup> Douglas Jerrold's *Shilling Magazine*, III, 380-383 (May, 1846). There was no review of *Omoo*.

generous in space but somewhat opinionated in its treatment of American literature, was not quite wholehearted in its reception of the young sailor-author:

Had this work been put forward as the production of an English common sailor, we should have had some doubts of its authenticity, in the absence of distinct proof. But in the U. S. it is different [citing Dana, Cooper, and other respectable young Americans who had shipped before the mast]. . . . Striking as the style of composition may sometimes seem in a *Residence in the Marquesas*, there is nothing in it beyond the effects of a vivacious mind, acquainted with popular books, and writing with the national fluency; or a reading sailor spinning a yarn; nothing to indicate the student or the scholar. . . .

Much of the book is not beyond the range of invention, especially by a person acquainted with the Islands, and with the fictions of DeFoe [*sic*]; and we think that several things have been heightened for effect, if indeed this artistical principle does not pervade the work. Many of the incidents, however, seem too natural to be invented by the author. . . . There are certain sea freedoms that might as well have been removed before issuing it for family reading.<sup>12</sup>

The comments upon *Omoo* ran in the same vein. The *Spectator* announced its conviction that Melville had actually had these experiences, but added: "It is probable, however, that neither scene nor story suffers at his hands from want of embellishment," and concluded: "As in *Typee*, there are a few free passages, that might as well have been omitted."<sup>13</sup>

The other weeklies were more convinced of the truth and the value of Melville's books. The London *Examiner*, once famous as the liberal journal of Leigh Hunt, said of *Typee*:

The authenticity of the work did not seem very clear to us at first, but on closer examination we are not disposed to question it. A little coloring there may be here and there, but the result is a thorough impression of reality.<sup>14</sup>

And the recently established but still undistinguished London *Critic* agreed:

The coloring may be often overcharged, yet in the narrative generally there is a *vraisemblance* that cannot be feigned; for the minuteness and

<sup>12</sup> *Spectator*, XIX, 209-210 (Feb. 28, 1846).    <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 351-352 (April 10, 1847).

<sup>14</sup> London *Examiner*, quoted in the Publisher's Advertisements to the Revised American Edition of *Typee* (1847).



novelty of the details could only have been given by one who had before him nature for his model.<sup>15</sup>

The *People's Journal*, a more popular weekly, though it had taken no notice of *Typee*, gave *Omoo* a belated but hearty welcome. Convinced that the name Herman Melville was a pseudonym, it was equally convinced that the book itself was veracious:

There seems to be springing up in the literature of the world a new and very interesting class of authors; consisting of men, who, led on by a romantic love of adventure, and an inquisitive spirit, plunge themselves into the roughest of life's paths, . . . and who, after experiencing themselves what life is in the track they have followed, possess the skill to describe it in the freshest and most vivid colours to others. And such, indeed, should be the principle through all literature. Experience . . . is the only thing worth listening to—the only valid plea for a man's asking the world of readers to listen to him. . . .

It would be difficult to imagine a man better fitted to describe the impressions such a life and such scenes are calculated to call forth, than the author of *Omoo*.<sup>16</sup>

And a fourth, *John Bull*, though somewhat accustomed to sweeping condemnations of more celebrated authors, took the young American to its heart, declaring of *Typee*:

Since the joyous moment when we first read *Robinson Crusoe*, and believed it all, and wondered all the more because we believed, we have not met with so bewitching a work as this narrative of Herman Melville's. . . . Like *Robinson Crusoe*, however, we cannot help suspecting that if there be really such a person as Herman Melville, he has either employed a Daniel Defoe to describe his adventures, or is himself both a Defoe and an Alexander Selkirk. . . . [The English tone makes it hard to believe the author is an American.] When too, we consider the style of composition, so easy, so graceful, and so graphic, we own the difficulty we feel in believing that it is the production of a common sailor.<sup>17</sup>

But the insular *John Bull* had no doubts as to the truth of this charming book; and when *Omoo* appeared it again made no objections on the score of authenticity, immorality, or impiety. Instead, it pronounced the book an entirely satisfactory sequel to *Typee* and

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* (London *Critic*).

<sup>16</sup> *People's Journal*, III, 223-224 (April 10, 1847).

<sup>17</sup> *John Bull*, XXVI, 156 (March 7, 1846).



quoted with approval the scathingly satirical chapter entitled "A Missionary's Sermon."<sup>18</sup>

Among the somewhat longer reviews in the weeklies, *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* carried a summary of three and a half pages of *Typee*, expressing no shock or doubt, and in a second notice added two more pages of facts about the Marquesas Islands gleaned from other travel books which confirmed Melville's story.<sup>19</sup> And when *Omoo* appeared a year later, the reception was even more cordial:

Some time ago the public were amused by a work called "Typee," purporting to be the real adventures of an American in the Marquesas islands in the South Sea. There was a certain originality about the book, both in its manner and matter, which was very captivating in the present state of our literature; and besides this, the things in the narrative were evidently true, whatever might be said of the persons; so it is no wonder that the author has been encouraged to make a second appearance. The new work is called "Omoo" (The Rover, or Island-Wanderer); and without any further connection with its predecessor, continues the autobiography from the escape of the adventurer from Typee. . . .

Tahiti, except in the external aspect of nature, is by no means described as the paradise it was once reputed to be. All the vices of civilization are here under a different form—and even all the miseries, including poverty and hunger.

In the long quotations that followed from this "amusing and original" book, the reviewer took no exception to Melville's attacks on the missionaries or to his "boastful lechery." In fact, the only objection registered was that, since the book was a true one, the author had not been able to avail himself of all his dramatic possibilities.<sup>20</sup>

Of all the weeklies, however, the *Athenaeum* gave most space to Melville, contributing four separate articles on *Typee* alone. The apparent reason for this elaborate interest was that Charles Wentworth Dilke, the editor (and former champion of Keats), suspected a hoax of some sort, either as to the author's identity or as to the dividing line between fact and fiction in this anomalous book. In one of the very first notices of *Typee* to appear in England, the wary *Athenaeum* called attention to Melville's vow to "speak the unvarnished truth" and declared: "These frank prefatory avowals, as indicating exactness, may be taken by every reader for what they are

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII, 248 (April 17, 1847).

<sup>19</sup> *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, V, n.s., 265-269 (April 25, 1846), and 282-284 (May 2, 1846).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, n.s., 338-341 (May 29, 1847).

worth." But in the eight columns of summary and comment that follow, there is no indication that the reviewer was scandalized by this unusual book, and whatever doubts he had entertained as to its authenticity were mostly dispelled by references to the extravagant praise of these same Marquesans to be found in the travel books of Mendana, Cook, Porter, and Stewart. So he finally persuaded himself to believe in the essential reality of the book, "making allowance for some romantic touches, à la Porter."<sup>21</sup> The next week a similar amount of space was given to *Typee*, but this consisted entirely of quotations without comment.<sup>22</sup> The following summer, having read the account of "Toby's" reappearance and his confirmation of the truth of *Typee* through the pages of the Buffalo (New York) *Commercial Advertiser*, the reviewer renewed his interest in the problem, but still refused to commit himself, saying:

Mr. Melville's clever work on the Marquesas, which excited so much interest,—and certainly not less suspicion, on its first publication,—has received a somewhat unexpected testimony to its authenticity, the value of which every reader must decide for himself.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, when "Toby's Sequel" was published, the *Athenaeum* wondered if it were not a mere invention, declaring that this species of affirming in a circle served only to increase the puzzle:

We do not undertake to light our readers through the mystery. All we can say as to the authenticity of Mr. Herman Melville's narrative is what we have said before—it deserves to be true. . . . We vouch for the verisimilitude—but not the verity. . . . This true history, or pleasant romance, (as the case may be) . . . [is still] very commonly suspected to be a fiction, notwithstanding all the incidents which have either presented themselves, or been sought, to give it an air of truth.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, upon the appearance of *Omoo*, the *Athenaeum* displayed the same determination not to be baited, commenting upon the author's affidavit in the preface:

The authenticity of his statements is thus asserted incidentally and as of course—but without any direct answer being given to the doubts which have been thrown on the reality of his former narrative. . . .

<sup>21</sup> *Athenaeum*, XIX, 189-191 (Feb. 21, 1846). The reviewer apparently did not suspect that this similarity was due to the fact that Melville had borrowed heavily from these books as sources, especially Stewart's and Porter's.      <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 218-220 (Feb. 28, 1846).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 819 (Aug. 8, 1846).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 1014-1015 (Oct. 3, 1846).

Doubtless we shall hear more of the author's adventures:—for, though the *vraisemblance* of history is well preserved, there are in the style and about the narrative indications of romance that suggest a power of prolonging these adventures to any extent for which the public may demand them.<sup>25</sup>

Always an important journal of belles lettres, with a larger circulation than any similar British periodical, the *Athenaeum* probably did more to foster Melville's English reputation than any other single agency. For the reviews cited, though not extravagant in their praise, indicated an intelligent and discriminating interest in the new author rather than a disparagement of his works on the ground of doubtful authenticity—a conclusion substantiated by the fact that this journal followed Melville's career to the end, being the only one in England that gave separate (and on the whole favorable) reviews to every single one of his books.

Indeed, it was just the sort of doubts entertained by the *Athenaeum* that brought forth the longest and best reviews of Melville's first two books in the British Isles. Long accustomed to, and delighting in, the literary hoax, the leading English periodicals that were prompted to notice *Typee* and *Omoo* were drawn to them with the feeling that here was an author who offered entertainment of various sorts; and, although they missed their guess in suspecting deliberate mystification, they surely caught the light-hearted spirit of the young American who was enjoying his bright new fame as the literary discoverer of the South Seas—a fame that they were doing so much to foster. Of such a nature were the doubts expressed by the *Dublin Review*, which nevertheless frankly admitted its pleasure in these entertaining volumes:

[The author], for aught we know, may next turn up at the North Pole, and amuse the world and ourselves with adventures among the Esquimaux. Perchance he may be the identical man who has exhibited Tom Thumb, or the Bosjemans from Caffraria. . . .

Whether the doubts which have insinuated themselves into our mind touching the degree of credit to which they are entitled may appear to others to be well founded or no, is a question which all our readers must decide for themselves. For our own part, we can only say, as did the "Sapient Grizzle," when called on to give his opinion of the feats attributed to General Tom Thumb,—

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 382 (April 10, 1847). This review was probably written by J. K. Hervey, who succeeded Dilke as editor about this time.

"I tell you, Madam, it was all a trick:  
He made the giants first, and then he killed them."<sup>26</sup>

There follow twenty pages of summaries and quotations from *Typee* and *Omoo* with no indication that the reviewer disapproved of Melville's books on religious or moral grounds. On the contrary, he was obviously delighted with his discovery of this new giant-killer.

In similar vein the critic in *Blackwood's* treated the whole matter of authenticity as a proper subject for gay badinage. It is hard to believe that Melville could have been so long-faced in his pursuit of literary fame as to take offense at such delighted bantering as the following:

Who or what were Typee and Omoo? Were things or creatures thus designated? . . . Were they conspirators' watchwords, lovers' letters, signals concerted between the robbers of Rodgers's bank? We tried them anagrammatically, but in vain: there was nought to be made of Omoo; shake it as we would, the O's came uppermost; and by reversing Typee we obtained but a pitiful result. At last a bright gleam broke through the mist of conjecture. Omoo was a book. The outlandish title that had perplexed us was intended to perplex; it was a bait thrown out to that wide-mouthed fish, the public; a specimen of what is theatrically styled *gag*. Having but an indifferent opinion of books ushered into existence by such charlatanical manoeuvres, we thought no more of Omoo, until, musing the other day over our matutinal hyson, the volume itself was laid before us, and we suddenly found ourselves in the entertaining society of Marquesan Melville, the phoenix of modern voyagers, sprung, it would seem, from the mingled ashes of Captain Cook and Robinson Crusoe.

. . . The book is excellent, quite first-rate, the "clear grit," as Mr. Melville's countrymen would say. Its chief fault, almost its only one, interferes little with the pleasure of reading it, will escape many, and is hardly worth insisting upon. Omoo is of the order composite, a skilfully concocted Robinsonade, where fictitious incident is ingeniously blended with genuine information. Doubtless its author has visited the countries he describes, but not in the capacity he states. He is no Munchausen; there is nothing improbable in his adventures, save their occurrence to himself, and that he should have been a man before the mast on board South-Sea traders, or whalers, or on any ship or ships whatever. His speech betrayeth him. . . . His tone is refined and well-bred; he writes like one accustomed to good European society, who has read books and collected

<sup>26</sup> *Dublin Review*, XXIII, 341-363 (Dec., 1847). There was no separate review of *Typee*.

stores of information, other than could be perused or gathered in the places or amongst the rude associates he describes. These inconsistencies are glaring, and can hardly be explained. . . . The train of suspicion once lighted, the flame runs rapidly along. . . . Herman Melville sounds to us vastly like the harmonious and carefully selected appellation of an imaginary hero of romance.<sup>27</sup>

Thus the famous "Maga," usually far from friendly to American books, rollicked on for thirteen pages of summaries and quotations, sharing Melville's high spirits and, not least, enjoying his thrusts at French colonial policy. Though it had outgrown the savage attacks and personal slander of its lusty youth, it had not forgotten its original purpose to furnish Edinburgh with "a nimbler and more familiar" kind of literary criticism.

Another tardy but delighted commentator was the critic writing under the nom de plume of "Sir Nathaniel" in the *New Monthly Magazine*. Reviewing Melville's literary career in 1853, he spurned the philosophical "sea of troubles" that made such a watery waste of *Mardi* and *Moby-Dick*, and awarded the palm to the early travel books, in spite of their dubious authenticity. The adventures related there might well be credited as having made good yarns in the forecastle, he declared:

Not that we vouch for the fact of his having experienced the adventures in literal truth. . . . Readers there are, who, having been enchanted by a perusal of "Typee" and "Omoo," have turned again and rent the author, when they heard a surmise, or an assertion, that his tales were more or less imagination. Others there are, and we are of them, whose enjoyment of the history was little affected by a suspicion of the kind during perusal (which few can evade), or by an affirmation of it afterwards.

But granting them to be "sea-romances" instead of true travel books, Sir Nathaniel hailed them enthusiastically as "prose-poems":

Instead of a landsman's gray goose quill, he seems to have plucked a quill from skimming curlew, or to have snatched it, a fearful joy, from hovering albatross, if not from the wings of the wind itself.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, LXI, 754-767 (June, 1847). This review was reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine*, XI, 408-409 (July, 1847). There was no separate review of *Typee*.

<sup>28</sup> "American Authorship, No. IV," *New Monthly Magazine*, XCIVIII, 300-308 (Aug., 1853). Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, XXVIII, 481-486 (Aug., 1853), and in the *Eclectic*

So far from *Typee* and *Omoo* being "scouted" because they were "impertinent inventions," however, this very uncertainty as to the exact amounts of fact and fiction ingeniously blended in Melville's volumes was one of the chief attractions that drew English reviewers to him. It is, indeed, astonishing how long these doubts, and the question of the author's identity, persisted. Reviewing Melville's entire literary output in 1856, a critic in the *Dublin University Magazine*, who had read all of Melville's books except *Israel Potter*, announced a surprising "discovery" which confirmed the long-standing public suspicion:

A friend has informed us that "Herman Melville" is merely a *nom de plume*, and if so, it is only a piece with the mystification which this remarkable author dearly loves to indulge in from the first page to the last of his works. . . . His first books were "Omoo" and "Typee," which quite startled and puzzled the reading world. The ablest critics were for some time unable to decide whether the first of these vivid pictures of life in the South Sea Islands was to be regarded as a mere dextrous fiction, or as a narrative of real adventures, described in glowing, picturesque, and romantic language; but, when the second work appeared, there could no longer exist any doubt that, although the author was intimately acquainted with the Marquesas and other islands, and might introduce real

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*Magazine*, XXX, 46-52 (Sept., 1853). There were no separate reviews of either *Typee* or *Omoo*.

William Harrison Ainsworth (who had succeeded to the editorship of the *New Monthly Magazine*) was probably the critic masked behind the pseudonym of "Sir Nathaniel." His praise of *Typee* and *Omoo* is made more significant by comparison with his reactions to Melville's other books. *Redburn* he found "prosy, bald, and eventless" and *White-Jacket* inferior, though it contained some fine sea-pictures. But of *Mardi*, *Moby-Dick*, and *Pierre* he could find nothing good to say. Melville's reputation, indeed, may be said to have reached its nadir in the following denunciation:

"The Whale' [*Moby-Dick*] undoubtedly contains much vigorous description, much wild power, many striking details. But the effect is distressingly marred throughout by an extravagant treatment of the subject. The style is maniacal—mad as a march hare—mowing, gibbering, screaming, like an incurable Bedlamite, reckless of keeper or straight-waistcoat. Now it vaults on stilts, and performs *Bombastes Furioso*, with contortions of figure, and straining strides, and swashbuckling fustian, far beyond *Pistol* in that Ancient's happiest mood. Now it is seized with spasms, acute and convulsive enough to excite bewilderment in all beholders. When he pleases, Mr. Melville can be so lucid, straightforward, hearty, and unaffected, and displays so unmistakable a shrewdness, and satirical sense of the ridiculous, that it is hard to suppose that he can have indited the rhodomontade to which we allude. Surely the man is a *Doppelgänger*—a dual number incarnate (singular though he be, in and out of all conscience):—surely he is two gentleman rolled into one, but retaining their respective idiosyncrasies—the one sensible, sagacious, observant, graphic, and producing admirable matter—the other maundering, drivelling, subject to paroxysms, cramps, and total collapse, and penning exceedingly many pages of unaccountable 'bosh' . . . a huge dose of hyperbolical slang, maudlin sentimentalism, and tragicomic bubble and squeak."

incidents and real characters, yet that fiction so largely entered into the composition of the books, that they could not be regarded as matter-of-fact narratives.<sup>29</sup>

This fact, however, detracted in no way from their charm. Indeed, comparing Melville with Cooper and Dana as writers on the sea, this critic picked Melville as his favorite. Basing his extravagant eulogy chiefly upon *Typee*, *Omoo*, and *White-Jacket*, he concluded:

He is a man of genius—and we intend this word to be understood in its fullest literary sense—one of rare qualifications, too; and we do not think there is any living author who rivals him in his peculiar powers of describing scenes at sea and sea-life in a manner at once poetical, forcible, accurate, and, above all, original. . . . He undoubtedly is an original thinker, and boldly and unreservedly expresses his opinions, often in a way that irresistibly startles and enchains the interest of the reader. He possesses amazing powers of expression—he can be terse, copious, eloquent, brilliant, imaginative, poetical, satirical, pathetic, at will. He is never stupid, never dull; but, alas! he is often mystical and unintelligible [chiefly in *Mardi* and *Moby-Dick*]. . . .

Such is Herman Melville! a man of whom America has reason to be proud, with all his faults; if he does not eventually rank as one of her greatest giants in literature, it will be owing not to any lack of innate genius, but solely to his own incorrigible perversion of his rare and lofty gifts.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> "A Trio of American Sailor-Authors," *Dublin University Magazine*, XLVII, 47-54 (Jan., 1856). Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, XLVIII, 560-566 (March, 1856).

In an earlier separate review of *Typee*, however, this magazine had not indulged in any such doubts: "The main interest of Mr. Melville's work hangs on his personal narrative, but its value as a contribution to knowledge arises from his minute account of this tribe, their characters, usages, and mode of life; all of which, a four months' residence gave him a sufficient means of judging. . . . Wander where he will abroad, Mr. Melville is always at home with his pen, and a lively and easy style is sure to make him a favourite with the public" (*Dublin University Magazine*, XXVIII, 135-139, Aug., 1846). There was no separate review of *Omoo*.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, XLVII, 47-54 (Jan., 1856). This reviewer was well qualified to survey Melville's works, for he was not only thoroughly acquainted with the three authors here reviewed (Melville, Dana, and Cooper) but was widely read in the whole range of English sea-literature, had been at sea himself, and had written a volume on the sperm whale. His comments on Melville's other books are so illuminating in some cases, that they are collected here for convenience. *Redburn* had fallen somewhat dead on the market, and deservedly so, since it was a badly constructed book and the Liverpool passages were "outrageously improbable." *Mardi* began as a good sea story; for the rest, though he suspected an interesting political satire was concealed beneath its gorgeously poetical language, he had to conclude reluctantly: "It is, in our estimation, one of the saddest, most melancholy, most deplorable and humiliating perversions of genius of a high order in the English language." *Moby-Dick* he found to be quite as eccentric and monstrously extravagant as *Mardi*, in many of its incidents; and though it contained excellent information, indicating that the author had

This preference for Melville's more straightforward narratives over his more ambitious philosophical works is highly significant in any estimate of his contemporary reputation, for it was not confined to the *Dublin University Magazine*; rather, it was the general critical reaction both in America and England.

From these the major reviews of Melville's first two books in England it would appear that Melville's debut abroad was, if anything, even more favorable than it was at home—only one out of fifteen being actually unfavorable. If there was any real difference between his American and English receptions it was merely a difference in tone: the former was heavy and patriotic in its praise; the latter, light and urbane. America was proud of Herman Melville; England enjoyed him. But in both cases, one might venture, *Typee* and *Omoo* were quite as well received as they deserved to be. And though in one sense it may be said that his sprightly books "stirred up a whole regiment of critics" in both countries, it is certainly a contradiction of indisputable facts to imply that these critics "unloosed upon him exhibitions of venom of the whole-hearted sort that enamour a misanthrope to life."

A final episode in Melville's English debut, though not in the direct line of periodical reviews, is offered here as illustrative of the prevailing English attitude. In a miscellaneous volume entitled *The Almanack of the Month: A Review of Everything and Everybody*, the author was subjected to a mock-trial, with a decree of nol pros:

LITERARY SESSIONS.—*Alleged Forgery*.—An individual, who gave the name of Herman Melville, was brought up on a charge of having forged

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diligently searched all the authorities dealing with his subject, he had to confess: "Yet the great, undeniable merits of Melville's book are obscured and almost neutralized by the astounding quantity of wild, mad passages and entire chapters with which it is interlarded."

*White-Jacket*, however, was his favorite; he considered it not only Melville's best work, but "the best picture of life before the mast in a ship of war ever yet given to the world." Nevertheless, this critic could be objective even with his favorite; with his astuteness and wide acquaintance with the literature of the sea, he made a discovery that no other student of Melville was to make until very recent years: "We could point out a good many instances, however, where the author has borrowed remarkable verbal expressions, and even incidents, from nautical books almost unknown to the general reading public (and this he does without a syllable of acknowledgment)." Here was a cue to a proper estimate of Melville's value as an imaginative artist that, if followed out, might have prevented much of the eulogistic folly that has so falsely colored the discussion of his life and writings since the "renaissance" in 1919. And it was pointed out by a contemporary.

Other English periodicals searched unsuccessfully for reviews of *Typee* and *Omoo* are: *British Quarterly Review*, *Edinburgh Review*, *North British Review*, *Prospective Review*, *Quarterly Review*, *Westminster Review*, and *Bentley's Miscellany*, *Fraser's Magazine*, *Sharpe's London Magazine*.

several valuable documents relative to the Marquesas, in which he described himself to have been formerly resident. A good deal of conflicting evidence was brought forward on both sides, and it was obvious that whether the papers were forgeries or not, the talent and ingenuity of Herman Melville were, of themselves, sufficient to recommend them very favourably to a literary tribunal. In the course of the trial, it was suggested that as it would occupy too much of his honor's time to set out the whole of the disputed matter in the pleadings, the jury should take it home to read at their leisure. It was ultimately agreed that the matter should be referred to the Superior Court of Public Opinion, with a strong recommendation that every one being a member of that tribunal should read the whole of the alleged forgeries, without missing a word. The impression was decidedly favourable to Mr. Herman Melville, and though no decision has been come to upon the question of forgery, he has excited the greatest interest, and is received everywhere with the most cordial welcome.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> G. A. à Beckett (ed.), *The Almanack of the Month, etc.* (London, 1846), I, 368-369.

## WILLIAM JAMES AND EMERSON

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### I

TO THE POPULAR mind, pragmatism has always seemed the exact opposite of transcendentalism. What could a crude philosophy of action hold in common with a refined spiritual idealism? Emphasizing this contrast, George Santayana suggested that "the genteel tradition in America philosophy" logically ended in Emerson, while William James marked the beginning of the more robust American way of thought. More academically, Professor Woodbridge Riley's textbook gave sanction to this interpretation, and specifically described pragmatism as "a recoil against transcendentalism." Always to the lay reader, and often to the professional philosopher, the pragmatism of William James has marked the beginning of a new intellectual movement, typical of America.

But of recent years the old picture painted all in black and white has come to seem false. The shrewd Yankee aspects of Emerson have stood out more clearly, while the religious and spiritualistic side of James has been emphasized. After all, Emerson's famous address on "The American Scholar" did something to stimulate the robust American philosophy. Both Henry James, Senior, and his son William, recognized the fact. Emerson and James were seeking, in different ways, to escape the shadow of the old, genteel tradition. Emerson had expressed the situation clearly in a letter to Henry James, Sr., in 1850: "I find or fancy (just as Wilkinson finds me guilty of Unitarianism) that you have not shed your last coat of Presbyterianism, but that a certain legendary and catechetical Jove glares at me sometimes, in your page."<sup>1</sup> If William James transformed this legendary Jove into a more impersonal "psychic energy," the basic substance remained the same. The most recent interpreter of American thought, Professor Harvey Gates Townsend, has gone so far as to assert that "William James . . . is the central figure of what should be called neo-transcendentalism in New England. Quite definitely in the line of descent from Emerson, he succeeded

<sup>1</sup> R. B. Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James* (Boston, 1935), I, 62.

to a remarkable degree in translating the aspirations of the older transcendentalism into the language of philosophy."<sup>2</sup>

The general relations of the James family to Emerson have been described before.<sup>3</sup> Henry James, Senior, first made the acquaintance of Emerson in 1842—the year in which William was born. He “named the boy William, and a few days later, brought his friend Ralph Waldo Emerson to admire and give his blessing to the little philosopher-to-be.”<sup>4</sup> The friendship of the two men ripened steadily, until, in 1864, the James family finally took up its residence in Boston. Both fathers and children frequently visited one another; and Henry James, Senior, regaled the Emersons with excerpts from the letters of his elder sons, written from Europe. In 1872, he himself wrote and delivered “a short appreciation” of Emerson before the “Friday Evening Salon” of Mr. and Mrs. Fields—a paper afterwards printed in the *Atlantic*. Finally, in 1903, William James, then a professor of philosophy at Harvard, wrote his own laudatory address for the Emerson centenary at Concord, in which he too made his votive offering to the “beloved master.”

These friendly relations are generally known. On the other hand, the philosophical books and letters of William James frequently expressed negative criticisms of Emerson, and of his philosophy. On occasions James was enthusiastic, on other occasions critical; but always the occasion influenced the expression of opinion. The question remains: What did James, in his private mind, really think of Emerson? Without attempting to summarize the known evidence, this paper will consider the question on the basis of certain unpublished material.

The philosophical library of William James, consisting of some three hundred books, has been preserved as a whole in the treasure room of Widener Library at Harvard. In this collection are included nine volumes by Emerson, and one about Emerson.<sup>5</sup> These volumes have been marked, annotated, carefully cross-referenced by James.

<sup>2</sup> H. G. Townsend, *Philosophical Ideas in the United States* (New York, 1934), p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. B. Perry, *op. cit.*; Austin Warren, *The Elder Henry James* (New York, 1934); C. H. Grattan, *The Three Jameses* (New York, 1932); and F. I. Carpenter, “Points of Comparison Between Emerson and William James,” *New England Quarterly*, II, 458-474 (July, 1929).

<sup>4</sup> *Letters of William James*, ed. Henry James (Boston, 1920), I, 9.

<sup>5</sup> These volumes are: *Miscellanies: Nature and Addresses* (1868); *Essays: First Series* (1869); *Essays: Second Series* (new ed., 1889); *Essays: Second Series* (Centenary ed., 1904); *Representative Men* (1895); *The Conduct of Life* (1889); *Letters and Social Aims* (1883); *Lectures and Biographical Sketches* (1884); *Natural History of Intellect* (1893); and *Emerson in Concord*, by E. W. Emerson (1889).

They describe his enthusiasm for certain aspects of the Emersonian philosophy. And they also describe his disagreement with other aspects of it.

The first two volumes of Emerson's writings are inscribed: "William James, Scarboro, July 5, 1871." These have obviously been read many times, for they contain notes, references, and markings, entered successively in pencil, pen, and blue pencil. Two flyleaves at the end of each are scribbled with indexes, quotations, and comments of all varieties. Clearly these have been revised, altered, and added to on different occasions. Almost every page of the text is underlined or annotated in such a way as to make clear James's interest.

Of the other volumes, only one is inscribed. His copy of *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, printed in 1884, bears the words: "William James, from his Wife, Quincy St., Cambridge, June, 1879 [sic]," on the first flyleaf. The remainder of the volumes may have been purchased later, at some time before the centenary address of 1903. Each of these contain about ten or twelve quotations and references entered on the flyleaves; and numerous marks along the margins of the text. The most striking fact which these reveal is that James literally read almost everything which Emerson wrote. Only a few of the essays at the end of *Natural History of Intellect* have not been marked. When James wrote his brother that "The reading of the divine Emerson, volume after volume, has done me a lot of good,"<sup>6</sup> he was not exaggerating the thoroughness of this reading.

But before considering James's comments in detail, it is important to recall that he may have read other of Emerson's works earlier, in the library of his father, that he certainly heard his father read some of them aloud, and that, from his birth to his marriage, as long as he lived under his father's roof, he was subject to the Emersonian influence. Thus in 1870, his father wrote:

My dear Emerson,—

Many thanks for *Society and Solitude*, of which I have read many chapters with hearty liking. But unfortunately just before the new volume arrived, we had got a handsomely bound copy of the new edition of the old essays, and I had been reading them aloud in the evening to Mama and Willy and Alice with such delectation on all sides, that it was vain to attempt renewing the experience.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Letters of William James*, II, 190.

<sup>7</sup> R. B. Perry, *op. cit.*, I, 100.

The year after hearing his father read Emerson's essays aloud, William James acquired the first two volumes for his own library. His comments on these are significant.

## II

In general, James's remarks upon Emerson's essays fall into three classes. The first includes passages which James considered typical of the author, or particularly revealing of "Emerson's singularity." These he usually indexed under the initials "R. W. E." But since he used many of these in the later composition of his centenary address without further comment, their interest is comparatively small.

The second group includes passages from Emerson which James considered "against my philosophy." For the most part he indexed these under such titles as "monism," "abstract unity," "the ONE," and "transcendental." Some of these reappear—often with his disapproving comments omitted—in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. Sometimes these passages are mingled with other Emersonian passages of which he approved. They seem to have irritated him either because of their abstractness, their denial of "pluralism," or their statements of the transcendental doctrine of evil.

The third group of passages, which James wholeheartedly approved, seems the most interesting; the most various, and the most revealing. Under the title of "pragmatism" he indexed many paragraphs, usually containing the words "action" or "deeds." Related to these are other sections emphasizing "the present tense," and the word "to-day." Another group of marked passages celebrates "the common man," "the poor," and "the laborer"; and condemns the "puny, protected person." Still others describe "the creative I," "psychic energy," and "expansiveness" or power in general. Lastly, James underlined and approved many of Emerson's sentences for their "concrete style." All in all, since James's enthusiasms seem more important and more suggestive than his criticisms, we may consider them first.

The form in which James's comments are scribbled suggests that he first read Emerson's text for its general interest and stimulation, without specific reference to his own thought. Many passages were indexed, without comment. At some later date he returned to the text, noted that some of these passages were "against my philosophy," and added: "but see pp. — for pragmatism." Then he

again wrote: "pragmatism," in connection with other page references, formerly listed without specific comment. Although he carried out this procedure only for the first two volumes of Emerson's work, his comments are sufficiently numerous to be significant.

As might have been expected, the passages specifically "against my philosophy" appear in the chapter on "Idealism," in Emerson's *Nature*; while the neighboring chapters on "Discipline," and "Prospects" contain suggestions of "pragmatism." James underlined:<sup>8</sup> "Words are finite organs of the infinite mind. They cannot cover the dimensions of what is in truth. They break, chop, and impoverish it. An action is the perfection and publication of thought."<sup>9</sup> And he sidelined the whole peroration of *Nature*, beginning: "Nature is not fixed but fluid. Spirit alters, moulds, makes it. . ." Particularly he underlined the phrase: "Build therefore your own world."

Most suggestive of "pragmatism," however, was the section on "Action," in "The American Scholar": "The great soul will be strong to live. . . . Thinking is a partial act. Let the grandeur of justice shine in his affairs."<sup>10</sup> "Colleges and books only copy the language which the field and work-yard made."<sup>11</sup> And James underlined: "As the world was plastic and fluid in the hands of God, so it is ever to so much of his attributes as we bring to it."<sup>12</sup> In "Literary Ethics," also, he underlined several pragmatic passages: "Let him [the man of letters] endeavor . . . to solve the problem of that life which is set before *him*. And this by punctual action, and not by promises or dreams . . . Feudalism and Orientalism had long enough thought it majestic to do nothing; the modern majesty consists in work."<sup>13</sup>

All these passages appealed to James as celebrating "pragmatism," or "the superiority of action." But he found these mixed with other passages which declared "the superiority of what is intellectualized." Therefore he indexed the two contrasting series of statements, and referred specifically to certain paragraphs which contained "both close together." On one page he underlined: "I do not see how any

<sup>8</sup> It is not always possible to state with assurance whether James's underlinings expressed approval or disapproval. One can only infer this from the context, and from his marginal comments.

<sup>9</sup> *Works* (Centenary ed.), I, 44-45. All page references have been corrected to refer to this standard edition.

<sup>10</sup> I, 99.

<sup>11</sup> I, 98. James cross-referenced this to the chapter on "Language," in *Nature*.

<sup>12</sup> I, 105.

<sup>13</sup> I, 178-179.

man can afford, for the sake of his nerves and his nap, to spare any action in which he can partake"; but also underlined the qualifying sentences: "The true scholar grudges every opportunity of action past by, as a loss of power. It is the raw material out of which the intellect moulds her splendid products."<sup>14</sup>

A similar set of sentences had been underlined and indexed five pages earlier. Obviously James considered Emerson's remarks ambiguous, if not contradictory. Which did Emerson consider superior —deeds or thoughts; actions or ideas? If the answer were "ideas," James called Emerson "transcendental"; if "actions," Emerson was "pragmatic." Throughout his life, James praised the pragmatic Emerson, but disapproved the transcendentalist.

It might be argued that Emerson was essentially a transcendentalist, because he commonly set ideas above actions. "Action is with the scholar subordinate, but it is essential," he wrote. Certainly he called himself an idealist, and certainly he emphasized ideas as the ultimate concern of the American Scholar. In this he disagreed with James, who emphasized particular acts. In a later essay on "Nominalist and Realist," Emerson definitely classed himself with the platonic realists. But was this attitude inconsistent with his incipient "pragmatism"?

The answer depends upon the definition of "pragmatism," and, for the moment, takes us beyond the philosophy of James. For pragmatism originated as a theory of ideas, in Peirce's historic essay: "How to Make Our Ideas Clear."<sup>15</sup> It declared that an idea, or conception, consisted simply in the sum total of its conceivable relations to practical experience: "The elements of every concept enter into logical thought at the gate of perception and make their exit at the gate of purposive action; and whatever cannot show its passport at both those gates is to be arrested as unauthorized by reason."<sup>16</sup> In general terms, pragmatism declared the doctrine of the necessary interrelation of ideas and active experience. We may adopt this broad definition, both because it was prior to the more specific definitions

<sup>14</sup> I, 95.

<sup>15</sup> *The Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931-1935), V, 248-271.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 131. Since Peirce, "the grandfather of pragmatism," occupies a position midway between Emerson and James, both in history and, to some extent, in logic, occasional reference to his writings may help to clarify this discussion. The "gate of perception" is specified by all empirical philosophy; the "gate of purposive action" is more peculiar to pragmatism.

of James, and because it suggests the philosophic continuity between Emerson and James.

Pragmatism, then, declared ideas to be meaningless except as they related themselves to experience—to perception and to action. In this it contradicted the transcendentalism of the German philosophers who declared the dichotomy between ideas and actions. But the fact that pragmatism refused to admit the transcendence of ideas does not mean that it necessarily proclaimed the superiority of actions. As Peirce protested to James: "Pragmatism is correct doctrine only in so far as it is recognized that material action is the mere husk of ideas. The brute element exists, and must not be explained away, as Hegel seeks to do. But the end of thought is action only in so far as the end of action is another thought."<sup>17</sup>

Emerson, in as much as he repeatedly proclaimed the necessary interaction of thought and experience, was pragmatic, and James frequently recognized the fact. Thus he labeled as "pragmatism" Emerson's exhortation: "Let the scholar first learn the things. . . . Let him know how the thing stands; in the use of all means, and most in the reverence of the humble commerce and humble needs of life,—to hearken what *they* say, and so, by mutual reaction of thought and life, to make thought solid, and life wise."<sup>18</sup> "The mutual reaction of thought and life"—had not Emerson founded his thought upon this principle? In other words, he had described it as "the uses of nature," ascending from the use of nature as the brute material for experience, to the use of nature as the material for purposive action: "Build therefore your own world." "The secret of Emerson," as one of his best biographers has observed, "lies in the superlative value which he found in the unit of experience, the direct, momentary, individual act of consciousness."<sup>19</sup> And, as even the unsympathetic Santayana recognized: "he coveted truth, and returned to experience."<sup>20</sup>

Besides the broadly pragmatic passages which proclaimed the necessity of concrete observation and action to ideas, James clearly approved two related aspects of Emerson's thought—the first celebrating the importance of "to-day," and the second the importance

<sup>17</sup> R. B. Perry, *op. cit.*, II, 424-425.

<sup>18</sup> *Works*, I, 180-181.

<sup>19</sup> O. W. Firkins, *Emerson* (Boston and New York, 1915), p. 297.

<sup>20</sup> *Winds of Doctrine* (New York, 1926), p. 197.

of common, manual labor. Under such titles as "now," "to-day," and "the present tense," he indexed many passages which appealed to him. And he underlined many more, for this doctrine was central to both men. From the first paragraph of Emerson's first book, which announced: "The sun shines to-day also," throughout his writings, the refrain recurred: "Give me insight into to-day, and you may have the antique and future worlds."

On the flyleaf of his volume of Emerson's essays, James quoted a phrase from "Self-Reliance": "roses; they exist with God to-day." In connection with this he cross-referenced a passage from "The Over-Soul," which developed the idea: "the soul that ascends to worship the great God is plain and true; dwells in the hour that now is, in the earnest experience of the common day,—by reason of the present moment and the mere trifle having become porous to thought and bibulous of the sea of light." In the midst of Emerson's discussion of the Over-Soul, clothed in mystical language, James found this nugget of pure ore. The occurrence was typical. James approved the foundation of Emerson's thinking—"the hour that now is," and "the experience of the common day." But he distrusted the sudden leaps which Emerson took from daily experience to the sea of light.

Both men began with today. Both celebrated its value, because of the experience which it offered, and of the implications which it suggested. But at this point the two diverged: Emerson emphasized the thoughts or insights which it suggested, James the actions. Another passage indexed by James suggests both the agreement and the difference:

To-day is a king in disguise. To-day always looks mean to the thoughtless, in the face of an uniform experience that all good and great and happy actions are made up precisely of these blank to-days. Let us not be so deceived. Let us unmask the king as he passes. Let us not inhabit times of wonderful and various promise without divining their tendency.<sup>21</sup>

James sought to convert these daily experiences into the stuff of further actions. Emerson was content for the time to "divine their tendency." But both felt that their to-days pointed rather towards the future than the past.

<sup>21</sup> *Works*, I, 267.

Like his earlier essays, Emerson's essay on "Experience" emphasized this, and James marked it heavily, in both his editions of the work. Both times he noticed especially the paragraph beginning: "The mid-world is best. Nature, as we know her, is no saint"; and continuing: "If we will be strong with her strength we must not harbor such disconsolate consciences, borrowed too from the consciences of other nations. We must set up the strong present tense against all rumors of wrath, past or to come." For both men, "today" opened the gate from the prison of the past to the promised land of the future.

As in the address on "The American Scholar," the doctrine of "the present tense" supported Emerson's Americanism, and his democracy. Immediate empiricism frees the individual, and also the nation, from dependence upon the past. As James had applauded these doctrines, so he applauded their corollaries. In "The Young American" he underlined two sentences: "Here, here in America, is the home of man," and "Let us live in America, too thankful for our want of feudal institutions."<sup>22</sup>

Professor John Dewey has described Emerson as "The Philosopher of Democracy." Clearly, Emerson's recognition of the necessity of action, and his distrust of the past with its "feudal institutions," tallied with the democratic spirit of the new world. "The present" *was*, in a sense, "the common." The American scholar who acted in the present, asked "not for the great, the remote, the romantic," but embraced "the common, the familiar, the low." He did not seek protection nor privilege, but only life in "the mid-world," and travel on its highways of experience and thought. James also sought this spiritual democracy. Besides the passages already noticed, he indexed others on the democracy of the intellect.

Action is necessary, Emerson had said; and by action he meant hard work, day labor, manual toil. He praised poverty, and condemned the growth of an hereditary aristocracy. "Consider the difference between the first and second owner of property," he wrote. "Instead of the sense of power and fertility of resource in himself which the father had . . . we have now a puny, protected person, guarded by walls and curtains."<sup>23</sup> James approved this heartily, and marked also the further development of Emerson's thought: "I do

<sup>22</sup> I, 391, 394.

<sup>23</sup> I, 238-239.

not wish to overstate this doctrine of labor, or to insist that every man should be a farmer. . . . Neither would I shut my ears to the plea of the learned profession . . . that the amount of manual labor necessary for the maintenance of a family, indisposes and disqualifies for intellectual exertion. . . . But . . . every man ought to stand in primary relations with the work of the world; ought to do it himself. . . . The whole interest of history lies in the fortunes of the poor. . . . Every man ought to have the opportunity to conquer the world for himself.”<sup>24</sup>

Repeatedly James marked passages such as this.<sup>25</sup> But the objections of “the learned professions,” and of men like Hawthorne at Brook Farm, remained unanswered. Reading a later essay of Emerson’s, James came upon a new statement and clarification of the earlier idea. Labor is necessary for the scholar: “Labor, iron labor, is for him.” But the labor of brain does not differ essentially from the labor of brawn: “If you are a scholar, be that. The same laws hold for you as for the laborer. . . . Let the student mind his own charge; sedulously wait every morning for the news concerning the structure of the world which the spirit will give him. . . . Nature, when she adds difficulty, adds brain.”<sup>26</sup>

James underlined all these passages, for he too was seeking to discover the true relations of physical and mental labor. He, too, sought “news” of the structure of the world. And, significantly, the development of his pragmatism closely paralleled the development of Emerson’s thought. Both began with a somewhat naïve glorification of physical action, continued to emphasize the essential unity of physical and mental action, and finally pointed to the efficacy of the brain in helping to overcome the actual, physical difficulties of life.

### III

In his reading of Emerson, James came upon many brilliant insights and suggestions valuable for the development of his own thought. But even in the midst of these “pragmatic” passages, he found much with which to disagree. He never read Emerson uncritically. Thus, in “The American Scholar,” he commented upon

<sup>24</sup> I, 240-241.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. VI, 260-261: “He who is to be wise for many must not be protected. He must know the huts where poor men lie, and the chores which poor men do. The first-class minds, Aesop, Socrates, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Franklin, had the poor man’s feeling and mortification.” James underlined the passage.

<sup>26</sup> VIII, 310-312.

the sentence: "The discerning will read, in his Plato or Shakspeare, only that least part,—only the authentic utterances of the oracle;—all the rest he rejects, were it never so many times Plato's or Shakspeare's,"<sup>27</sup> and added in the margin: "true of R. W. E." Mixed with his frequent enthusiasm, he retained an acute perception of difference. Later in the same essay, he added the initials "R. W. E." beside another sentence: "If it were only for a vocabulary, the scholar would be covetous of action." Emerson, he felt, was something too much a "scholar."

This amounted to saying that Emerson was too much a transcendentalist. But just as James objected to certain aspects of Emerson's "pragmatism," so he approved much of his transcendentalism. In the *Essays: First Series* he doubly underlined the title of "The Over-Soul" in the Table of Contents, and marked numerous passages in the text of that essay. In the *Miscellanies: Nature and Addresses*, he read and marked "The Transcendentalist" exhaustively. Partly, of course, this was due to his specific interest in the subject matter of these essays. Many quotations from them reappear to illustrate his *Varieties of Religious Experience*. But James also accepted and sympathized with some of the transcendental teachings. Even when he criticized them, they often corresponded to elements of his own thought and faith.

Under such index headings as "Increase of psychic energy," and "the I creates its history," he referred to sentences such as: "The Transcendentalist . . . believes in the perpetual openness of the human mind to new influx of light and power. . . . You think me the child of my circumstances: I make my circumstance."<sup>28</sup> Or again: "Power dwells with cheerfulness; hope puts us in a working mood, whilst despair is no muse, and untunes the active powers."<sup>29</sup> Although James criticized Emerson's "optimism," and his "mysticism," a goodly portion of these qualities appeared in his own thought.

Similarly, Emerson often reminded James of others of his favorite authors. In the "Nominalist and Realist" essay, he wrote "Bergson," opposite the sentence: "It is the secret of the world that all things subsist and do not die, but only retire a little from sight." He felt that Emerson's doctrine of Compensation, with its larger attempt to apply the "high laws" of physics to the fields of ethics and

<sup>27</sup> I, 93.

<sup>28</sup> I, 334-335.

<sup>29</sup> VI, 265.

economics, suggested the thought of Ernst Mach. And finally, he indexed a particularly vivid passage from the volume of *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, as: "for Hodgson." When to these marginalia are added the many quotations of James from Whitman and other followers of Emerson, the conviction grows that Emerson belonged naturally to James's family of favorite authors.

Even when he disagreed most sharply with Emerson's doctrines, James instinctively admired the vividness of his style. The strangely earthly and homely quality of the transcendentalist appealed to him perennially. Many of his index notes refer only to single, striking sentences. Often he underlined these in the text without listing them separately. In his centenary address he quoted some, merely to describe Emerson. But frequently he copied these phrases for their intrinsic interest, and sometimes absorbed them into his own later writing. For example, he liked: "the soul's mumps," "Crump is a better man," "pop-gun," "our affections are tents for a night," "so hot, my little Sir," "a mush of concession," "Time is slit and peddled into trifles and tatters," and others of the same type. Finally, he considered as a "motto for my book," the third paragraph of "Self-Reliance," ending: "And we are now men, . . . not minors and invalids in a protected corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but guides, redeemers and benefactors, obeying the Almighty effort and advancing on Chaos and the Dark."

## IV

Of course it is impossible wholly to separate the "abstract" transcendentalism which James disliked in Emerson, from the concrete, practical, and active moralism which he admired. He recognized clearly that the two co-existed, and indexed passages in the same essay as "for" and "against my philosophy"; as embodying alternately "specific emotion" and "abstract monism," and as praising alternately action, and thought. But he did attempt to make a sharp distinction between Emerson, the transcendental philosopher, and Emerson, the man of letters. Although we may question the justice of considering Emerson's rhapsodic mysticism as "philosophy," and his pragmatic moralism as "literature," James's distinction is clear, and his reasons for making it may be suggested.

First, Emerson had called himself a "transcendentalist," had written an essay on the subject, and had become associated with that

"philosophic" sect, in the popular mind. Second, James was to discuss transcendental idealism as an important philosophic example of *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, and was to declare its logical inadequacy. Therefore it was natural for him to overlook, for the purposes of philosophic argument, the connections between transcendentalism and pragmatism. Finally, James possessed an instinctively receptive temperament which permitted him to choose what he liked, even when that was mixed with much that he did not like. By separating Emerson's "philosophic" transcendentalism from his "literary" pragmatism, James perhaps rationalized his instinctive preferences.

In an early chapter of his book, James described at length the peculiarly Emersonian variety of religious experience, and suggested his own mixed attitude towards it: "Modern transcendental idealism, Emersonianism, for instance, also seems to let God evaporate into abstract Ideality."<sup>30</sup> Here James's criticism seems wholly negative. But he goes on: "Not a deity *in concreto*, not a super-human person, but the immanent divinity in things . . . is the object of the transcendentalist cult." We begin to wonder whether James is not yearning towards the "legendary and catechetical Jove" of his father's writings. He continues: "In that address to the graduating class at Divinity College in 1838 which made Emerson famous, the frank expression of this worship of mere abstract laws was what made the scandal of the performance." In other words, the abstractness of Emerson's transcendentalism constituted both its power and its danger. In his copy of Emerson, James had underlined: "Beware when the great God lets loose a thinker on this planet." James clearly approved Emerson's celebration of the effective power of thought. But, after quoting two pages of the Divinity School Address in his book, he objected to the vagueness of Emerson's abstract over-soul: "It quivers on the boundary of these things, sometimes leaning one way, sometimes the other, to suit the literary rather than the philosophic need." To him, the transcendental over-soul was bad because it was vague, and literary. But it was also good, because it was effective: "Whatever it is, though, it is active. As much as if it were a God, we can trust it to protect all ideal interests, and keep the world's balance straight. The sentences in which Emerson, to the

<sup>30</sup> *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1925), pp. 31 ff.

very end, gave utterance to this faith, are as fine as anything in literature."<sup>31</sup> And again James quoted samples of the Emersonian style.

These remarks of James are significant, and suggestive. They confirm his enthusiasm (which we have already described) for Emerson's active "pragmatism." And they suggest that his disapproval of Emerson's "transcendentalism" was caused not by any suspicion of its ultimate ideals, or ends; but, partly by the mere abstractness of those ideals, and partly by its failure to describe any method—other than that of intuitional self-reliance—by which those ideals might be realized. James's critical comments on Emerson's text fall into three groups: the first objecting to his abstract "monism" as such; the second criticizing the primacy which he assigned to non-empirical intuition; and the third objecting to his transcendental view of evil.

In spite of his many objections to it, James felt instinctively, and described consciously, the significance of pure abstraction. In *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, he wrote: "All sorts of higher abstractions bring with them the same kind of impalpable appeal. Remember those passages from Emerson which I read at my last lecture. The whole universe of concrete objects, as we know them, swims, not only for such a transcendentalist writer, but for all of us, in a wider and higher universe of abstract ideas, that lend it its significance."<sup>32</sup> James was the son of his father, and a philosopher who did not deny his heritage. But he had grown to feel that mere abstraction was dangerous, and that the old emphasis should be changed. Specific ends and concrete acts should be preached to modern man.

In reading Emerson, James noted a recurrent emphasis upon "the ONE." In the essay on "Self-Reliance" he underlined: "the ultimate fact which we so quickly reach on this, as on every topic, the resolution of all into the ever-blessed ONE." And in "The Over-Soul" he again marked: "that Unity . . . the universal beauty, to which every part and particle is equally related; the eternal ONE." In whatever essay he found it, in whatever language he saw it described, he indexed the passage. His own phrases include: "the ONE," "Unity," "Monism," "intellectualizing," "the rationalist attitude," "absolute thought," "abstract unity," and other quotations and descriptions even more pungent and more specific. But for the most part, and

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

especially where these passages appeared in their natural context (as in "The Over-Soul," and "The Transcendentalist") he passed them by with a nod of recognition.

The essay on "The Method of Nature," however, stimulated James to strong, and explicit disagreement. In the Table of Contents, where he had underlined "The American Scholar" and "The Divinity School Address," he wrote opposite "The Method of Nature": "the weakest." With this warning, and also with the proviso that this essay is "weakest," only if extreme transcendentalism be a weakness, we may consider his comment.

First, James passed over Emerson's important introductory distinction: "I do not wish to look with sour aspect at the industrious manufacturing village. . . . But let me discriminate what is precious herein. There is in each of these works an act of invention, an intellectual step, or short series of steps, taken; that act or step is the spiritual act; all the rest is mere repetition of the same a thousand times."<sup>33</sup> Thus Emerson announced his intention of considering in this essay, only the acts of invention, or creative intuition—what C. S. Peirce was to call the work of "abductive" or creative thought.<sup>34</sup> This creative activity Emerson described, in somewhat technical language, as "ecstasy": "Nature can only be conceived as existing to a universal and not to a particular end . . . a work of *ecstasy*, to be represented by a circular movement, as intention might be signified by a straight line of definite length." This passage James underlined, ominously.

Shortly afterwards, James registered his specific objection to a similar statement that "nature . . . does not exist to any one or to any number of particular ends, but to numberless and endless benefit"; adding an exclamation mark in the margin, and an index reference: "the Thought, which Nature is, evaporates." On the next page he again exclaimed against making the distinction between: "the fact seen from the platform of action," and "from the platform of intellection." Indeed, for the next ten pages, James repeatedly marked similar passages, and indexed them as "intellectualism," "the abstract One," and "vagueness of the idea." Only in one passage (p. 210) did he believe that he had detected: "specific emotion here."

<sup>33</sup> I, 192.

<sup>34</sup> See C. S. Peirce, *Collected Papers*, V, 105 ff.

Finally, after Emerson had repeated once again: "the soul can be appeased not by a deed but by a tendency. . . . I say to you plainly that there is no end to which your practical faculty can aim, so sacred or large, that if pursued for itself, will not at last become carrion and an offense to the nostril."<sup>35</sup> James could contain himself no longer. Opposite Emerson's further question: "And what is Genius but a finer love, a love impersonal, a love of the flower and perfection of things . . . ?" James answered: "But there is no such flower, and love and genius both cleave to the particular objects which are precious because at the moment they seem unique."

Emerson repeatedly declared truth to be ideal, undefinable, and abstract; while James declared it to be specific, definable, and embodied in concrete objects. But, at the end, the two men agreed upon one and perhaps the most important question. Emerson phrased it: "If you ask, 'How can any rules be given for the attainment of gifts so sublime?'" and answered: "I shall only remark that . . . the one condition coupled with the gift of truth is its use. . . . The only way into nature is to enact our best insight. . . . Do what you know, and perception is converted into character." James underlined these pragmatic sentences. But the bad taste remained. He indexed the last of them under the title of: "his optimism."

James objected to abstraction, mysticism, and vagueness, in all its forms. But specifically he objected to that mystical individualism which denied the possibility of the guidance of action by means of communicable experience. One of the passages in "The Method of Nature" to which he had objected, concluded: "The imaginative faculty of the soul must be fed with objects immense and eternal. Your end should be one inapprehensible to the senses."<sup>36</sup> Did not this deny all empiricism?

Emerson's transcendence of sensuous experience disturbed James even more when it appeared in the essay on "Self-Reliance," for there it seemed to vitiate much that was best in the Emersonian gospel. The essay, it will be remembered, first described the need for self-reliance in eloquent language, which James copied. But it then based this reliance on personal intuition. "And now at last the

<sup>35</sup> I, 215-216. Compare all these passages with C. S. Peirce's chapter entitled "What Pragmatism Is," in his *Collected Papers*, Vol. V. Many of the Emersonian ideas to which James objected find repetition and clarification in Peirce.

<sup>36</sup> I, 216.

highest truth on this subject remains unsaid; probably cannot be said; for all that we say is the far-off remembering of the intuition. . . . When good is near you, when you have life in yourself, it is not by any known or accustomed way; you shall not discern the footprints of any other . . . the way, the thought, the good, shall be wholly strange and new. It shall exclude example and experience."<sup>37</sup> This angered James. On his first reading he called it: "The anaesthetic revelation," although he commonly used this phrase only to describe mystical trances induced by drugs, or other artificial means.<sup>38</sup> Then, on a second reading, he indexed the same passage as: "the tasteless water of souls."

"—It shall exclude experience. . . ." But had not Emerson himself celebrated "experience," many times? James explained Emerson's thought as: "sometimes leaning one way, sometimes the other, to suit the literary rather than the philosophic need." He separated Emerson's pragmatism, or empiricism from his transcendentalism, or intuitionism. But are the two necessarily exclusive? Are they not rather complementary? Are they not different aspects of the same life-process? Emerson suggested this by distinguishing the inventive, creative, "spiritual act," from the routine, mechanical act. C. S. Peirce developed a similar distinction between "abductive" or intuitive thought, which originates ideas, and inductive and deductive thought which merely tests ideas: "Induction never can originate any idea whatever. No more can deduction. All the ideas of science come to it by way of Abduction."<sup>39</sup> He identified this intuitive "Abduction" with the scientific method of hypothetic inference. Later philosophers have confirmed his interpretations, using different terminology.<sup>40</sup> All have recognized that the creative, inventive mind works rather by intuition than by "example and experience."

Emerson's transcendentalism denied common experience when, and only when, it sought to describe the pure, creative act of consciousness—as, of course, it often did. Then it praised a "perfect self-reliance," as the only means of originating new ideas. It always, however, started from the more common, routine "uses of nature." And it always returned to experience, in order to enact its insights—

<sup>37</sup> II, 68.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 387-393.

<sup>39</sup> *Collected Papers*, V, 90.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Henri Poincaré, *Science and Hypothesis*, trans. G. B. Halsted (New York, 1905).

"to convert thought into truth." James, the experimentalist, approved the pragmatic action. James, the spiritualist, often sympathized with the transcendental enthusiasm for the conception of new ideas. But James, the moralist, felt instinctively the danger of too much uncontrolled transcendentalism. He distrusted the runaway intellect.

The practical dangers of transcendentalism have always appeared most clearly in its statements of the problems of evil, and James noted these statements frequently. The active man resists evil, obeys the moral code, and struggles against sin in all its forms. But the transcendentalist turns the other cheek. "Jesus Christ," as Emerson wrote, "was a minister of the pure reason." Few men, from the crucifixion to the present, have been willing thus to abandon the practical for the pure reason.

James did not oppose the transcendental morality as violently as might have been expected, but contented himself with noting it as he found it in Emerson's works. In "The Method of Nature," he condemned it together with its kindred ideas. Emerson had written: "Self-accusation, remorse, and the didactic morals of self-denial and strife with sin, are in the view we are constrained to take of the fact seen from the platform of action; but seen from the platform of intellection there is nothing but praise and wonder"<sup>41</sup>—to which James added a marginal exclamation. Similarly, in "The Transcendentalist," James indexed the admission that: "In action he [the transcendental moralist] easily incurs the charge of antinomianism by his avowal that he . . . may with safety not only neglect but even contravene every written commandment. . . . Jacobi, refusing all measure of right and wrong except the determinations of the private spirit, remarks that there is no crime but has sometimes been a virtue."<sup>42</sup>—and so James continued throughout his reading of Emerson's works. In "Self-Reliance," he noted Emerson's attack on "prayers, regrets, sympathies."<sup>43</sup> In *The Conduct of Life*, he indexed as "transcendental," the phrase: "every one of their vices being the excess or acridity of a virtue."<sup>44</sup> While even in the mystical conclusion to *Nature*, he had discerned a transcendental statement of the "scale of evil."

<sup>41</sup> I, 204.

<sup>42</sup> II, 77-80.

<sup>43</sup> I, 336.

<sup>44</sup> VI, 251.

## v

The complex relationships between Emerson and William James have barely been outlined in this essay. The family relationships, the statements in James's letters, the comments and criticisms included in his books of philosophy, have been used only to suggest the background. Even his marginal comments on Emerson's writings have not been exhausted—those describing "Emerson's singularity" have largely been omitted.

Excluding James's merely descriptive comments, his marginal remarks on Emerson's ideas have seemed to fall into two classes. In the first, James praised Emerson's "pragmatism," his emphasis on the present tense and on immediate experience, and his democratic sympathy for the laborer and the poor. In the second, he objected to Emerson's abstract idealism, to his frequent preference of intuition to experience, and to his transcendental doctrine of evil. Between these two extremes, James found much that seemed suggestive and sympathetic, even when mixed with much that was distasteful.

The philosophic relationships involved in this interplay of ideas have been suggested in passing. Many of the "transcendental" passages to which James objected find development in the philosophy of Charles Sanders Peirce. Many even lie implicit in James's own thought. Few can be said to contradict the fundamental pragmatic principle of a perpetual "return to experience." Rather they emphasize one particular aspect of the principle. Emersonian "transcendentalism" clearly belongs to the intellectual heritage of William James and of the pragmatic movement of which he was a leader. A detailed study of the philosophic relationship of the two might make clear much that has seemed obscure in the history of modern thought.

## S. WEIR MITCHELL AT WORK

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BEFORE THE first edition of *Roland Blake* was published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company in 1886,<sup>1</sup> S. Weir Mitchell caused to be privately printed six large-paper copies of a working draft, *Roland Blake and Some Other People*,<sup>2</sup> to be used in making revisions. In two letters to Mr. Paul Lemperly, of Cleveland, Ohio, written in 1898 relative to one of these six copies, Dr. Mitchell explained that they had been printed because he criticized "best a book in print," and that he had destroyed two of the copies in using them for that purpose and had given two of the remaining to "two critic friends"—both women—for their criticism. Mr. Lemperly had come into possession of a copy originally belonging to one of the critics.<sup>3</sup>

A comparison of the Lemperly copy with a copy of the published edition affords this opportunity to follow the author's mind a short way in its creative functioning.

<sup>1</sup> This novel was his first literary work to be published initially in book form; all previous works had appeared first in periodicals. Though not the most popular of his novels, *Roland Blake* sold well; in 1895 the Century Company published the "Seventh Edition," which I have used for purposes of citation; several later editions have been issued which in pagination are identical to the edition cited.

<sup>2</sup> Philadelphia (printed not published), 1886. Copyright by S. Weir Mitchell, M.D., 1886. Grant & Faires, Philadelphia. Pp. (2), 1-377.

<sup>3</sup> [To Mr. Paul Lemperly]

1524 Walnut Street  
Philadelphia

[Envelope postmarked  
Atlantic City, N. J.,  
April 14, 1898.]

Dear Sir—I am puzzled—& not a little over the question you put. After I wrote *Roland Blake* I did not like it—& as I criticize best a book in print—I had six copies printed on large paper for correction & not as an edition of what Lowell called de 'Looks' (luxe)—Two I destroyed in altering the book—two I gave to the two critic friends who read it for me—one copy I have—one I do not account for. The two women of whom I speak would never voluntarily part with their copies—who was it you bought from? 'Tis an amusing question—Meanwhile as far as I am concerned you are welcome to a rare possession—You will see by reading the book as printed how materially it was altered. Ask your man how he got it—I am not a little curious—and now you can put this letter in *your* copy—There are large paper copies of *Hugh Wynne*—60—all given away—But your book is rarer—one of six—

Yrs. truly  
Weir Mitchell

Englishwoman came out in parts, and those were the days when men were really young & impressionable. Beneath the lines were "Leaves of Grass: Walt Whitman." The lines stuck like a burr; the name of the book & the author vanished so completely that [when], not long after removing to Philadelphia, a telegram came from my friend Dr. Maurice Bucke of London, Ont.: "Please see Walt and let me know how he is."—I had to answer: "Who is Walt and where does he live?" It was very stupid of me as I should have remembered that a few years before when Dr. Bucke had been a guest at one of our Club dinners in Montreal he had startled us into doubts of his sanity by extravagant praises of one Walt Whitman, a new seer of a new era, whom he classed with our Saviour, Buddha, and Mahomet. Then I remembered, too, to have seen notices of a book he had written about Whitman; but I had no idea where the prophet lived. The next morning I had the answer: "Mr. Walter Whitman, 328 Mickle Street, Camden." In the afternoon I crossed the Delaware River ferry and in a "clean, quiet democratic street" I found the little, old-fashioned two-story frame house. A pleasant middle-aged woman answered the door, to whom I showed Dr. Bucke's telegram. "He will be glad to see you—anyone from Dr. Bucke. Mr. Whitman is better to-day and downstairs." The door opened into what appeared to be a room, but I had no little difficulty at first in getting my bearings. I have seen what the tidy housewife calls a "clutter," but nothing to compare with the front room, ground floor, of No. 328 Mickle Street. At the corner, near the window, the head and upper part of a man were visible—everywhere else, covering the floor, the chairs and the table, were, to use his own description, "heaps of books, manuscripts, memoranda, scissorings, proof-sheets, pamphlets, newspapers, old and new magazines, mysterious-looking literary bundles tied up with stout strings."<sup>5</sup> The magazines and newspapers, piled higher than the desk, covered the floor so completely that I had to pick my way by the side of the wall of the room to get to the desk. I thought of Prof. Teufelsdröckh's room in "Sartor Resartus." After a hearty greeting, I had some difficulty in explaining that I did not come directly from Dr. Bucke, but that he had sent me over from Philadelphia to find out how he was. There was nothing serious the matter—a transient indisposition which had passed away. With a large frame, and well shaped, well poised head, covered with a profusion of snow-white hair, which mingled on the cheeks with a heavy long beard and moustache, Walt Whitman in his 65th year was a fine figure of a man who had aged beautifully, or more properly speaking, majestically. The eyebrows were thick and shaggy, and the man seemed lost in a

<sup>5</sup> There is a footnote in the manuscript here as follows: "1) *The Critic*, 28.ii.85, *Walt Whitman at Home* by George Selwyn, i.e. Walt Whitman."

hirsute canopy. . . . My visit was made without any of that preparation—that expectation, upon which Gideon Harvey dwells as influencing so profoundly our feelings. I knew nothing of Walt Whitman and had never read a line of his poems—a Scythian visitor at Delphi! . . . That evening at the Club after dinner I opened the volume of "Leaves of Grass" for the first time. Whether the meat was too strong, or whether it was the style of cooking—'twas not for my pampered palate, accustomed to Plato and Shakespeare and Shelley and Keats. This has been a common experience; even Dr. Bucke acknowledging that "for many months I could see absolutely nothing in the book," and would even "throw it down in a sort of rage." Whitman himself has expressed this feeling better than anyone else, speaking of his "strange voice," and acknowledging that critics and lovers of poetry may well be excused the "chilly and unpleasant shudders which will assuredly run through them, to their very blood and bones" when they first read him, and exclaim: "If this is poetry, where must its foregoers stand?" . . . At this time, of the two men Bucke interested me more. Though a hero-worshipper, it was a new experience in my life to witness such absolute idolatry. Where my blurred vision saw only a fine old man, full of common sense and kindly feelings, Bucke felt himself in the presence of one of the world's great prophets. One evening after dinner at the Rittenhouse Club with Dr. Chapin, Dr. Tyson, Dr. J. K. Mitchell and a few others who I knew would appreciate him, I drew Bucke on to tell the story of Whitman's influence. The fervid disciple, who talks like in the *Phaedrus*<sup>8</sup> is not often met with in these matter-of-fact days. It was an experience to hear an elderly man—looking a venerable seer—with absolute abandonment tell how "Leaves of Grass" had meant for him spiritual enlightenment, a new power in life, new joys in a new existence on a plane higher than he had ever hoped to reach. All this with the accompanying physical exaltation expressed by dilated pupils and intensity of utterance that were embarrassing to uninitiated friends. This incident illustrates the type of influence exercised by Whitman on his disciples—a cult of a type such as no other literary man of our generation has been the object. . . .

This first uncorrected draft of the unfinished address continues in this manner for one or two more pages, and tells of visits to Whitman's home during the next two years. At the end of the manuscript there are some notes, chiefly appropriate quotations; but among these is an interesting observation by Osler himself:

<sup>8</sup> As the *Phaedrus* disciple could not be identified, the passage was printed in Cushing's *Life* "like [Chaerophon] in the [Apology]"; cf. Cushing, *op. cit.*, I, 266.

Whitman's greatness is in no way more clearly demonstrated than in his ability to survive the megalomaniac exaggerations of a cult. Take for example these passages from "*In re Walt Whitman. . .*"

The manuscript breaks off after a few remarks on Whitman's illness in 1888, about which Osler says:

The full details of this period and Whitman's comments upon my visits—and optimism—may be read in that most extraordinary of all records of an adoring worshipper, Horace L. Traubel's "With Walt Whitman in Camden."

An examination of Traubel's remarkable journal throws an interesting light on Whitman's disposition. Osler was persistently optimistic, Whitman as persistently pessimistic about his condition. There are many such entries,<sup>7</sup> in which the poet dolefully shakes his head and predicts his own early end. Before Osler left on a vacation trip and substituted Dr. J. K. Mitchell, Weir Mitchell's son, he told Mrs. Davis, "I think your old man is better. . . . It looks as though he would go all right through the summer in this way." Whitman's reply to this news was, "I'm done for, Mary. . . . all done for. . . . Ah! these doctors! . . . Do they know much? I love doctors and hate their medicine."<sup>8</sup> Again: "Whether Dr. Osler said it because he believed it, because he thought he should say it—whether for some other reason—I do not know, but to me his dismissal of this thing as trivial is wrong, wrong—far wrong: to me it seems rather that an end is near."<sup>9</sup>

A close examination of Traubel's record gives one an unpleasant picture of Whitman as a complaining old man. We know from Osler's record that while the illness was unpleasant, there was no reason to lose hope. This was not Whitman's last illness; he was active for some time after a partial recovery, and did not die until four years later.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (New York, 1914-1915), I, 261, 263, 265, 304, 305, 337, 342, 357, 359, 362, 366, 382, 383, 391, 396 ff., 415, 427, 428, 433; II, 376 ff., 378, 382, 383, 384, 415 f., 416 f., 418, 421 f., 432 f., 437 ff., 438, 456, 494, 536; III, 196, 198, 199, 207, 211, 230 f., 240, 242 ff., 248 ff., 262, 268 f., 309, 313, 391, 396.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 433.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 211.

## MARK TWAIN TO HIS ENGLISH PUBLISHERS

WILLIAM BRYAN GATES  
*Texas Technological College*

ON JUNE 29, 1916, the British Museum acquired from Sotheby four autograph letters from Mark Twain to his English publishers, Messrs. Chatto and Windus.<sup>1</sup> Although no startling facts are revealed by these letters, they are thoroughly characteristic of Mark Twain and apparently have not yet found their way into print. Because of the cordial relations existing between Clemens and this publishing firm, and because only a few of his letters to them have been published,<sup>2</sup> perhaps these four new letters deserve to be better known.

Hartford, Oct. 7, 1881

Messrs. Chatto & Windus—

Dear Sirs:

Your notes for £874.16.9. have arrived from friend Conway,<sup>3</sup> for which please accept my thanks. The sale has been flatteringly large, & the result correspondingly gratifying. Conway seems to think I was likely to change publishers for light inducement; but I have explained his mistake to him.

Osgood<sup>4</sup> will get the pictures & advance sheets to you in ample time, & there will be no misunderstanding & no trouble about anything—but the late Bliss was a fool;<sup>5</sup> & if he were not dead I would add that he was also a persistent liar & a rascal; but I never allow myself to say harsh things about a dead person.

I told my nephew, C. L. Webster, to write & ask you if you wanted duplicates of the brass stamps which are to be used in pointing the covers of the "P. & P." But you need not answer him, for I perceive that the time is too short, now. The suggestion was only born of personal vanity,

<sup>1</sup> E.g. MS, 2952 A.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Letters of Mark Twain*, ed. A. B. Paine (New York, 1917), II, 492, 493, and 524.

<sup>3</sup> Moncure D. Conway took the MS of *Tom Sawyer* back to England with him and arranged with Chatto and Windus for its publication. Cf. *Mark Twain: A Biography*, by A. B. Paine (New York, 1912), II, 570.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Twain's American publisher at that time.

<sup>5</sup> Clemens felt that his contracts with Bliss (on a royalty basis ranging from 5 per cent to 7½ per cent and finally to 10 per cent) were not, as Bliss contended, equivalent to one-half of the profits, and at last secured from Bliss an agreement on terms of one-half of the profits on *A Tramp Abroad*. The statement, published after Bliss's death, convinced Clemens that the one-half profit plan was greatly to his advantage; hence he considered that Bliss had treated him unfairly on previous contracts. See, for example, the letter to Orion Clemens in *Letters*, I, 389.

since these stamps were made by a process of my own invention,<sup>6</sup> whose merits are cheapness and celerity of production.

Osgood was here yesterday, & I got him to write you about the continental reprint of the "P. & P." & one or two other matters. (Got him to write because I was lazy & he goodnatured.) Tauchnitz<sup>7</sup> has always paid for my books, & has always asked for them before publishing; but I do not think he has ever paid as much as £.75 for one of them. I cannot be certain, but that is my impression.

Truly yours,  
S. L. Clemens

Hartford, Sept. 1, '83.

Dear Mr. Chatto—

I can't read this letter.<sup>8</sup> But if it's something in the way of business, won't you just write him & tell him we'll do it or we *won't* do it, just as you please?

If it's the King, you want to be a little circumspect in your language, you know; but if it's some mere common body, just let into him right & left, & call him anything you want to, & I'll back you. I ain't afraid of any man in Stockholm—or China either.

I've just finished writing a book; & modesty compels me to say it's a rattling good one, too—"Adventures of Huckleberry Finn." (Tom Sawyer's comrade.)

Faithfully yours,  
S. L. Clemens

Osgood and I leave for Canada the 26th of November, arriving in Montreal the same evening, where I shall remain a couple of weeks, on copyright bent.

Truly yours,  
S. L. Clemens

Elmira, N. Y. Sept. 17, '88.

Dear Mr. Chatto:

Your notes & statement received, for which please accept my thanks. It is all satisfactory. I imagined that a Library of Humor<sup>9</sup> would go well—but I know better, now. On it we have scored an amusingly distinct failure here. I shan't meddle any more in that direction.

I had a sort of half-way notion that I might possibly finish the Yankee at King Arthur's Court this summer, but I began too late, & so I don't

<sup>6</sup> The Kaolatype Process, like most of Mark Twain's business ventures, proved unsuccessful. See Paine's *Life*, II, 727.

<sup>7</sup> Baron Tauchnitz, the publisher of *Innocents Abroad* and of later books by Mark Twain.

<sup>8</sup> This enclosure is apparently lost.

<sup>9</sup> For details concerning this venture, see *Letters*, II, 462, and *passim*.

suppose I shall finish it till next summer. We go home to Hartford a week hence; & if at that time I find I am two-thirds done, I mean to try to persuade myself to do that other third before spring.

Sincerely yours,  
S. L. Clemens

Permanent Address:  
Hotel Royal  
Unter den Linden, Jan. 27, '92

Dear C & W:

I am two weeks in bed with congestion of the lungs, but I am mending.<sup>10</sup>

The P & P's have come & are very handsome. Many thanks.

Make no preparations to issue in book form the six newspaper letters which I have been writing from Europe. It is my purpose to add to them, next summer or fall, & then make of the whole a *book*, not a pamphlet. Of the five already published I like only three—& not *all* of the three. It is a poor average.

Yrs. sincerely,  
S. L. Clemens

#### A NOTE ON CHILDE HAROLD AND "THANATOPSIS"

ARTHUR I. LADU  
*North Carolina State College*

ALTHOUGH it is a matter of general knowledge that Bryant's "Thanatopsis" reflects extensive borrowing of phrases and ideas from various English poets, particularly of the "Graveyard" group, no one seems to have noticed the close similarity between a passage in the final version of Bryant's poem and one in Byron's *Childe Harold*.

In the thirteenth stanza of the third canto of *Childe Harold* Byron gives us a description of nature as the solace for one in despair:

The desert, forest, cavern, breaker's foam,  
Were unto him companionship; they spake  
A mutual language, . . . .

Bryant's poem begins:

To him who in the love of Nature holds  
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks  
A various language;

<sup>10</sup> This illness was probably caused by a cold taken by Clemens after a lecture in a hot, crowded room on the subject: "The Awful German Language." See Paine's *Life*, II, 935.

The similarity in these two passages, not only of words, but also of metrical arrangement and thought, appears hardly accidental. It is perhaps worth while to notice that probably Byron, in company with other English poets, contributed threads of thought and language to the integrated tissue of "Thanatopsis."

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#### PLANS FOR A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

E. H. O'NEILL  
*University of Pennsylvania*

THE RAPIDITY with which American literature and American literary research have developed in the last twenty years has made it imperative that a determined effort be made to compile a complete bibliography of the subject. For the last eight years the members of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association have made earnest efforts to devise some means by which such a bibliography could be made. Because of economic conditions during this period, the plan was postponed from time to time because of lack of funds. In connection with his membership in the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, of the University of Pennsylvania, found that Dr. Luther H. Evans, the National Director of the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration, was deeply interested in the furtherance of this project. Through his initiative and the co-operation of Mr. Karl Goedecke, Regional Director of the Federal Historical Record Survey for Pennsylvania and Delaware, the project was organized at the University of Pennsylvania. Through a fortunate combination of circumstances, Professor Sculley Bradley, of the Department of English, was this year Chairman of the American Literature Group, and I acted as Chairman of the committee of the American Literature Group which had in charge the American bibliography project.

The first problem was to find space at the University which would accommodate a large staff. This was solved through the efforts of Vice-Presidents McClelland and Brakeley, Dean Musser of the College, and Dean Goff of the Towne Scientific School, and the project is now housed in one of the upper floors of that depart-

ment of the University. It is estimated that a staff of fifty members will be working on this project for a period of between three and five years.

This bibliography is one of the largest and most important projects ever attempted in American scholarship. It will be unique in its scope and completeness, for it will bring under the name of each author everything that he has written and that has been written about him.

Under my direction the Works Progress Administration staff will make a detailed survey of the entire field of American literature from its beginnings in the early seventeenth century to the present time. The first step will be the breaking down of all existing general bibliographies in American literature for the purpose of reorganization and reclassification. The earlier method of arranging American bibliographies chronologically by periods is being superseded by a simpler alphabetical arrangement by authors with their dates. This is a more practical and efficient arrangement in that it will enable the individual research scholar to find the particular author in whom he is interested even though he may not know his dates. The second important difference between this and previous bibliographies is that wherever necessary the contents of all books, such as volumes of short stories, essays, and critical writings will be itemized. The third new feature is that, so far as possible, the nature of each book and magazine article will be indicated by such terms as *novel*, *short story*, *criticism*, *verse*. Perhaps the most important feature of this new bibliography is that an attempt will be made to examine each periodical which has been published in the United States and to record its contents. The first appearance of verse, short stories, and serials will be recorded under the name of each author. In addition all book reviews will be recorded under the name of the reviewer, where that is available, and also under the name of the author of the book reviewed. While the work of individual authors has been salvaged from periodical literature, this is the first time that a complete survey of this vast and important field will have been made. In this way, it is hoped that this bibliography will preserve a record of the work of each American author and the critical material that has been written about him. There are, literally, hundreds of authors whose writings have appeared only in periodicals and who have heretofore been given no place in general American bibliographies.

The general bibliography prepared by the local staff will be augmented by contributions from scholars in all parts of the United States who are specializing in individual fields. The success of this bibliography will depend largely upon the co-operation of these scholars and all others who are interested in any particular field of American literature. Therefore, a particular appeal is made by the director for contributions of individual bibliographies. These contributions will be promptly and adequately acknowledged.

According to present plans the bibliography should be brought up to date in a period of from three to five years. At that time it is hoped that the main bibliography will be published and that editions will be issued from time to time. According to this plan there will be in print a complete record of all the writings of every American author. When the card catalogue is completed it will be maintained either at the University of Pennsylvania or at some other central repository such as the Library of Congress.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

The Contribution of B. O. Flower and *The Arena* to Critical Thought in America. David H. Dickason (Ohio State).

A Biographical and Critical Study of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Eleanor M. Tilton (Columbia).

A Critical Study of the Writings of William Dean Howells as They Relate to His Life and Time. Joe Horrell (North Carolina).

William Marion Reedy, A Critical Biography. Fred Wolfe (Vanderbilt).

Whitman and Quakerism. W. B. Fulghum, Jr. (Northwestern).

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

The American Drama in New Orleans. Nellie Smither (Pennsylvania).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

The Apostle of the Devil: A Critical Biography of William Cowper Brann. John Randolph (Vanderbilt, 1939).

James McHenry, Novelist and Playwright. Robert E. Blanc (Pennsylvania, 1939).

### IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Professor Richmond C. Beatty of Vanderbilt University is writing a biography of James Russell Lowell.

Professor Gerard Jensen of Connecticut College has completed the manuscript of "The Life and Letters of H. C. Bunner."

Professor R. L. Rusk of Columbia University is writing a life of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Professor A. T. Odell of Furman University and Mrs. A. T. Oliphant, a granddaughter of William Gilmore Simms, are editing the letters of Simms. They are also collecting materials for a biography of Simms.

"WPA Workers Map Lode of California." Sponsored by Miss Mary Barnby, Alameda County Librarian, and directed by Edgar J. Hinkel, a group of W. P. A. workers in a three-year period have compiled a bibliography of 3,316 volumes of fiction by 1,112 authors, 2,112 volumes of poetry by 1,253 poets, and 876 plays by 451 playwrights.

*University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

*GREGORY PAINÉ, Bibliographer.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

MELVILLE IN THE SOUTH SEAS. By Charles Roberts Anderson. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. ix, 522 pp. \$4.50.

In his *Herman Melville in the South Seas*, Mr. Anderson has done two things. First, he has given us what, up to the present time, is the fullest account of Melville's journeyings in the most important years of his life, that is to say, between 1841 and 1844. Secondly, he has come much nearer than any preceding scholar to determining the proportions of autobiography, of borrowing, and of pure invention in the novels and tales which are based to a greater or less degree upon their author's adventures in the South Seas.

Because of Mr. Anderson's success in achieving these, which I take to be the main purposes of his study, one is not, I think, uncritical in pronouncing the book to be the most important publication dealing with Herman Melville which has appeared since Mr. Weaver's biography in 1921. And Mr. Weaver's book, it must be said, derives much of its value from the fact that it is the first full-length presentation of Melville's life.

*Herman Melville in the South Seas* does something more than supplement *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic*. It is concerned almost entirely with a period of the novelist's life upon which actually Mr. Weaver touches very lightly. It is indeed rather a companion volume to Mr. Weaver's. In many instances, one must observe, Mr. Anderson's carefully documented and inescapable conclusions correct Mr. Weaver's tendency toward treating Melville's South Sea narratives as highly autobiographical.

Quite naturally Mr. Anderson associates Melville's departure from Fairhaven on the whaler *Acushnet* with Ishmael's embarking on the *Pequod* from Nantucket, early in *Moby-Dick*. Here Mr. Anderson finds it necessary to attempt to account for Melville's shipping on a whaleship for a voyage of indefinite length and certain discomfort and danger. His explanation is a reasonable one, although less romantic (or tragic) than others which have been advanced. According to Mr. Anderson, it was just a case of an imaginative and adventurous youth who wished to visit the exotic lands and see the strange sights of which he had learned from various kinsmen and of which he had read in various books, which are identified. In fact, Mr. Anderson goes so far as to suggest that Melville, before leaving Fairhaven, had planned to desert his ship at Nukahiva (p. 112).

Having Melville more or less safely aboard the whaler, Mr. Anderson devotes Chapters II, III, and IV to an analysis of Ishmael's account of his

cruise on the *Pequod*. Mr. Anderson shows how Melville revamped the officers and crew of the *Acushnet* for service on Captain Ahab's vessel and how for specific passages in *Moby-Dick* he not only drew, as might be expected, upon the scientific literature of whaling, but upon such semi-literary narratives as J. Ross Browne's *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise*.

In Chapter IV, using the clews given by Melville, Mr. Anderson traces the course of the *Acushnet*. She touched at Rio de Janeiro, rounded Cape Horn, and made Santa, Peru, as probably her first Pacific port. Possibly before putting in at Santa, the *Acushnet* had cruised among the Galapagos Islands. It is beyond question that Melville's ship was off Albemarle Island in this group in November, 1841. Melville's personal observation, it may be interjected, supported by reading in various narratives, such as those of Colnett, Porter, and Darwin, bore fruit in "The Encantadas" of 1854. From the Galapagos, the *Acushnet*, according to Mr. Anderson, proceeded to the neighborhood of the Sandwich Islands, cruised there during February, March, and April of 1842, and then dropped south of the Society Islands. It was when the *Acushnet*, returning to the Sandwich Islands to recruit, put in at Nukahiva, the largest of the Marquesas, that Melville and his friend Toby deserted her and the action of *Typee* begins.

Mr. Anderson now leaves the definitely autobiographical in *Moby-Dick* but proceeds with his endeavor to distinguish recorded fact from fiction. In this he is successful, for Melville has made no effort to conceal his literary borrowings. He has even called attention to some of them, as, for example, Owen Chase's account of the destruction of the *Essex*. Mr. Anderson, of course, recognizes the fact that a large part of *Moby-Dick* is not, however, the result of its author's reading in the literature of the whale and of his use of this material in a more or less direct way. Much of the book, he says, "must have been spun out of the author's imagination" (p. 63).

As Mr. Anderson says, "this supersensory part of the book . . . has chiefly attracted the attention of commentators" (*ibid.*). After stating briefly some five theories as to the meaning of *Moby-Dick*, Mr. Anderson, with admirable discretion, does not embrace any of these explanations and offers none of his own. *Moby-Dick*, he decides, "will perhaps remain a mirror for its readers" (p. 64). That Melville did "consciously or otherwise" inject the allegorical into the novel, he does not deny, but he finds no chart left by its author "to guide the explorer" (*ibid.*). To end Chapter IV, he quotes Melville's well-known reply to Mrs. Hawthorne's letter upon *Moby-Dick*, with evident skepticism as to the former's sincerity in his disavowal of more than a vague notion of a possible allegorical interpretation of the book. To me, Mr. Anderson's skepticism is well founded. As a matter of fact, it seems likely that Melville was deliberately teasing

Mrs. Hawthorne in his minimizing the symbolical in *Moby-Dick*; and if he was, undoubtedly she realized the fact.

From *Moby-Dick*, based to some degree upon Melville's eighteen months of whaling, which terminated with his desertion from the *Acushnet*, at Taiohae Bay, Island of Nukahiva, Mr. Anderson passes naturally enough to the narrative of *Typee*. Here his task is easier, for *Typee* is a straightforward, simple story of adventure in a kind of earthly paradise. There is practically no concern with the symbolical or the allegorical. The only complications which arise result from Melville's freedom with chronology, his eking out his own experiences with materials from the reminiscences of other visitors to the Marquesas, and his efforts to picture his Typee hosts as true children of nature as yet unspoiled by contact with "civilization." In Chapter VI, Mr. Anderson points out the care with which Melville built up the reputation of the Typee tribe for ferocity. He discounts to a considerable degree, however, the novelist's charges of cannibalism, declaring them really "not proven." Perhaps Mr. Anderson's chief contribution to the criticism of *Typee* as a novel, besides his identification of several literary sources, is the clear fashion in which he points out its domination by its author's clever use of suspense. First, Melville dreads falling into the hands of the Typees; and then when he finally becomes their prisoner he is possessed, until his escape, by the fear of their feasting upon him. They are, nevertheless, the heroes of the book, and the French invaders perhaps the villains. As Mr. Anderson well puts it, *Typee* is Melville's "preface to his brief against civilization, and his purpose was to show the idyllic relations that might subsist between men untainted by the complex of evils which invariably accompanied Western culture" (pp. 132-133).

After devoting Chapter VIII to "Truth and Fiction in 'Typee,'" in the course of which he gives an accurate general account of the favorable reception of the novel at home and abroad and testifies to Melville's ethnological accuracy, which is due, in a large degree, to his intelligent use of good sources to fill the gaps in his personal knowledge, Mr. Anderson proceeds to a discussion of *Omoo*. This novel, he asserts, "seems to offer the most veracious autobiography of all his [Melville's] South Sea volumes" (p. 206; here the statement is repeated from p. 199). Certainly *Omoo* presents a number of actual and identifiable persons, some, like Acting Consul Wilson and Dr. Johnston, among others, under their own names; various events in the book seem, also, to be drawn from experience rather than from printed sources or from its author's fertile imagination.

In his tenth chapter, Mr. Anderson takes up what he conceives with reason to have been Melville's purpose in *Omoo*. As *Typee* was "chiefly a defense of unspoiled primitivism" (p. 238), *Omoo* was "an implicit ser-

mon on the evil effects of civilizing the Noble Savage" (p. 276), with Rousseau's "Discourse as a text" (*ibid.*); or, as he puts it elsewhere, "an attack on the semi-civilization wrought . . . by the missionaries themselves" (p. 220). On the whole, after a careful weighing of the evidence pro and con, Mr. Anderson thinks that Melville's unfavorable opinion of the influence of the English missionaries' type of civilization upon the Tahitians is substantiated by the bulk of the testimony (pp. 272-273).

From Tahiti, Mr. Anderson follows Melville and his companion, "Dr. Long Ghost" (or Dr. John Troy, if that was his name), to the neighboring island of Eimeo and through the days of carefree wandering and loafing there, which succeeded a brief experiment in agricultural employment. Their dependence upon native hospitality cannot, however, be accurately called "beachcombing" (Chapter XII). Finally, all this pleasant idling comes to an end. The homesick Omoo signs on a whaler lying in Taloo Bay and sails away, leaving his playmate to amuse himself on a sugar plantation.

Mr. Anderson, at the opening of Chapter XII, strives to identify the *Leviathan*, the whaleship with a Vineyarder captain, upon which Melville alleges himself to have shipped. One surmise is that the *Leviathan* was not an American vessel at all but a small Australian brig, the *Julia*, of Sydney, Captain Milne, which, sailing from Tahiti, arrived at Honolulu, on February 2, 1843. As an alternative, Mr. Anderson offers another itinerary, fitting Melville's own chronology, but not his story. He abandons the *Leviathan's* voyage to the coast of Japan; and in its place he substitutes a cruise such as the early pages of *Mardi* record. This involves a visit to Rurutu, in the Austral Islands (mentioned in *Omoo*), and to Ravaivai in the same group, and a cruise west past Pitcairn's Island, thence north to the Galapagos, and finally to the Sandwich Islands. Here, quite properly, Mr. Anderson admits that the port at which Melville was discharged was not necessarily Honolulu, but perhaps Lahaina, on the island of Maui, or Hilo, on Hawaii. I am inclined to think, with Mr. Anderson, that the second itinerary is the more probable of the two.

In the Sandwich Islands Melville found again evidence of the blighting influence of foreign missions. In fact, the American missionaries of the Sandwich group had demoralized the natives more than had the English their charges in the Society Islands. "The Sandwich Islanders . . . [were] already polluted beyond redemption" (p. 336), and "in almost every reference that Melville makes to the Sandwich Islands he drives home his thesis against civilization" (p. 337), as Mr. Anderson puts it.

Beyond affording a possible hint as to Melville's route in getting from Eimeo to Oahu, *Mardi*, says Mr. Anderson, affords us no "foothold, even for speculation, as a memoir of the author" (p. 342). It was a combina-

tion, in reality, of Polynesian material from Melville's favorite authorities and "in part a reflection of the new world of ideas in which the young author was moving" at the time of its composition (p. 344). These ideas, Mr. Anderson shows, arose not only from Melville's own meditations and from his intercourse with a group of intellectual New Yorkers, but from a pretty steady course of reading in Evert A. Duyckinck's excellent library.

From a brief digression concerning *Mardi*, only in part even nominally Polynesian, Mr. Anderson returns in his thirteenth chapter to the actual or adapted or invented experiences of Melville, now, from *Omoo*, the rover, become *White-Jacket*, the man-of-war's man. The last eighty-five pages of Mr. Anderson's book are given over to an analysis of Melville's story of his journey home to the United States from Callao in the frigate *United States*.

In *White-Jacket*, Melville probably made more free with actual fact than in any other of his so-called "autobiographical" works, not excepting *Typee* (*Redburn* is still unstudied). As Mr. Anderson says, half the book is occupied with the daily life on shipboard, presumably accurately related; the rest—the "narrative part"—shows "expedient alterations of fact to suit the exigencies of his tale; dramatic elaboration of actual events; and deliberate invention of his most powerful scenes" (p. 361). An excellent summary of Melville's methods in *White-Jacket* occurs at pages 418-419. I should add that Mr. Anderson demonstrates that Melville was not slow in helping along his narrative by the use of literary sources, although they are not so frequently employed as in his earlier novels.

Melville has made free with chronology in *White-Jacket*, as in *Typee* and *Omoo*. He has crowded the happenings of fourteen months' service in the navy into a three months' voyage; and even in this period he has juggled dates, putting his ship off Cape Horn on Independence Day, when in reality she did not sail from Callao for home until after that holiday. Events which occurred before he joined the ship, he professes to have witnessed. He prolongs the *United States'* stay at Rio de Janeiro from a real week to what seems like months. In other cases, as Mr. Anderson shows, he turned away from chronological fact to fiction.

In *Omoo*, Melville had not scrupled to use the real names of several persons with whom he had come in contact. Although many of the characters of *White-Jacket* are identifiable (in spite of Melville's prefatory disclaimer of originals for them in real life), only two, a seaman named Williams and Melville's admired Jack Chase preserve their own names. Two of the characters, the Commodore (T. Ap C. Jones) and "Captain Claret" (James Armstrong) had left the *United States* before her departure from Callao. Few of these rather thinly disguised persons,

whether with the ship or not, came off very well. The Surgeon of the Fleet—who, one hopes, owed more to Smollett than to the historical William Johnson for his traits—was an inhuman brute; the Chaplain of the *Neversink* was an unintelligible misfit of a metaphysician; the Gunner, actually one William Hoff, by name, was an evil-tempered old ruffian, and so on. In fact, of all officers, commissioned and petty, the only ones to emerge from the book with Melville's and the reader's respect were "Mad Jack" Latham Burroughs Avery, First Lieutenant of the *United States* (not merely "a lieutenant," as Mr. Anderson and Melville rate him), and John J. Chase, Captain of the *Maintop*.

As in *Typee* and *Omoo*, not to mention *Mardi* and *Redburn*, Melville had striven to make clear an idea or ideas, so in *White-Jacket* he aimed at presenting certain views. Here he attacked a group of abuses which cried for abolition. To these, Mr. Anderson devotes his Chapter XVI, "‘White-Jacket’ as Propaganda." Herein he shows that Melville's purpose in writing the book was to expose what he conceived to be the barbarous and un-American fashion in which the United States naval service was organized and administered. The truth was tortured, matter was invented, and incidents were borrowed to make the case stronger. That the book was used as an argument in favor of the abolition of corporal punishment in the American navy, Mr. Anderson doubts, for the outcome of the antiflogging movement was almost certain when it appeared. Perhaps the inaccurate Admiral Franklin's oft-quoted statement (which Mr. Anderson does not credit) that a copy of *White-Jacket* was presented to every senator and representative goes back somehow to the wish of the reviewer in the *National Era* (IV, 66, April 25, 1850): "The book should be placed in the hands of every member of Congress."

It is almost inevitable that, in a book of 434 pages of text, of somewhat complicated plan and composing a mosaic of an infinite number of pieces of information from many widely separated sources, there should be some slips of fact and some failures of knowledge. Mr. Anderson is to be congratulated that these are so few and so unimportant.

It is not strictly accurate to say that Commodore Jones was "Melville's commander on board the frigate *United States*" (p. 54). Commodore Jones commanded the Pacific squadron, whereas Captains Armstrong and Stribbling in succession commanded the frigate. Had Mr. Anderson consulted the *Reports of the London Missionary Society*, XLI, 21; XLII, 20-21; XLIII, 22; XLV, 17, his account of the tribulations of the early Protestant missionaries in the Marquesas might have been more certain. And although his outline of the history of foreign missions, Protestant and Catholic, in the South Seas is accurate, it would have been enriched by the use of the *Annales de la propagation de la foi*. Speaking of mis-

Englishwoman came out in parts, and those were the days when men were really young & impressionable. Beneath the lines were "Leaves of Grass: Walt Whitman." The lines stuck like a burr; the name of the book & the author vanished so completely that [when], not long after removing to Philadelphia, a telegram came from my friend Dr. Maurice Bucke of London, Ont.: "Please see Walt and let me know how he is."—I had to answer: "Who is Walt and where does he live?" It was very stupid of me as I should have remembered that a few years before when Dr. Bucke had been a guest at one of our Club dinners in Montreal he had startled us into doubts of his sanity by extravagant praises of one Walt Whitman, a new seer of a new era, whom he classed with our Saviour, Buddha, and Mahomet. Then I remembered, too, to have seen notices of a book he had written about Whitman; but I had no idea where the prophet lived. The next morning I had the answer: "Mr. Walter Whitman, 328 Mickle Street, Camden." In the afternoon I crossed the Delaware River ferry and in a "clean, quiet democratic street" I found the little, old-fashioned two-story frame house. A pleasant middle-aged woman answered the door, to whom I showed Dr. Bucke's telegram. "He will be glad to see you—anyone from Dr. Bucke. Mr. Whitman is better to-day and downstairs." The door opened into what appeared to be a room, but I had no little difficulty at first in getting my bearings. I have seen what the tidy housewife calls a "clutter," but nothing to compare with the front room, ground floor, of No. 328 Mickle Street. At the corner, near the window, the head and upper part of a man were visible—everywhere else, covering the floor, the chairs and the table, were, to use his own description, "heaps of books, manuscripts, memoranda, scissorings, proof-sheets, pamphlets, newspapers, old and new magazines, mysterious-looking literary bundles tied up with stout strings."<sup>5</sup> The magazines and newspapers, piled higher than the desk, covered the floor so completely that I had to pick my way by the side of the wall of the room to get to the desk. I thought of Prof. Teufelsdröckh's room in "Sartor Resartus." After a hearty greeting, I had some difficulty in explaining that I did not come directly from Dr. Bucke, but that he had sent me over from Philadelphia to find out how he was. There was nothing serious the matter—a transient indisposition which had passed away. With a large frame, and well shaped, well poised head, covered with a profusion of snow-white hair, which mingled on the cheeks with a heavy long beard and moustache, Walt Whitman in his 65th year was a fine figure of a man who had aged beautifully, or more properly speaking, majestically. The eyebrows were thick and shaggy, and the man seemed lost in a

<sup>5</sup> There is a footnote in the manuscript here as follows: "1) *The Critic*, 28.ii.85, *Walt Whitman at Home* by George Selwyn, i.e. Walt Whitman."

hirsute canopy. . . . My visit was made without any of that preparation—that expectation, upon which Gideon Harvey dwells as influencing so profoundly our feelings. I knew nothing of Walt Whitman and had never read a line of his poems—a Scythian visitor at Delphi! . . . That evening at the Club after dinner I opened the volume of "Leaves of Grass" for the first time. Whether the meat was too strong, or whether it was the style of cooking—'twas not for my pampered palate, accustomed to Plato and Shakespeare and Shelley and Keats. This has been a common experience; even Dr. Bucke acknowledging that "for many months I could see absolutely nothing in the book," and would even "throw it down in a sort of rage." Whitman himself has expressed this feeling better than anyone else, speaking of his "strange voice," and acknowledging that critics and lovers of poetry may well be excused the "chilly and unpleasant shudders which will assuredly run through them, to their very blood and bones" when they first read him, and exclaim: "If this is poetry, where must its foregoers stand?" . . . At this time, of the two men Bucke interested me more. Though a hero-worshipper, it was a new experience in my life to witness such absolute idolatry. Where my blurred vision saw only a fine old man, full of common sense and kindly feelings, Bucke felt himself in the presence of one of the world's great prophets. One evening after dinner at the Rittenhouse Club with Dr. Chapin, Dr. Tyson, Dr. J. K. Mitchell and a few others who I knew would appreciate him, I drew Bucke on to tell the story of Whitman's influence. The fervid disciple, who talks like in the *Phaedrus*<sup>6</sup> is not often met with in these matter-of-fact days. It was an experience to hear an elderly man—looking a venerable seer—with absolute abandonment tell how "Leaves of Grass" had meant for him spiritual enlightenment, a new power in life, new joys in a new existence on a plane higher than he had ever hoped to reach. All this with the accompanying physical exaltation expressed by dilated pupils and intensity of utterance that were embarrassing to uninitiated friends. This incident illustrates the type of influence exercised by Whitman on his disciples—a cult of a type such as no other literary man of our generation has been the object. . . .

This first uncorrected draft of the unfinished address continues in this manner for one or two more pages, and tells of visits to Whitman's home during the next two years. At the end of the manuscript there are some notes, chiefly appropriate quotations; but among these is an interesting observation by Osler himself:

<sup>6</sup> As the *Phaedrus* disciple could not be identified, the passage was printed in Cushing's *Life* "like [Chaerophon] in the [Apology]"; cf. Cushing, *op. cit.*, I, 266.

Whitman's greatness is in no way more clearly demonstrated than in his ability to survive the megalomaniac exaggerations of a cult. Take for example these passages from "*In re Walt Whitman. . .*"

The manuscript breaks off after a few remarks on Whitman's illness in 1888, about which Osler says:

The full details of this period and Whitman's comments upon my visits—and optimism—may be read in that most extraordinary of all records of an adoring worshipper, Horace L. Traubel's "With Walt Whitman in Camden."

An examination of Traubel's remarkable journal throws an interesting light on Whitman's disposition. Osler was persistently optimistic, Whitman as persistently pessimistic about his condition. There are many such entries,<sup>7</sup> in which the poet dolefully shakes his head and predicts his own early end. Before Osler left on a vacation trip and substituted Dr. J. K. Mitchell, Weir Mitchell's son, he told Mrs. Davis, "I think your old man is better. . . . It looks as though he would go all right through the summer in this way." Whitman's reply to this news was, "I'm done for, Mary. . . . all done for. . . . Ah! these doctors! . . . Do they know much? I love doctors and hate their medicine."<sup>8</sup> Again: "Whether Dr. Osler said it because he believed it, because he thought he should say it—whether for some other reason—I do not know, but to me his dismissal of this thing as trivial is wrong, wrong—far wrong: to me it seems rather that an end is near."<sup>9</sup>

A close examination of Traubel's record gives one an unpleasant picture of Whitman as a complaining old man. We know from Osler's record that while the illness was unpleasant, there was no reason to lose hope. This was not Whitman's last illness; he was active for some time after a partial recovery, and did not die until four years later.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (New York, 1914-1915), I, 261, 263, 265, 304, 305, 337, 342, 357, 359, 362, 366, 382, 383, 391, 396 ff., 415, 427, 428, 433; II, 376 ff., 378, 382, 383, 384, 415 f., 416 f., 418, 421 f., 432 f., 437 ff., 438, 456, 494, 536; III, 196, 198, 199, 207, 211, 230 f., 240, 242 ff., 248 ff., 262, 268 f., 309, 313, 391, 396.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 433.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 211.

## MARK TWAIN TO HIS ENGLISH PUBLISHERS

WILLIAM BRYAN GATES  
*Texas Technological College*

ON JUNE 29, 1916, the British Museum acquired from Sotheby four autograph letters from Mark Twain to his English publishers, Messrs. Chatto and Windus.<sup>1</sup> Although no startling facts are revealed by these letters, they are thoroughly characteristic of Mark Twain and apparently have not yet found their way into print. Because of the cordial relations existing between Clemens and this publishing firm, and because only a few of his letters to them have been published,<sup>2</sup> perhaps these four new letters deserve to be better known.

Hartford, Oct. 7, 1881

Messrs. Chatto & Windus—

Dear Sirs:

Your notes for £874.16.9. have arrived from friend Conway,<sup>3</sup> for which please accept my thanks. The sale has been flatteringly large, & the result correspondingly gratifying. Conway seems to think I was likely to change publishers for light inducement; but I have explained his mistake to him.

Osgood<sup>4</sup> will get the pictures & advance sheets to you in ample time, & there will be no misunderstanding & no trouble about anything—but the late Bliss was a fool;<sup>5</sup> & if he were not dead I would add that he was also a persistent liar & a rascal; but I never allow myself to say harsh things about a dead person.

I told my nephew, C. L. Webster, to write & ask you if you wanted duplicates of the brass stamps which are to be used in pointing the covers of the "P. & P." But you need not answer him, for I perceive that the time is too short, now. The suggestion was only born of personal vanity,

<sup>1</sup> E.g. MS. 2952 A.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Letters of Mark Twain*, ed. A. B. Paine (New York, 1917), II, 492, 493, and 524.

<sup>3</sup> Moncure D. Conway took the MS of *Tom Sawyer* back to England with him and arranged with Chatto and Windus for its publication. Cf. *Mark Twain: A Biography*, by A. B. Paine (New York, 1912), II, 570.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Twain's American publisher at that time.

<sup>5</sup> Clemens felt that his contracts with Bliss (on a royalty basis ranging from 5 per cent to 7½ per cent and finally to 10 per cent) were not, as Bliss contended, equivalent to one-half of the profits, and at last secured from Bliss an agreement on terms of one-half of the profits on *A Tramp Abroad*. The statement, published after Bliss's death, convinced Clemens that the one-half profit plan was greatly to his advantage; hence he considered that Bliss had treated him unfairly on previous contracts. See, for example, the letter to Orion Clemens in *Letters*, I, 389.

since these stamps were made by a process of my own invention,<sup>6</sup> whose merits are cheapness and celerity of production.

Osgood was here yesterday, & I got him to write you about the continental reprint of the "P. & P." & one or two other matters. (Got him to write because I was lazy & he goodnatured.) Tauchnitz<sup>7</sup> has always paid for my books, & has always asked for them before publishing; but I do not think he has ever paid as much as £75 for one of them. I cannot be certain, but that is my impression.

Truly yours,  
S. L. Clemens

Hartford, Sept. 1, '83.

Dear Mr. Chatto—

I can't read this letter.<sup>8</sup> But if it's something in the way of business, won't you just write him & tell him we'll do it or we *won't* do it, just as you please?

If it's the King, you want to be a little circumspect in your language, you know; but if it's some mere common body, just let into him right & left, & call him anything you want to, & I'll back you. I ain't afraid of any man in Stockholm—or China either.

I've just finished writing a book; & modesty compels me to say it's a rattling good one, too—"Adventures of Huckleberry Finn." (Tom Sawyer's comrade.)

Faithfully yours,  
S. L. Clemens

Osgood and I leave for Canada the 26th of November, arriving in Montreal the same evening, where I shall remain a couple of weeks, on copyright bent.

Truly yours,  
S. L. Clemens

Elmira, N. Y. Sept. 17, '88.

Dear Mr. Chatto:

Your notes & statement received, for which please accept my thanks. It is all satisfactory. I imagined that a Library of Humor<sup>9</sup> would go well—but I know better, now. On it we have scored an amusingly distinct failure here. I shan't meddle any more in that direction.

I had a sort of half-way notion that I might possibly finish the Yankee at King Arthur's Court this summer, but I began too late, & so I don't

<sup>6</sup> The Kaolatype Process, like most of Mark Twain's business ventures, proved unsuccessful. See Paine's *Life*, II, 727.

<sup>7</sup> Baron Tauchnitz, the publisher of *Innocents Abroad* and of later books by Mark Twain.

<sup>8</sup> This enclosure is apparently lost.

<sup>9</sup> For details concerning this venture, see *Letters*, II, 462, and *passim*.

suppose I shall finish it till next summer. We go home to Hartford a week hence; & if at that time I find I am two-thirds done, I mean to try to persuade myself to do that other third before spring.

Sincerely yours,

S. L. Clemens

Permanent Address:

Hotel Royal

Unter den Linden, Jan. 27, '92

Dear C & W:

I am two weeks in bed with congestion of the lungs, but I am mending.<sup>10</sup>

The P & P's have come & are very handsome. Many thanks.

Make no preparations to issue in book form the six newspaper letters which I have been writing from Europe. It is my purpose to add to them, next summer or fall, & then make of the whole a *book*, not a pamphlet. Of the five already published I like only three—& not *all* of the three. It is a poor average.

Yrs. sincerely,

S. L. Clemens

#### A NOTE ON CHILDE HAROLD AND "THANATOPSIS"

ARTHUR I. LADU  
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ALTHOUGH it is a matter of general knowledge that Bryant's "Thanatopsis" reflects extensive borrowing of phrases and ideas from various English poets, particularly of the "Graveyard" group, no one seems to have noticed the close similarity between a passage in the final version of Bryant's poem and one in Byron's *Childe Harold*.

In the thirteenth stanza of the third canto of *Childe Harold* Byron gives us a description of nature as the solace for one in despair:

The desert, forest, cavern, breaker's foam,  
Were unto him companionship; they spake  
A mutual language, . . . .

Bryant's poem begins:

To him who in the love of Nature holds  
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks  
A various language;

<sup>10</sup> This illness was probably caused by a cold taken by Clemens after a lecture in a hot, crowded room on the subject: "The Awful German Language." See Paine's *Life*, II, 935.

The similarity in these two passages, not only of words, but also of metrical arrangement and thought, appears hardly accidental. It is perhaps worth while to notice that probably Byron, in company with other English poets, contributed threads of thought and language to the integrated tissue of "Thanatopsis."

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## PLANS FOR A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

E. H. O'NEILL  
*University of Pennsylvania*

THE RAPIDITY with which American literature and American literary research have developed in the last twenty years has made it imperative that a determined effort be made to compile a complete bibliography of the subject. For the last eight years the members of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association have made earnest efforts to devise some means by which such a bibliography could be made. Because of economic conditions during this period, the plan was postponed from time to time because of lack of funds. In connection with his membership in the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, of the University of Pennsylvania, found that Dr. Luther H. Evans, the National Director of the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration, was deeply interested in the furtherance of this project. Through his initiative and the co-operation of Mr. Karl Goedecke, Regional Director of the Federal Historical Record Survey for Pennsylvania and Delaware, the project was organized at the University of Pennsylvania. Through a fortunate combination of circumstances, Professor Sculley Bradley, of the Department of English, was this year Chairman of the American Literature Group, and I acted as Chairman of the committee of the American Literature Group which had in charge the American bibliography project.

The first problem was to find space at the University which would accommodate a large staff. This was solved through the efforts of Vice-Presidents McClelland and Brakeley, Dean Musser of the College, and Dean Goff of the Towne Scientific School, and the project is now housed in one of the upper floors of that depart-

ment of the University. It is estimated that a staff of fifty members will be working on this project for a period of between three and five years.

This bibliography is one of the largest and most important projects ever attempted in American scholarship. It will be unique in its scope and completeness, for it will bring under the name of each author everything that he has written and that has been written about him.

Under my direction the Works Progress Administration staff will make a detailed survey of the entire field of American literature from its beginnings in the early seventeenth century to the present time. The first step will be the breaking down of all existing general bibliographies in American literature for the purpose of reorganization and reclassification. The earlier method of arranging American bibliographies chronologically by periods is being superseded by a simpler alphabetical arrangement by authors with their dates. This is a more practical and efficient arrangement in that it will enable the individual research scholar to find the particular author in whom he is interested even though he may not know his dates. The second important difference between this and previous bibliographies is that wherever necessary the contents of all books, such as volumes of short stories, essays, and critical writings will be itemized. The third new feature is that, so far as possible, the nature of each book and magazine article will be indicated by such terms as *novel*, *short story*, *criticism*, *verse*. Perhaps the most important feature of this new bibliography is that an attempt will be made to examine each periodical which has been published in the United States and to record its contents. The first appearance of verse, short stories, and serials will be recorded under the name of each author. In addition all book reviews will be recorded under the name of the reviewer, where that is available, and also under the name of the author of the book reviewed. While the work of individual authors has been salvaged from periodical literature, this is the first time that a complete survey of this vast and important field will have been made. In this way, it is hoped that this bibliography will preserve a record of the work of each American author and the critical material that has been written about him. There are, literally, hundreds of authors whose writings have appeared only in periodicals and who have heretofore been given no place in general American bibliographies.

The general bibliography prepared by the local staff will be augmented by contributions from scholars in all parts of the United States who are specializing in individual fields. The success of this bibliography will depend largely upon the co-operation of these scholars and all others who are interested in any particular field of American literature. Therefore, a particular appeal is made by the director for contributions of individual bibliographies. These contributions will be promptly and adequately acknowledged.

According to present plans the bibliography should be brought up to date in a period of from three to five years. At that time it is hoped that the main bibliography will be published and that editions will be issued from time to time. According to this plan there will be in print a complete record of all the writings of every American author. When the card catalogue is completed it will be maintained either at the University of Pennsylvania or at some other central repository such as the Library of Congress.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

The Contribution of B. O. Flower and *The Arena* to Critical Thought in America. David H. Dickason (Ohio State).

A Biographical and Critical Study of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Eleanor M. Tilton (Columbia).

A Critical Study of the Writings of William Dean Howells as They Relate to His Life and Time. Joe Horrell (North Carolina).

William Marion Reedy, A Critical Biography. Fred Wolfe (Vanderbilt).

Whitman and Quakerism. W. B. Fulghum, Jr. (Northwestern).

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

The American Drama in New Orleans. Nellie Smither (Pennsylvania).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

The Apostle of the Devil: A Critical Biography of William Cowper Brann. John Randolph (Vanderbilt, 1939).

James McHenry, Novelist and Playwright. Robert E. Blanc (Pennsylvania, 1939).

### IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Professor Richmond C. Beatty of Vanderbilt University is writing a biography of James Russell Lowell.

Professor Gerard Jensen of Connecticut College has completed the manuscript of "The Life and Letters of H. C. Bunner."

Professor R. L. Rusk of Columbia University is writing a life of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Professor A. T. Odell of Furman University and Mrs. A. T. Oliphant, a granddaughter of William Gilmore Simms, are editing the letters of Simms. They are also collecting materials for a biography of Simms.

"WPA Workers Map Lode of California." Sponsored by Miss Mary Barnby, Alameda County Librarian, and directed by Edgar J. Hinkel, a group of W. P. A. workers in a three-year period have compiled a bibliography of 3,316 volumes of fiction by 1,112 authors, 2,112 volumes of poetry by 1,253 poets, and 876 plays by 451 playwrights.

*University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

*GREGORY PAINÉ, Bibliographer.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

MELVILLE IN THE SOUTH SEAS. By Charles Roberts Anderson. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. ix, 522 pp. \$4.50.

In his *Herman Melville in the South Seas*, Mr. Anderson has done two things. First, he has given us what, up to the present time, is the fullest account of Melville's journeyings in the most important years of his life, that is to say, between 1841 and 1844. Secondly, he has come much nearer than any preceding scholar to determining the proportions of autobiography, of borrowing, and of pure invention in the novels and tales which are based to a greater or less degree upon their author's adventures in the South Seas.

Because of Mr. Anderson's success in achieving these, which I take to be the main purposes of his study, one is not, I think, uncritical in pronouncing the book to be the most important publication dealing with Herman Melville which has appeared since Mr. Weaver's biography in 1921. And Mr. Weaver's book, it must be said, derives much of its value from the fact that it is the first full-length presentation of Melville's life.

*Herman Melville in the South Seas* does something more than supplement *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic*. It is concerned almost entirely with a period of the novelist's life upon which actually Mr. Weaver touches very lightly. It is indeed rather a companion volume to Mr. Weaver's. In many instances, one must observe, Mr. Anderson's carefully documented and inescapable conclusions correct Mr. Weaver's tendency toward treating Melville's South Sea narratives as highly autobiographical.

Quite naturally Mr. Anderson associates Melville's departure from Fairhaven on the whaler *Acushnet* with Ishmael's embarking on the *Pequod* from Nantucket, early in *Moby-Dick*. Here Mr. Anderson finds it necessary to attempt to account for Melville's shipping on a whaleship for a voyage of indefinite length and certain discomfort and danger. His explanation is a reasonable one, although less romantic (or tragic) than others which have been advanced. According to Mr. Anderson, it was just a case of an imaginative and adventurous youth who wished to visit the exotic lands and see the strange sights of which he had learned from various kinsmen and of which he had read in various books, which are identified. In fact, Mr. Anderson goes so far as to suggest that Melville, before leaving Fairhaven, had planned to desert his ship at Nukahiva (p. 112).

Having Melville more or less safely aboard the whaler, Mr. Anderson devotes Chapters II, III, and IV to an analysis of Ishmael's account of his

cruise on the *Pequod*. Mr. Anderson shows how Melville revamped the officers and crew of the *Acushnet* for service on Captain Ahab's vessel and how for specific passages in *Moby-Dick* he not only drew, as might be expected, upon the scientific literature of whaling, but upon such semi-literary narratives as J. Ross Browne's *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise*.

In Chapter IV, using the clews given by Melville, Mr. Anderson traces the course of the *Acushnet*. She touched at Rio de Janeiro, rounded Cape Horn, and made Santa, Peru, as probably her first Pacific port. Possibly before putting in at Santa, the *Acushnet* had cruised among the Galapagos Islands. It is beyond question that Melville's ship was off Albemarle Island in this group in November, 1841. Melville's personal observation, it may be interjected, supported by reading in various narratives, such as those of Colnett, Porter, and Darwin, bore fruit in "The Encantadas" of 1854. From the Galapagos, the *Acushnet*, according to Mr. Anderson, proceeded to the neighborhood of the Sandwich Islands, cruised there during February, March, and April of 1842, and then dropped south of the Society Islands. It was when the *Acushnet*, returning to the Sandwich Islands to recruit, put in at Nukahiva, the largest of the Marquesas, that Melville and his friend Toby deserted her and the action of *Typee* begins.

Mr. Anderson now leaves the definitely autobiographical in *Moby-Dick* but proceeds with his endeavor to distinguish recorded fact from fiction. In this he is successful, for Melville has made no effort to conceal his literary borrowings. He has even called attention to some of them, as, for example, Owen Chase's account of the destruction of the *Essex*. Mr. Anderson, of course, recognizes the fact that a large part of *Moby-Dick* is not, however, the result of its author's reading in the literature of the whale and of his use of this material in a more or less direct way. Much of the book, he says, "must have been spun out of the author's imagination" (p. 63).

As Mr. Anderson says, "this supersensory part of the book . . . has chiefly attracted the attention of commentators" (*ibid.*). After stating briefly some five theories as to the meaning of *Moby-Dick*, Mr. Anderson, with admirable discretion, does not embrace any of these explanations and offers none of his own. *Moby-Dick*, he decides, "will perhaps remain a mirror for its readers" (p. 64). That Melville did "consciously or otherwise" inject the allegorical into the novel, he does not deny, but he finds no chart left by its author "to guide the explorer" (*ibid.*). To end Chapter IV, he quotes Melville's well-known reply to Mrs. Hawthorne's letter upon *Moby-Dick*, with evident skepticism as to the former's sincerity in his disavowal of more than a vague notion of a possible allegorical interpretation of the book. To me, Mr. Anderson's skepticism is well founded. As a matter of fact, it seems likely that Melville was deliberately teasing

Mrs. Hawthorne in his minimizing the symbolical in *Moby-Dick*; and if he was, undoubtedly she realized the fact.

From *Moby-Dick*, based to some degree upon Melville's eighteen months of whaling, which terminated with his desertion from the *Acushnet*, at Taiohae Bay, Island of Nukahiva, Mr. Anderson passes naturally enough to the narrative of *Typee*. Here his task is easier, for *Typee* is a straightforward, simple story of adventure in a kind of earthly paradise. There is practically no concern with the symbolical or the allegorical. The only complications which arise result from Melville's freedom with chronology, his eking out his own experiences with materials from the reminiscences of other visitors to the Marquesas, and his efforts to picture his *Typee* hosts as true children of nature as yet unspoiled by contact with "civilization." In Chapter VI, Mr. Anderson points out the care with which Melville built up the reputation of the *Typee* tribe for ferocity. He discounts to a considerable degree, however, the novelist's charges of cannibalism, declaring them really "not proven." Perhaps Mr. Anderson's chief contribution to the criticism of *Typee* as a novel, besides his identification of several literary sources, is the clear fashion in which he points out its domination by its author's clever use of suspense. First, Melville dreads falling into the hands of the *Typees*; and then when he finally becomes their prisoner he is possessed, until his escape, by the fear of their feasting upon him. They are, nevertheless, the heroes of the book, and the French invaders perhaps the villains. As Mr. Anderson well puts it, *Typee* is Melville's "preface to his brief against civilization, and his purpose was to show the idyllic relations that might subsist between men untainted by the complex of evils which invariably accompanied Western culture" (pp. 132-133).

After devoting Chapter VIII to "Truth and Fiction in 'Typee,'" in the course of which he gives an accurate general account of the favorable reception of the novel at home and abroad and testifies to Melville's ethnological accuracy, which is due, in a large degree, to his intelligent use of good sources to fill the gaps in his personal knowledge, Mr. Anderson proceeds to a discussion of *Omoo*. This novel, he asserts, "seems to offer the most veracious autobiography of all his [Melville's] South Sea volumes" (p. 206; here the statement is repeated from p. 199). Certainly *Omoo* presents a number of actual and identifiable persons, some, like Acting Consul Wilson and Dr. Johnston, among others, under their own names; various events in the book seem, also, to be drawn from experience rather than from printed sources or from its author's fertile imagination.

In his tenth chapter, Mr. Anderson takes up what he conceives with reason to have been Melville's purpose in *Omoo*. As *Typee* was "chiefly a defense of unspoiled primitivism" (p. 238), *Omoo* was "an implicit ser-

mon on the evil effects of civilizing the Noble Savage" (p. 276), with Rousseau's "Discourse as a text" (*ibid.*); or, as he puts it elsewhere, "an attack on the semi-civilization wrought . . . by the missionaries themselves" (p. 220). On the whole, after a careful weighing of the evidence pro and con, Mr. Anderson thinks that Melville's unfavorable opinion of the influence of the English missionaries' type of civilization upon the Tahitians is substantiated by the bulk of the testimony (pp. 272-273).

From Tahiti, Mr. Anderson follows Melville and his companion, "Dr. Long Ghost" (or Dr. John Troy, if that was his name), to the neighboring island of Eimeo and through the days of carefree wandering and loafing there, which succeeded a brief experiment in agricultural employment. Their dependence upon native hospitality cannot, however, be accurately called "beachcombing" (Chapter XII). Finally, all this pleasant idling comes to an end. The homesick Omoo signs on a whaler lying in Taloo Bay and sails away, leaving his playmate to amuse himself on a sugar plantation.

Mr. Anderson, at the opening of Chapter XII, strives to identify the *Leviathan*, the whaleship with a Vineyarde captain, upon which Melville alleges himself to have shipped. One surmise is that the *Leviathan* was not an American vessel at all but a small Australian brig, the *Julia*, of Sydney, Captain Milne, which, sailing from Tahiti, arrived at Honolulu, on February 2, 1843. As an alternative, Mr. Anderson offers another itinerary, fitting Melville's own chronology, but not his story. He abandons the *Leviathan's* voyage to the coast of Japan; and in its place he substitutes a cruise such as the early pages of *Mardi* record. This involves a visit to Rurutu, in the Austral Islands (mentioned in *Omoo*), and to Ravaivai in the same group, and a cruise west past Pitcairn's Island, thence north to the Galapagos, and finally to the Sandwich Islands. Here, quite properly, Mr. Anderson admits that the port at which Melville was discharged was not necessarily Honolulu, but perhaps Lahaina, on the island of Maui, or Hilo, on Hawaii. I am inclined to think, with Mr. Anderson, that the second itinerary is the more probable of the two.

In the Sandwich Islands Melville found again evidence of the blighting influence of foreign missions. In fact, the American missionaries of the Sandwich group had demoralized the natives more than had the English their charges in the Society Islands. "The Sandwich Islanders . . . [were] already polluted beyond redemption" (p. 336), and "in almost every reference that Melville makes to the Sandwich Islands he drives home his thesis against civilization" (p. 337), as Mr. Anderson puts it.

Beyond affording a possible hint as to Melville's route in getting from Eimeo to Oahu, *Mardi*, says Mr. Anderson, affords us no "foothold, even for speculation, as a memoir of the author" (p. 342). It was a combina-

tion, in reality, of Polynesian material from Melville's favorite authorities and "in part a reflection of the new world of ideas in which the young author was moving" at the time of its composition (p. 344). These ideas, Mr. Anderson shows, arose not only from Melville's own meditations and from his intercourse with a group of intellectual New Yorkers, but from a pretty steady course of reading in Evert A. Duyckinck's excellent library.

From a brief digression concerning *Mardi*, only in part even nominally Polynesian, Mr. Anderson returns in his thirteenth chapter to the actual or adapted or invented experiences of Melville, now, from *Omoo*, the rover, become *White-Jacket*, the man-of-war's man. The last eighty-five pages of Mr. Anderson's book are given over to an analysis of Melville's story of his journey home to the United States from Callao in the frigate *United States*.

In *White-Jacket*, Melville probably made more free with actual fact than in any other of his so-called "autobiographical" works, not excepting *Typee* (*Redburn* is still unstudied). As Mr. Anderson says, half the book is occupied with the daily life on shipboard, presumably accurately related; the rest—the "narrative part"—shows "expedient alterations of fact to suit the exigencies of his tale; dramatic elaboration of actual events; and deliberate invention of his most powerful scenes" (p. 361). An excellent summary of Melville's methods in *White-Jacket* occurs at pages 418-419. I should add that Mr. Anderson demonstrates that Melville was not slow in helping along his narrative by the use of literary sources, although they are not so frequently employed as in his earlier novels.

Melville has made free with chronology in *White-Jacket*, as in *Typee* and *Omoo*. He has crowded the happenings of fourteen months' service in the navy into a three months' voyage; and even in this period he has juggled dates, putting his ship off Cape Horn on Independence Day, when in reality she did not sail from Callao for home until after that holiday. Events which occurred before he joined the ship, he professes to have witnessed. He prolongs the *United States'* stay at Rio de Janeiro from a real week to what seems like months. In other cases, as Mr. Anderson shows, he turned away from chronological fact to fiction.

In *Omoo*, Melville had not scrupled to use the real names of several persons with whom he had come in contact. Although many of the characters of *White-Jacket* are identifiable (in spite of Melville's prefatory disclaimer of originals for them in real life), only two, a seaman named Williams and Melville's admired Jack Chase preserve their own names. Two of the characters, the Commodore (T. Ap C. Jones) and "Captain Claret" (James Armstrong) had left the *United States* before her departure from Callao. Few of these rather thinly disguised persons,

whether with the ship or not, came off very well. The Surgeon of the Fleet—who, one hopes, owed more to Smollett than to the historical William Johnson for his traits—was an inhuman brute; the Chaplain of the *NeverSink* was an unintelligible misfit of a metaphysician; the Gunner, actually one William Hoff, by name, was an evil-tempered old ruffian, and so on. In fact, of all officers, commissioned and petty, the only ones to emerge from the book with Melville's and the reader's respect were "Mad Jack" Latham Burroughs Avery, First Lieutenant of the *United States* (not merely "a lieutenant," as Mr. Anderson and Melville rate him), and John J. Chase, Captain of the Maintop.

As in *Typee* and *Omoo*, not to mention *Mardi* and *Redburn*, Melville had striven to make clear an idea or ideas, so in *White-Jacket* he aimed at presenting certain views. Here he attacked a group of abuses which cried for abolition. To these, Mr. Anderson devotes his Chapter XVI, "'White-Jacket' as Propaganda." Herein he shows that Melville's purpose in writing the book was to expose what he conceived to be the barbarous and un-American fashion in which the United States naval service was organized and administered. The truth was tortured, matter was invented, and incidents were borrowed to make the case stronger. That the book was used as an argument in favor of the abolition of corporal punishment in the American navy, Mr. Anderson doubts, for the outcome of the antiflogging movement was almost certain when it appeared. Perhaps the inaccurate Admiral Franklin's oft-quoted statement (which Mr. Anderson does not credit) that a copy of *White-Jacket* was presented to every senator and representative goes back somehow to the wish of the reviewer in the *National Era* (IV, 66, April 25, 1850): "The book should be placed in the hands of every member of Congress."

It is almost inevitable that, in a book of 434 pages of text, of somewhat complicated plan and composing a mosaic of an infinite number of pieces of information from many widely separated sources, there should be some slips of fact and some failures of knowledge. Mr. Anderson is to be congratulated that these are so few and so unimportant.

It is not strictly accurate to say that Commodore Jones was "Melville's commander on board the frigate *United States*" (p. 54). Commodore Jones commanded the Pacific squadron, whereas Captains Armstrong and Stribbling in succession commanded the frigate. Had Mr. Anderson consulted the *Reports of the London Missionary Society*, XLI, 21; XLII, 20-21; XLIII, 22; XLV, 17, his account of the tribulations of the early Protestant missionaries in the Marquesas might have been more certain. And although his outline of the history of foreign missions, Protestant and Catholic, in the South Seas is accurate, it would have been enriched by the use of the *Annales de la propagation de la foi*. Speaking of mis-

sionaries, there seems to be no reason why Mr. Anderson should use the French form of Father Murphy's Christian name, instead of the English (or should I say Irish?) "Columba." Or was the priest named after St. Columbanus? In either case, Mr. Anderson's "Columban" seems not justified.

There is just a possibility that, at the time of writing *Typee*, Melville had not read Captain Porter's *Journal*—now an atrociously scarce and expensive book in any edition—but had utilized the reviews of it which had appeared in American and British periodicals. I agree with Mr. Anderson that Torrey's narrative of his pretended experience is probably, in the main, fiction (p. 454, n. 38). I have not, however, been able to persuade myself that Coulter's *Adventures* does not wander from the truth, and I question whether Mr. Anderson's complete reliance upon the book is quite wise. Melville may have learned something of Rousseau during his visits to his Gallicized uncle, Major Thomas Melville, at Pittsfield. Moreover, certain of Rousseau's books had been published in English translations at New York, Philadelphia, and even at Albany; and although no Gansevoort appears among the subscribers to the last-named, it or some of the other volumes may have been in the Gansevoort library. Further, nothing, so far as I know, prevented Melville from borrowing books during his residence in and about Albany, Troy, and Pittsfield.

Regrettably, Mr. Anderson is, at times, a trifle weak on titles of courtesy. The Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway should be called the "Right Reverend," not merely the "Reverend" (pp. 263, 338). The commanding officer of H. M. S. *Carysfort* was Lord George Paulet, who as a son of the thirteenth Marquess of Winchester, bore only a courtesy title. He was not Lord Paulet (p. 334). In regard to Francis Allyn Olmsted, Mr. Anderson has erred in another fashion. Dr. Olmsted was not a Harvard graduate (p. 271). He was a son of Dr. Denison Olmsted, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College, and as might be expected, received his education in that institution.

Mr. Anderson perhaps underestimates the popularity of *White-Jacket*. If Harper and Brothers are to be relied on, the novel was in its fifth thousand about three weeks after publication (*Literary World*, VI, 388, April 13, 1850). According to the *Home Journal* (no. 217 [p. 2], April 6, 1850), "the first edition" was sold as soon as published. *White-Jacket* was not "Gone with the Wind," but it went well enough for its sales to be advertised and to be commented upon in literary papers.

These are minor inaccuracies or oversights. There are, however, three more important points which deserve mention. The numerous valuable notes are inconveniently separated from the text which they support, and, consequently, reference to them necessitates frequent turning and re-turn-

ing pages. The index seems to ignore the notes. It is regrettable that Mr. Anderson, in his book, as in a recent article of his, shows a tendency to pass somewhat lightly and without reference over the work of other Melville students, who have contributed their mite toward a better understanding of the novelist.

On the whole, it must be said that Mr. Anderson's book is well written and interesting, thoroughly documented and informative. It is especially notable for its author's sanity and judgment in dealing with his materials. In it, as I have suggested, Mr. Anderson had shown to what a great degree Melville drew upon his reading for his South Sea novels. Likewise, he has demonstrated that a considerable part of Melville's narratives was invented. He has thus isolated the fact present in the novels which he has discussed, and in doing so has undoubtedly given most of his readers a new and surely a pretty exact picture of Herman Melville at work. The novelist stands out, then, as not merely another spinner of autobiographical nautical yarns—a Ned Myers of genius, who required no ghost-writer—but as a conscious artist drawing upon many sources within and without himself and combining this multifarious material to produce a desired and definite effect. The Melville of Mr. Anderson's book is a deliberate literary artist, not an accidentally successful story-teller.

In conclusion I have this to say. I once contemplated writing such a book as Mr. Anderson's. I shall not now try to carry out that plan. Mr. Anderson has done the job, and has done it, I think, for all time.

*The Newberry Library.*

ROBERT S. FORSYTHE.

HERMAN MELVILLE: *Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes.* By Willard Thorp. "American Writers Series." New York: American Book Company. 1938. clix, 437 pp. \$1.25.

Professor Thorp's book follows in plan the models set by earlier volumes in Professor Clark's generally excellent series. It opens with an introduction of 129 pages in which Melville's life and works are discussed. A chronological table—possibly superfluous—follows. In it are briefly recapitulated the major events in Melville's career. Next is a selected bibliography of books and articles which are concerned wholly or in part with Melville's life, his writings, or his ideas. This covers some twenty-nine pages. We now come to the selections from Melville's prose and poetry. Eight chapters from *Typee*, seventeen from *Omoo*, seven from *Mardi*, nine from *White-Jacket*, and sixteen chapters and the epilogue from *Moby-Dick* have been chosen for inclusion here. Two critical articles then follow. After them come seventeen poems, all but one being from Melville's printed volumes of verse. The last thirty-six pages of the

text are devoted to selected letters by Melville. The book ends with thirty-three pages of helpful notes.

It must be said that Professor Thorp has produced an excellent book. His Introduction, in which he combines biography and criticism, although by no means the most wordy, is, certainly, the sanest and soundest discussion of Melville's life and works which has been published up to this time. He treats the novelist not as a psychological case, but as a fundamentally pretty normal human being, whose experiences, intelligence, imagination, and unusual power of expression set him far above the ordinary run of men of his day. His place was with the Hawthornes, Emersons, and Thoreaus, rather than with the John Joneses and Peter Smiths of New York or of Pittsfield. In Professor Thorp's opinion, Melville was neither an incredible superman nor a near-maniac.

Professor Thorp's Introduction, it may be gathered, is, then, by no means a mere compilation of what other writers upon Melville have brought together. It contains some good contributions by its author. He insists, for example, upon treating *Mardi*, *Moby-Dick*, and *Pierre* as a trilogy (why not a tetralogy, ending with *The Confidence-Man*?), in which Melville set forth "what conclusions he had struggled toward in the realms of social and religious thought" (p. lxv). And Professor Thorp's presentation of the conclusions he judges Melville to have reached is always plausible (the word is not used invidiously), even when not entirely convincing, and never is it reckless. Professor Thorp's feet are always firmly planted upon the earth, a phenomenon which is as commendable as it is rare, in a critic or biographer of Melville.

This preliminary essay is practically free of factual errors. Professor Thorp has evidently striven earnestly for absolute accuracy of statement; and his close approach to his goal demonstrates his fitness for a scholarly task. There are, however, one or two small points upon which he may be criticized. Was the United States Bank of Albany, in which the boy Herman Melville worked for a time, literally "his uncle's bank" (p. xiv)? Was not the uncle simply a director of the institution? Then, in the very good section entitled "Melville's Reputation," wherein Professor Thorp traces with general accuracy the rise and fall of the novelist's popularity, he has unfortunately depended, in some instances, upon inadequate information. He says, for example, that no journal gave *Israel Potter* a critical notice (p. cxxv). Nine American reviews of this book have been located, and there are other English and French notices. The serial publication of the novel, it may be interjected, had something to do with its failure to secure wide publicity upon its appearance in book form. During the course of serialization, the book had some notices. Instead of but two reviews of *The Piazza Tales*, there were more than a dozen in the

newspapers and magazines of the United States. And at least six American journals noticed *The Confidence-Man*, instead of none, as Professor Thorp says. These corrections of statistics, it may be said, should be taken as this reviewer intends them: not to detract from Professor Thorp's achievement but to support the latter's discovery "that Melville had been accepted as one of the most important authors of the day writing in English." This is one of the best of Professor Thorp's many sound pronouncements, for it not only accurately places Herman Melville among the writers in English of the period 1846-1857, but disposes of the false notion that he was coldly received by the critics of his heyday.

Whether supererogatory or not, the chronological table is useful. It unquestionably presents the facts of Melville's life in a compact and accessible form.

The selected bibliography, which follows, is praiseworthy. It presents, grouped under the appropriate headings of "Bibliography," "Text," "Biography," "Contemporary Reviews and Criticism," and "General Criticism," practically every important book or article bearing upon Melville and his writings, save, perhaps, in the fourth group. In many instances, there is an evaluation of the work, together with a sentence of summary. As has been intimated above, much might be added to Professor Thorp's lists of contemporary reviews and notices, but he has located a sufficient number to give the student a very clear idea of how the respective volumes, and their appearance, were judged by critics. They are sufficiently representative to serve that purpose.

With Professor Thorp's selections from Melville's works, the writer has no quarrel. He might have chosen different chapters from the novels—he would indeed have included some passages from *Israel Potter* and from *Pierre*—but that fact would be no criticism of Professor Thorp's taste, instead, merely a difference of opinion. The reviewer is interested in the absence of extracts from the books named above, and would welcome a statement of the reason why *The Confidence-Man* and *Clarel* are, likewise, unrepresented. Nor can he account for the Editor's failure to reprint some sections from "The Encantadas," together with a short story or two.

Professor Thorp should be congratulated upon the happy thought of publishing some examples of Melville's letters. They are excellent reading, and they are, furthermore, irrefutable evidence of their author's soundness and healthiness of mind.

The reviewer is, he may say, mildly surprised at discovering the "unknown review by Melville" (p. v), which Professor Thorp reprints among the prose selections (pp. 320-327), to be an old acquaintance of his—a *Literary World* criticism of J. Ross Browne's *Etchings of a*

*Whaling Cruise* and "Captain Ringbolt's" *Sailor's Life and Sailor's Yarns* (see that journal for March 6, 1847). The writer has had a photostat of this review in his possession for more than six years, having previously identified it as Melville's. Dr. Luther S. Mansfield, in his University of Chicago dissertation (1936), refers to Melville's authorship of the criticism (p. 207), as may be seen in the recently distributed "private edition" of a portion of the thesis (Chicago, 1938). But it is probably too much to expect even from Professor Thorp that he should be acquainted with what is in the writer's files or what information may be deposited in typescript in the University of Chicago Library. After all, the point is not tremendously important.

What is important, however, is the fact that Professor Thorp has produced a fine book of a difficult type upon a difficult man to handle in any kind of volume. He has given us what is, at one and the same time, a sound and attractive introduction to Herman Melville and his writings and what certainly will be for some time a compendium of knowledge to which the student will turn with advantage to himself and thanks to its author.

*The Newberry Library.*

ROBERT S. FORSYTHE.

WHITMAN. By Newton Arvin. New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. viii, 319 pp. \$2.75.

WALT WHITMAN'S POSE. By Esther Shephard. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1938. xii, 453 pp. \$3.75.

The two outstanding Whitman books of the year 1938 have certain elements in common. They are both highly specialized investigations into a limited field. Each of them may be confidently regarded as the last word, for it is doubtful whether the painstaking research of these contributions has left much to be said about the topics they handle. Mr. Arvin's volume might be said to be more a study of a Whitman "pose" than is Mrs. Shepard's, for in spite of the conscientious scholarship and charm of manner, it leaves us feeling that Walt Whitman's "socialism," if he had any, was little more than a pose.

In that brave and revealing autobiography, *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman gave generous "themes, hints, provokers" as to his social and political theories; in his editorials, singed by the heat of contemporary political fire, he expressed his ideals and alarms more particularly if less painstakingly. From these, from other writings less known, and from recorded conversations, Mr. Arvin has garnered a political, scientific, even sexual background upon which he pleasantly delineates Whitman's vagaries and contradictions and propounds his own theory that his subject, unwittingly or not, was a little more than something of a socialist.

When the good gray poet was seventy, he said: "I find I'm a good deal more of a socialist than I thought I was: maybe not technically, politically, so, but intrinsically, in my meanings." Not, Mr. Arvin says, "that 'technically' or 'politically' the question is a very real or difficult one." However, before he will say "critically and responsibly whether or not Whitman was 'more of a Socialist' than he had thought he was 'intrinsically,'" Mr. Arvin asks not one but many quite long and difficult questions. "How was Whitman affected by the conflicts between Whig and Jacksonian? What were his feelings amid the sectional struggles of the forties, fifties, and sixties? How conscious was he, and to what effect, of the economic transformations that were going on about him? Was he at all aware of what the geological historians and the physicists of electromagnetism and the biologists who led up to, and followed, Darwin were accomplishing? How, finally, did he feel about the emerging trade-unionism and the socialist movement itself of his time? Is it possible that, on any level, he subscribed to the philosophy of business and the gospel of money-making? Did this practicing house-builder take any part in the lively activities, during the early fifties, of the House Carpenter's Union?" Mr. Arvin's book, belying its title, which might lead one not unreasonably to expect a more comprehensive volume, concentrates on these and similar questions and answers them adroitly. "Not that the answers," adds Mr. Arvin, "however full they may be, will of themselves decide the issue."

He asserts that "perhaps no one ever opened *Leaves of Grass* without feeling that its author is 'something more' than . . . the highly affirmative poet of American middle-class culture." Not content to leave unprobed profound and intrinsic simplicity, and to admit that this—undeniably true—might be true in the same unalterable sense that those hearing Lincoln at Gettysburg felt they were hearing "something more" than an oration, Mr. Arvin must investigate. Patiently, and with commendable determination, Whitman is depicted as a man viewing alternately with enthusiasm and disgust the social, political, and industrial conditions of his time. He is pictured as a young man shuttling between his inner creative poetical preoccupation and the transparencies of political combat; employing his editorial pen as an intelligent, if not a rank, Abolitionist; then, as his inner preoccupation increases, sallying less and less into active controversial zones; regaining, under Lincoln's aegis, a wavering faith in democracy; finally, as an old man "less alarmed than contemptuous," acknowledging himself a political orphan—"Japhet in search of a father."

Like others, he could not look admiringly upon the suspicious and ever strengthening link between business and politics. Nor could he regard the charities of the robber-barons, however munificent, as sufficient recompense for the starvation wages, the hard-fought strikes and riots

which followed too closely the sudden expansion of business. But he could wonder, too, if labor's greed was any less selfish than capital's. During that troublesome and trying period of industrial growth, Americans realized "with profound dismay, as most of them had not done before, that they were perhaps not to be exempt from the embittered social strife that had so long afflicted the old world." The intuitive workings of Mr. Arvin's mind in attempting to reconstruct Whitman's thoughts about contemporary social conditions are undoubtedly justifiable, and on the whole sane. They are substantiated rather strikingly in at least one instance that has come to my attention. "He certainly heard," hazards Mr. Arvin, "as almost all Americans heard . . . the detonations of a bomb that exploded in the midst of demonstrating workers in Chicago's Haymarket Square—and ultimately sent four men to the gallows. He had his reasons . . . for keeping what he heard and saw mainly to himself: he had never seen his way clear to giving such perceptions a conspicuous position in . . . *Leaves of Grass*. . . . Only in conversations with intimate friends . . . did . . . Whitman reveal the whole force of his disappointment, his resentment, and his dread." Now it happens that Whitman did discuss just that event with one of his intimate friends. Thomas B. Harned has recorded this memory of the conversation: "I want to emphatically say that Whitman was no outlaw. He believed in the necessity of law. In 1886 the Chicago anarchists were hung. They had been convicted of murder through bomb-throwing. Sidney Morse, the sculptor, was staying with Whitman at the time, and he had great sympathy for these men who were about to be executed. Whitman said: 'It won't do, Sidney! We can't have bomb-throwing like this, and we must have policemen! We can work out our troubles in this country through the ballot and by peaceful means!'" One should not be surprised that Whitman, admitting in old age, "We've got a hell of a lot to learn yet before we're a real democracy," did not allow these new and discouraging developments to enter the beautifully idealistic and already completed pattern of *Leaves of Grass*.

Mr. Arvin answers his self-imposed questions neatly, with sparkling, surgical deftness. But the end of his book leaves one no nearer the poetry and only a little nearer the prosaic in Whitman. His book is interesting because of its smooth texture, not its depth—and this in spite of the fact that it contains much worthwhile information and attempts sincerely to show an almost-too-human individual buffeted by the transitional temper of his days. One of the many really valuable contributions of Mr. Arvin's study is his admirable summing up of the influences of various trends of thought other than political, such as romanticism and transcendentalism, broadly viewed. Here, for instance, we find the first adequate portrayal of

just what part Quakerism probably played in shaping Whitman. It is in subsidiary trails such as these that Mr. Arvin brings forth his best fruits, rather than in exposing the main thesis of his book, where the findings are chiefly negative, however pertinent they may be to scholarship.

It is perhaps unfortunate that as yet no biographer of Whitman is content to realize that a great poet's genius lies, not in the commonplaces of heredity or politics or any science, but in the commonplaces of the heart, where the most ordinary becomes the universal. It is perhaps unnatural to expect those who prefer to traffic in the minutiae of time, dividing it into years and eras, to acknowledge that Whitman's genius could be little affected by contemporary events; that his sympathetic capacity for understanding humanity would have been as great in any other age; that if he had not become exercised about Whigs and Jacksonians he would have become exercised about parties older or yet unimagined; and that if he had not mourned the death of Lincoln he might have mourned the death of some other equally heroic ideal.

Thomas B. Harned, who knew Whitman well in a practical way, in manuscripts still unpublished says: "It was nonsense to attempt to classify Whitman. The anarchist, the socialist, and almost every 'ist' claimed him. The fact is that he belonged to none." He reports Whitman himself as saying: "I look in all men for the heroic quality and find it. If that is aristocracy, I am an aristocrat!" But Mr. Arvin's study reveals in a scholarly and careful manner the less important aspects of an important writer. He has read widely, meditated deeply, and created with enthusiasm a portrait of Walt Whitman viewed at an angle from which he has never been approached before.

The leading thesis of *Walt Whitman's Pose*, is, briefly, this. Mrs. Shephard discovered that Whitman had read George Sand's *Countess of Rudolstadt* before he wrote *Leaves of Grass*. She felt that the similarity between the poet in that book and Walt Whitman's conception of himself as poet explains much of Whitman's leading idea of being "the Answerer" to humanity *en masse*, and that not only was Whitman greatly influenced by this work but that he attempted to conceal the traces of that influence. Upon this she bases her exceedingly thorough study of Whitman's "pose" in trying to keep to himself this and other true sources of his ideas or inspirations.

Mrs. Shephard's claims are not unreasonable. "In his own mind his literary borrowings were not mere adaptations and appropriations which any creative artist might naturally make but they were fundamental to his scheme and he feared that their revelation would endanger his reputa-

tion as an original poet." She does not claim much more than a general influence. "Though many dissimilarities are apparent, the similarities between Whitman and the wandering poet in the French novel are striking and significant. Whitman apparently conceived of himself as an incarnation or impersonation of such a poet in America." "The similarities, of course, are rather in ideas and in the whole conception than in words and phrases, but even the words and phrases are occasionally reminiscent." "The nature of his indebtedness to the 'poet' and his 'poem' in the French source will have to be determined by the judgment of careful Whitman scholars after they have examined all the evidence."

Certainly this is no extravagant theory. More and more of Whitman's sources are being turned up by investigators. The recent article by David Goodale, "Some of Walt Whitman's Borrowings" (*American Literature*, May, 1938), furnishes further evidence of the same sort. It is possible to discuss these matters and still keep perspective, standing "apart from the pulling and hauling." Mrs. Shephard realizes this. She admits that though she may have "led us through the labyrinth of his clues to the source of his inspiration," such a study will not enable us "to penetrate very far into the mysterious workings of his mind." This is common sense of a kind too rarely found in the work of literary investigators.

The unfortunate thing about Mrs. Shephard's book, I believe, is its title. Like Mr. Arvin's work, it is handicapped by an inappropriate label that leads the casual reader astray, thereby blinding him to real worth. Certainly this excellent book is not merely a probing into any "pose." It might better have been called *Walt Whitman's World*.

The author does, however, raise questions that are hard to answer except on the assumption that Whitman was consciously adopting the ideas of George Sand and equally consciously concealing traces. Mrs. Shephard says, "The positive evidence for this is that when he copied the poet's speech . . . he . . . changed the original phrase, 'more beautiful language,' into 'another (my own) language.'" If he did realize that George Sand's poet was speaking "his own language," why, when he wrote "of the 'embryonic facts' and 'object-urgings' of *Leaves of Grass*" did he never mention this powerful influence?

With reference to the major thesis of the book, it is interesting to add this note which I have copied from an unpublished manuscript owned by Mrs. Frank J. Sprague, with her permission. Whitman himself said, in talking with Anne Gilchrist and her family in Philadelphia in 1876-1877, merely that he had "great admiration for George Sand and her love of freedom and hatred of conventionality."

Misinformation is contained in some of Mrs. Shephard's statements.

For instance, she says that Whitman "spent large sums of money (up to several thousand dollars)" for his tomb, and that he "insisted that he discharged the debt" of two hundred dollars that he had borrowed from James Parton by giving Parton "Jefferson's works and Carlyle's *Cromwell* at \$9, an oil painting, valued at one hundred dollars, and other chattels." I am including in the biography of Whitman which I am bringing now to completion unpublished documents clearing up the matter of his tomb, and showing that he himself paid exactly fifteen hundred dollars for the much discussed mausoleum. I also have indisputable evidence that Whitman paid more than one hundred and eighty dollars of the two hundred that he owed James Parton. These are of course matters that have been much clouded in the past, and they form only a slight factor in the scheme of the book as a whole.

What are the strongest points in this book? Mrs. Shephard does uncover illuminating source materials. She has sifted and collated all the Whitman literature, including the modern studies. These she has evaluated helpfully and used with good effect, making available a wide range of Whitman information not before brought together in one volume. This alone, if she had done nothing else, would put literary historians largely in her debt. No future writer of Whitman criticism or biography can afford to overlook Esther Shephard's effective marshaling of diverse and illuminating materials.

The style of the book is interesting, and somewhat novel. Mrs. Shephard tells the story of how she made her discoveries by a series of moves like the plot of a detective story. Her informal chatty "first-person" style is refreshing. The format of the book is excellent, too. There is a very practical system of identifying references through notes placed at the back of the book, without clumsy identifying numerals. Arvin's *Whitman* also makes use of practically the same happy arrangement. This is to be commended to future scholarly writers on Whitman as a helpful procedure to follow: "page references will not usually be given for quotations from articles or from books which are well enough indexed so that references can easily be found."

This book may come, like Clara Barrus's *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades*, to be valued permanently as a handbook of Whitman lore, a compendium of information to be relished by the student who wishes to probe Whitman's depths for purposes of exploration, rather than for pleasure or inspiration. Mrs. Shephard frankly admits this. Her purpose is to make her discoveries "understandable to the reader who is fairly familiar with Whitman's poetry and with the principal facts of his biography. . . . The quotations are almost more important than the con-

necting narrative." It is apparently inevitable that there be more and more studies of isolated aspects of Whitman from the specialist's point of view. When shall we have an exposition based on his really significant "ensemble"? What is needed is a book to place in the hands of people who are seeking to know, rather than to dissect, Walt Whitman.

*New England Conservatory of Music.* CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS.

THE PURITANS. By Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson. New York: American Book Company. [1938.] xvi, 846 pp. \$4.00.

Among the volumes published in the year 1938 relating to American intellectual history this book is, in my judgment, easily the most original and the most important. That such a book is concerned not with the florescence of our culture in the nineteenth century, but with its inception in the seventeenth renders it doubly significant. Looking back over the past two decades, we may survey a scholarly exegesis of American writing; we have reason to be proud of this revaluation of our past intellectual life. Yet it is surprising, even humorous, to observe how this substantial structure of self-criticism has been reared without, so to speak, a cornerstone; in some quarters has persisted an open or secret contempt for the rude beginnings of American thought. In the universities many of us have taught and written with a docile acceptance of the Anglophilic taunt that here, in our seventeenth-century writing, was merely "a history of dulness"; and most histories of literature have fled from any analytical appraisal of its substance. One of these, published only three years ago begins frankly after the Revolution, refusing "to grub among the printed rubbish of the settlement era," and declaring that "the writings made in America during these one hundred and fifty English years had little influence in directing the literary current that was to grow more and more into a native stream in the years following the Revolution." But who can separate so sharply the elements in the "native stream"? In many ways the genesis of American literature was in the seventeenth century.

The truth is that our pleasure in the American garden, which our re-estimates reveal as surprisingly colorful, has made timorous our study of these powerful roots; about this seventeenth century we have kept repeating the old commonplaces, most of them false or distorted. This has been true in spite of certain landmarks of scholarship dealing with the colonial period's intellectual history, as in, for example, the work of T. G. Wright, S. E. Morison, and K. B. Murdock. It has been true also in spite of the excitement of almost every scholar who, challenging the platitudes, strove to pluck the mystery out of these old giants. I have never known

it to fail: a casual glance at the period alienates, whereas thorough exploration leaves the explorer enthralled and sometimes as dedicated as your most ardent medievalist. The warning is clear: Drink deep or taste not the Colonial spring!

This book is, at any rate, a deep draught of the Puritan mind, and we honor the authors for it. Here are nearly nine hundred pages (including a rich critical apparatus) concerned with both the surface and the depths of Puritanism. Here is a book full of moving event and no less moving meditation, a book of temporal limitations and of eternal longings, a book of learning and intellectual weight, too; it is, first and last, "strong meat, no food for babes!" *The Puritans'* structure is interesting and represents, presumably, the authors' solution of a difficult problem. For, as was natural to a pioneer people, the pattern of seventeenth-century writing was confused, not easily ticketed today in manageable categories, such as history, the lyric, or biography. These and their kindred subjects overlapped, form impinging on form, as in the intertexture of the chronicle and diary, of verse and narrative, of biography and funeral sermon. Wisely, perhaps, the authors selected for their divisions not forms but nuclei of thought, attitudes towards life, such as "The Theory of the State and of Society"; "This World and the Next"; "Manners, Customs, and Behavior"; "Education"; or "Science." Only four chapters ("History"; "Poetry"; "Literary Theory"; "Biographies and Letters") examine, although there are many incidental paragraphs of criticism, literary forms in some detail. Each of the nine sections consists of selections from authors illustrating the various attitudes; each is prefaced by a critical introduction; and the entire nine sections are fused, with some success, by a general introduction.

Thus the book's point of view is essentially not that of the critic of Puritan writing, although considerable criticism occurs, but that of the intellectual historian. Few will quarrel with this principle of organization. Such a method re-educates us in the thought of seventeenth-century America. In spite of our increasing enlightenment about the literary and esthetic aspects of Puritanism, this century will always be in America the province of the historian of ideas rather more than that of the critic of literature. At the same time the method has its weaknesses. Thus the work of some of the best writers is dispersed through several sections, preventing unity of impression or ease of study if we are interested in a literary form or in single men of letters, as in, for instance, the case of Cotton Mather. He, for example, appears under six of the nine captions; Increase Mather under four; John Winthrop under three; and John Cotton and Samuel Sewall under two. This dismemberment is unavoid-

able, and, in accordance with the scheme of the book, even desirable, but to study an individual author, the reader will often find his task of synthesis, despite skilful cross references, arduous.

Moreover, in respect to the forms, the effect of truncation or serializing is even more pronounced, and the literary criticism concerning these forms seems disjunct and spattered. It would appear that the authors felt this defect by their inclusion of the impressive section on the poetry (which seems rather at variance with the general plan). In this occurs the verse of Edward Taylor, whose dramatic reappearance last year under the guidance of Mr. Johnson qualified for ever the standard estimates of American poetry in the seventeenth century. *The Puritans*, then, includes poetry, but we need also, quite apart from intermittent comments in the various sections, a concentrated study of the sermon, of the beginnings of biography, of the diary, of the chronicle, and of the various other Puritan forms.

This means another book, and I believe that we shall soon have it, a book in which we may study the literary criteria of the seventeenth century, not altogether as illustrations of the thought of the age but for their own sake, and for their origins in English literary tradition. Such a book would normally follow *The Puritans*, nor would it be possible, I repeat, to blend its content within the present magnificent analysis of the Puritan ideology. Miss Josephine K. Piercy, of Indiana University, is now preparing for the press a book not unlike this in concept. Whether or not it will fulfill the demand for a literary history so effectually as *The Puritans* meets our need for a history of ideas, remains to be seen; but it will be, I believe, a helpful supplement. In any case for this clearing of the forest and for this breaking of the rock, we cannot be too grateful to Mr. Miller and Mr. Johnson. Through the Foreword the reader may, if he desires, identify the particular contributions of each and appraise the respective performances, though he is more likely to admire the integration of the work as a whole. In the matter of detail I am reduced to the rather captious query about the omission in the Index of titles in the Bibliography. Such an inclusion would have cost the authors space, but would have saved the readers time. This is a minor matter; the mechanism of this intellectual history is excellent.

For *The Puritans* is not merely an acute and civilized study of the seventeenth century in America; it is an extremely useful book. I am certain that my experience is symptomatic: a graduate student and a colleague, both devoted to Colonial history, used the same phrase. "For the study of this period it is already," each said, "my Bible."

*Yale University.*

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

THOMAS PAINE, *LIBERATOR*. By Frank Smith. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1938. 338 pp. \$3.00.

One of the most difficult tasks of history is to gain a just perspective on the biographies of men whose reputations were involved in bitter controversy in their own day. The case of Thomas Paine is probably hopeless. It is almost impossible to write about him without taking sides for or against the people and the issues with which he was involved, especially in these days when his cause, that of humanitarian democracy, has been so fiercely reassailed.

Mr. Smith has written a sound and thoroughly readable account of his stormy career. But it is a book with a thesis: the vindication of Paine as a man and the endorsement of his central doctrines as Mr. Smith understands them. As such, it adds materially to an appreciation of Paine and gives a certain timeless quality to his cause, without becoming his definitive biography. Rather it should be classed as historical criticism. It has all the qualities of sound scholarship excepting objectivity, it is a careful and clear though biased appraisal, and it tells a fascinating story as well. That it carries a lesson to our own times is perhaps beside the point, although there is more than an implication that Mr. Smith was led to write his book by this motive as well as by others.

Mr. Smith presents Paine as a man of a single faith, that in the integrity of man, for which he fought courageously throughout his life with a single ability, that of writing clear and flaming prose. Such an interpretation provides basic unity for all his thought and action. During the American Revolution, as "Common Sense," he fought the English government and the American vested interests with equal fervor; in France he fought the English government, the tyrannies of both kings and mobs, and again anything that resembled vested interests; in England he sought to foment a revolution against the same forces; and at the close of his life he directed his attack against the Federalist party for the same reasons. His defense of deism against traditional Christianity in all its forms, and against atheism as well, was a mere transfer of his field of action from politics to religion. The same faith was served by the same ability. Mr. Smith rightly makes no plea for him as an original or profound philosopher, although there is a noticeable deepening of his thought as he grew older. He represents him correctly as the popularizer of the thought of others, and as the exponent of a contemporary faith. "I despise expedients," he once wrote. When others felt their position shaken by alternatives and qualifications, Paine drove directly to the point, always his point and always the same.

Sympathetic appreciation of Paine is the great strength of this book. One-sided condemnation of his antagonists is its weakness. Virtue be-

comes the unadulterated characteristic of Jefferson, Monroe, the early Washington, and others who consistently defended the prophet of democracy; pure villainy that of Silas Deane, Robespierre, Adams, the two Morrises, Hamilton, the later Washington, the entire English government and all others who at any point failed to rush to his defense. Some of these gentlemen undoubtedly were villains, and in some cases the right was probably all on Paine's side, but the line is too sharply drawn. These are the terms in which Paine judged his contemporaries; they do not represent the judgment of history. For one who may believe, with Franklin, that even expediency may sometimes be a virtue, the case for Paine collapses. But the cases of many of the saints would do likewise. Mr. Smith's biography, for its very singleness of view, presents the reader with the world as Paine saw it, not necessarily as it was. The final impression is one of the dignity rather than of the folly of this tragic figure.

*Swarthmore College.*

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

THE JOURNAL OF EMILY FOSTER. Edited by Stanley T. Williams and Leonard B. Beach. New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. xxvi, 171 pp. \$5.00.

I fear I should not have assented to reviewing this delightful little book so attractive both as to contents and appearance. The point is, a review should be impersonal; or, at least, the critic should not approach his subject in the spirit of "I told you so." Yet I cannot refrain from advancing immediately to the most important revelation in Emily Foster's disclosure of her thoughts and feelings.

Twenty years have gone by since, not without difficulty, for the lines were now partially, now wholly erased, I discovered in one of Irving's Dresden journals evidence of his proposal of marriage to Emily. The very day was sufficiently indicated. In the course of subsequent research so much developed that, four years later, in my biography of Irving, there was no hesitation in stating that Irving's hand in marriage had been refused by Emily, contrary to the wishes of her mother. The legend of his lifelong bachelorhood due to the death of Matilda Hoffman seemed definitely to be dispelled. Irving's first biographer, his nephew Pierre, had unavailingly sought, for sentimental reasons, to nullify and even to delete the evidence concerning Emily Foster.

Yet the greatest of all scholars in the Irving field—for that Stanley T. Williams assuredly is—would not accept my proof as conclusive. After he had questioned it in the introduction to one of Irving's journals, I besought him, when he came to writing his Life of Irving, not to oppose what seemed to Professor Trent and myself as incontrovertible. To do so, it was suggested, would be to leave unexplained much else during

Irving's years in Europe—much else in his letters and journals. And, indeed, in Professor Williams's magnificent biography he may be seen leaning towards belief in Irving's courtship of Emily. Now, at last, as one of the editors of Emily's journal, he has come definitely over to our side. Where a man failed, a charming young lady has succeeded in convincing him.

Here, after acknowledging the footnote references to my prior research, let me, with a friendly chuckle, cease from egotism. Emily's journal, excellently introduced and annotated by the two editors, has much to delight us, apart from personal vanity. The talented young girl, deeply religious yet not averse from flirtation, comes forth appealingly from behind the centuried curtain. She loves music, she loves poets, she loves dancing. She has a feeling for the beauty of nature, capturing it in many a happy phrase. She wields the brush of the amateur painter, and the pen of rather more than the usual amateur writer. If she prefers younger beaux at the dinners and balls of the little Saxon Court, she shows herself qualified to appreciate the character as well as the talent of the American author, twice her age, whom she cannot bring herself to accept as husband. Yet worldly pleasures, worldly fame, do not satisfy a nature that, for all its gaiety, is essentially spiritual. We find Emily often in moods of reflection and even at times sad. She is sincerity itself, though hardly profound. Washington Irving, ever susceptible to feminine charm, is not to be blamed for having desired Emily in marriage. Certainly we wish we, too, had met her.

Well, we have met her, delightfully escorted by Messrs. Williams and Beach. We thank them, not only for the presentation of Emily, but also for the thorough information their notes provide for the entries in the journal. The entries themselves are replete with pictures of that gay little company—royalty, foreign diplomats, courtiers, writers, travelers, that in the 1820's gave to the Dresden of King Frederick Augustus a flavor no longer possible at any court. With Emily Foster's journal we come into a faraway world, simple, kindly, unostentatious, largely carefree, full of merriment.

Were we to begin quoting, it might be difficult to cease, so many are the pleasing passages. However, let us not forego Emily's description of Irving: "He is neither tall nor slight, but most interesting, dark, hair of a man of genius, waving, silky and black, grey eyes full of varying feeling, and an amiable smile." The tears come to her eyes when Irving reads poetry to her. In less sentimental mood Emily writes: "Irving says the pipe is the feature of a German face like the proboscis of an elephant." Then, later, "We stood on the balcony by moonlight and talked of heaven." What else they talked of Emily does not say, and there are

many lines crossed out or deleted in a manuscript whose occasional reticences still leave evident her regret at not being able to return Irving's love.

Emily Foster's journal is important for the biographer, interesting for the historian, delightful for the collector, and entertaining for all who may care to gain intimate glimpses into the heart and mind of an engaging young girl of long ago.

*New York City.*

GEORGE S. HELLMAN.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM SYDNEY PORTER (O. HENRY). By Paul S. Clarkson. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. 1938. 161 pp. \$5.00.

The compiler of this volume on O. Henry is a young Baltimore lawyer who, in stepping outside his own profession, makes professional bibliographers look to their laurels. Few other American authors have been honored by such exhaustive bibliographical treatment. The book includes a chronological list of O. Henry's volumes of short stories from 1904 to 1936, describing each meticulously, and adding notes on the first appearance of the stories in print and on other pertinent matters; an account of books and periodicals which contain letters, poems, and sketches by the author; a description of the "collective editions"; notes on dramatizations by or of O. Henry for stage, screen, and radio; a remarkable catalog of the newspapers and periodicals in which the various stories first appeared; and a well-chosen selection of books and articles dealing with the author's life and work. In an appendix Mr. Clarkson reprints for the first time certain compositions of O. Henry's, and he adds (what bibliographers too often omit) a full index, which, incidentally, is the best index to O. Henry's own books and stories yet made.

Mr. Clarkson sets forth much curious information, a good deal of it of biographical value. He gives details about and reprints a hitherto unknown story dating from 1898. He shows that O. Henry published 66 stories in 1904, 54 in 1905 (figures differing from those in the *D. A. B.*); that the volume called *Whirligigs* had two earlier titles; that there are two issues of the first edition of *Cabbages and Kings* and other volumes; that the author used the pseudonym "O. Henry" as early as April, 1898, and that his signature is "Sydney Porter" for six, "James L. Bliss" for two, "Oliver Henry" for one, "Olivier Henry" for nine stories; that "A Fog in Santone" was published in the *Cosmopolitan* in 1912 "for the first time" after having appeared in book form in 1910; and that "The Reformation of Calliope," after newspaper publication in 1904, was reprinted without permission in the *Black Cat* for 1909.

So pretentious a bibliography entailed much dry-as-dust labor, but Mr. Clarkson has compiled a volume that is pleasant to use and that is,

so far as I have checked it, commendably accurate. Naturally a few errors occur, as the contradictory statements on pp. 43, 86 about the date of the reprint of "The Hiding of Black Bill"; the name "Stella" for "Nella" on p. 94 and in the index; and the slight typographical inexactitude of the transcribed title-page of *My Tussle with the Devil* (p. 81). The "unknown" dates of the *Rolling Stone* contributions (pp. 61 f., 68) could have been found by examining the file in Austin, Texas. A few O. Henry items omitted by oversight are Mirande and Géroule's French adaptation (1911) of *Alias Jimmy Valentine* (where, amusingly enough, Jimmy's prison is located on Coney Island) and A. G. Smith's dramatization of "The Ransom of Red Chief" (1935); the separate pamphlet issues of "The Lickpenny Lover," "The Ransom of Red Chief," "Hostages to Momus"; Sapper's volume, *The Best of O. Henry* (100 stories, London, n. d.); and the various Christmas-gift reprints of "The Gift of the Magi" made in the 1920's by the Harbor Press, Valley Cottage, New York. Presumably the O. Henry "Memorial Prize Story" volumes are intentionally passed over.

The compiler modestly disclaims any intention of making his sixth section, Biographical and Critical Sources, exhaustive. But he has included a number of sophomoric typescripts, long since forgotten by their authors, that could well have been replaced by references to the substantial theses, deposited in the University of Texas Library, of Mrs. Grace Watson (*O. Henry on the Houston "Post,"* 1934), Miss Mary S. Harrell (*O. Henry's Texas Contacts*, 1935), and Mr. V. W. Taylor (*The Narrative Art of O. Henry*, 1936). He has also paid too little attention to Texas magazines and newspapers, thereby missing articles of considerable importance in the *Texas Review*, July, 1919, *Bunker's Monthly*, April, 1928, the *Alcalde*, December, 1937, and—to give only a few examples—the *Austin Statesman*, July 19, 1925, April 21 and 25, 1927, June 23, August 4, 1929, November 23, 1937, the *Austin American*, October 18, 1934, December 12, 1936, the *Dallas News*, July 19, August 9, 1931, July 7, 1935, May 17, 1936, December 20, 1937, and the *Dallas Times-Herald*, April 21, 1935. No complete and accurate study of O. Henry's life can possibly be written without a careful search of these and other Texas newspapers. That Mr. Clarkson's search has been sketchy is indicated, for instance, by his citing (p. 127) only two of the eight *Austin Statesman* articles by Hollis on "The [Alleged] Persecution of O. Henry."

It is difficult to understand, furthermore, what system of inclusion or exclusion is responsible for the failure to list the valuable articles in the *Manchester Quarterly*, XLIV (1918), 316-339; the *Irish Monthly*, XLVI (1918), 684-690, XLVII (1919), 6-15; *English Studies* (Amsterdam), I (1919), 69-72; the *Publishers' Weekly*, CII (1922), 1779-1780; *Mercure de*

*France*, CLXVIII (1923), 289-331; the *New Mexico Quarterly*, I (1931), 367-388; the *American Book-Collector*, V (1934), 72-76, 118-122, 136-139; *American Speech*, XII (1937), 275-283; and *Americana*, XXXI (1937), 579-608. One might also expect to find Guido Bruno's *The Sacred Band*, 1921 (with its misinformation about the musical comedy *Caramba*, alias *Lo*), F. A. Waterhouse's *Random Studies in Romantic Chaos*, 1923, Blaise Cendrars's translation of Al Jenning, *Hors de la loi*, 1936, and Heinz Noack's queer Berlin thesis, *O. Henry als Mystiker*, 1937.

But it is a hackneyed trick of reviewing to be surprised by "glaring omissions." Actually what most surprises one about this book is its completeness and accuracy. Mr. Clarkson has done a fine job. If, as he claims, "O. Henry is today more widely read than ever, and universally loved by his readers," he ought to find many persons to applaud his labors.

Harvard University.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

LETTERS FROM WILLIAM COBBETT TO EDWARD THORNTON: *Written in the Years 1797 to 1800*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by G. D. H. Cole. London: Oxford University Press. 1937. xlvi, 127 pp. \$3.00.

In 1924 Mr. G. D. H. Cole published *The Life of William Cobbett* and in 1927 followed it with *The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine with Other Records of His Early Career in America*. The present collection of twenty-three letters written by William Cobbett to Edward Thornton, secretary of the British legation in Philadelphia, embraces the period from 1797 to 1800 when the name "Peter Porcupine" was synonymous with rabid antidemocratic journalism and pamphleteering. Had the letters been available, Mr. Cole would have included them in his study of Cobbett's career in America. Now they must serve as an appendix to that work.

As the editor points out, these letters contain little that would contribute to a new interpretation of the period or of Cobbett's activities, with the possible exception of indisputable evidence that while he was making his turbulent attacks against the rising flood of pro-Jacobin sympathy in the United States he was not, despite efforts of English agents to subsidize him, a hireling in the employ of the British government. It is obvious, however, that his relations with the English embassy were at times very close. From the intimacies confided in the correspondence with Thornton there emerges a pugnacious, utterly fearless man who, blindly devoted to all things English and violently impatient with the many inconsistencies in our embryonic democracy, held firmly to his course through a morass of chicanery and intrigue calculated to ruin him. Yet throughout the letters runs a quiet undercurrent of devotion to his family

and friends that tends to soften the conventional impression of Cobbett as an unprincipled troublemaker.

Inasmuch as the book is intended primarily for English readers, the editor has gone to considerable length in his forty-six page introduction to provide an adequate summary of contemporary American politics and of the effects in the United States of European revolutionary disturbances. In extensive notes following each letter, he has, where possible, offered interpretations of Cobbett's many vague allusions to persons and incidents; when unable to track down a reference he has admitted his failure. Although these chatty notes are on the whole satisfactory, we could wish that Mr. Cole had more often cited his authorities. A few inaccuracies (e. g., the yellow fever "paid its first serious visit to Philadelphia" in 1793, instead of 1798; the Reverend Jedidiah Morse was a "Congregational minister" in Connecticut, Georgia, and Massachusetts, but not, so far as I can discover, in Philadelphia; the date of William Jackson's birth was 1759, not 1749) should hardly be taken as reflections on the reliability of the editor's researches.

*Queen's College.*

CHESTER T. HALLENBECK.

SARA COLERIDGE AND HENRY REED: *Reed's Memoir of Sara Coleridge, Her Letters to Reed, Including Her Comment on His Memoir of Gray; Her Marginalia in Henry Crabb Robinson's Copy of Wordsworth's Memoirs*. Edited by Leslie Nathan Broughton. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1937. xvi, 117 pp. \$1.50.

Professor Broughton's book presents Sara Coleridge, the poet's talented daughter, from three aspects. The first part of the volume contains a biographical memoir of Sara Coleridge, originally published by Henry Reed in the *Literary World*, a few months after her death in 1852. Henry Reed, professor of rhetoric and English literature in the University of Pennsylvania, was not only the first American editor of Wordsworth but likewise an enthusiastic student of Coleridge, and his sympathetic memoir affords a valuable commentary upon American response to contemporary English writing. The second division of Professor Broughton's volume includes six letters from Sara Coleridge to Henry Reed, who had planned an American edition of Coleridge's works. It is worthy of note that her sole interest in an American edition of her father's works lay in her desire for the dissemination of Coleridge's ideas and that she accepted the kind offer of financial benefit proposed by Reed to her brother and herself with considerable hesitation. Her letters, which form the best part of the volume, indicate the brilliance of her mind and the depth and range of her critical insight. In the last two divisions of his book Professor Broughton prints Sara Coleridge's comments upon Reed's *Memoir of Gray* and her

marginal notes in Christopher Wordsworth's *Memoirs of William Wordsworth*. In both cases the notes are digressive, and though they frequently show critical acumen, as a whole they are lacking in literary power. Neither set of notes was intended for publication. The marginal comments in the *Wordsworth Memoirs* were written at Crabb Robinson's express request, but recognizing their deficiencies, she almost wished them "rubbed out," they were "so trifling & in some instances not to the purpose." The notes in the *Wordsworth Memoirs* dealing with personal aspects of the poet or with his genius have, however, a ring of sincerity about them, and those which touch upon her father's life and work add further information of considerable importance. Christopher Wordsworth was not above overtly sneering at Coleridge and deliberately ignoring the Coleridge children, and Sara Coleridge justly resented such a procedure. One wishes that these notes had not been written in the last year of her life, but earlier, when she might have produced a really significant commentary upon Wordsworth, more in the manner of those extracts included in the *Memoir of Sara Coleridge*, edited by her daughter in 1873.

In his Introduction, Professor Broughton mentions the whereabouts of the various materials contained in his volume and discusses the merits of Sara Coleridge's critical remarks. He has done his editing with scrupulous care. He is to be commended for bringing to light materials affording a fuller understanding of one who produced two excellent books for children, who was undoubtedly the best of her father's early editors, and whose intellectual ability astonished her contemporaries.

*University of Michigan.*

EARL LESLIE GRIGGS.

AN AMERICAN READER. Edited, with an Introduction, by Burton Rascoe. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1938. xxiii, 1026 pp. \$3.50.

The comprehensive subtitle of *An American Reader* is an accurate statement of the purpose of the book. It is published to be "A Centennial Collection of American Writings Published since 1838 of Unique Value as Entertainment, as a Reflection of their Times, as History, and as Integral Parts of the National Past. Selected from the Publications of the House of Putnam. 1838-1938." That would seem to be a large order, but there is no promise to pay that is not made good in the pages that follow.

Certainly the book is entertaining, and uniquely so, even if you consider it merely as another anthology. A collection of essays that begins with Thoreau's "An Excursion to Canada" and ends with Donald Culross Peattie's "Aries," and poems that range from Poe's "The Raven" to Jake Falstaff's "Beautiful Sunday" have unique entertainment for even the most selective reader. Its delightful "Period Pieces" are a slow moving

picture of the passing social scene of the hundred years, and its historical selections reflect not only the literary history, but also the secular history of the same period. It is a picture of the political, the social, and the literary history of a century.

And some of the most entertaining features of the book will be found in the Introduction and in the various explanatory passages written by the editor. Here is Burton Rascoe at his best.

But for most of us the book will have its special significance as a reminder of the large place that the House of Putnam has had in presenting and preserving American literature during the century of its existence. It has been, and is, a great house.

*Columbia University.*

M. M. HOOVER.

CALIFORNIA WRITERS PROJECT. Edited by Edgar J. Hinkle. 3 vols. Oakland, Calif. 1938. 447, 376, 306 pp.

One of the most important pieces of literary work produced under the supervision of the Works Progress Administration is a bibliography of California literature in three volumes, Fiction, Poetry, and Drama. Sponsored by the Alameda County Library, and prepared under the editorship of Edgar J. Hinkle, this bibliography was compiled by twenty-five trained research workers in three years.

The purpose of the bibliography is to make a record, not only of fiction, poetry, and drama written by native Californians, but also of the creative writings of all those who have lived in California or who have used the state as a scene of their work. Out of the 2,817 authors listed in the three volumes, only 240 of them are native Californians. Therefore, the book is valuable not only for its California material but as a partial bibliography of a large number of American men and women of letters, as so many of them have at some time in their lives resided in California. There are 6,304 books listed in the three volumes with titles, places and date of publication noted and short descriptions given wherever this information was available. Though the project attempted to provide dates of births and deaths in the case of each author, many of these were omitted which could have been rather easily obtained. This, however, is a relatively unimportant criticism when we take into consideration the value of the work as whole.

In several respects, however, the bibliography lacks some very important features. In the first place, there is no record of periodical publications in this general bibliography, though in several individual bibliographies, such as those of Mary Austin, Ambrose Bierce, Frank Norris, and Jack London, prepared by the same group, this omission has been cor-

rected. It would have been valuable, also, if either a bibliography of California biography had been prepared or if biographical references had been made in the case of the individual authors. The bibliography, too, is somewhat too inclusive; for instance, Victor Hugo is given a place in it because he published a romance entitled *Gil Blas in California*. Perhaps such an inclusion as this can be attributed to the natural enthusiasm of the Californian for his land and his literature.

Generally speaking, the bibliography is accurate and complete, and it brings together a body of work which would be very difficult to collect under ordinary circumstances in the time that was given to this project. The Works Progress Administration, the sponsor, and the editor are to be congratulated on the preparation of a small part of a bibliography of American literature, for the necessity of such a bibliography is becoming more apparent every day.

*University of Pennsylvania.*

EDWARD H. O'NEILL.

## BRIEF MENTION

ADVENTURES OF AMERICA 1857-1900: *A Pictorial Record from Harper's Weekly*. By John A. Kouwenhoven. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1938. No pagination. \$3.50.

Two hundred and fifty-six pictures from *Harper's Weekly* are here reproduced in splendid style with the idea of illustrating the chief aspects of American life during the period covered. Mr. Kouwenhoven has added for each picture a lucid and interesting historical or explanatory statement. The book provides a ready means of painlessly absorbing a good deal of historical information.

C. G.

A DESCRIPTIVE EXHIBITION OF RARE WHITTIERANA AT THE WHITTIER HOMESTEAD OCTOBER 1 AND 2, 1938, IN OBSERVANCE OF ITS 250TH YEAR. Haverhill, Mass.: The Trustees of the John Greenleaf Whittier Homestead. 1938. 20 pp. (Mimeographed.)

This work, compiled by Donald K. Campbell and Pauline F. Pulsifer, of the Public Library, Haverhill, Massachusetts, provides popular descriptions of various Whittier items exhibited at the Whittier Homestead. Included among these items is an ode "Hail, Star of Science!"—the rarest of Whittier's poems. The trustees of the Homestead are to be congratulated upon their worthy effort to continue an interest in the poet and his works.

C. G.

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL ADDRESS; *Delivered at Cambridge, July 15, 1838, by Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Centenary Edition with Notes by Earl Morse Wilbur. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1938. 35 pp.

Equipped with a lucid introduction, helpful notes, and an excellent synopsis, this work is most suited to the needs of undergraduate readers.

C. G.

PRIVATE LIBRARIES IN CREOLE SAINT LOUIS. By John Francis McDermott. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. xii, 186 pp. \$3.00.

An able and interesting introduction on "Cultural Conditions on the Confines of a Wilderness" is followed by analyses of various St. Louis libraries up to the year 1842. The method of indicating the contents of the various collections is clear-cut and consistently followed. The whole work is of the greatest importance to the student of French culture in the United States.

C. G.

INDIAN TREATIES PRINTED BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, 1736-1762. With an Introduction by Carl Van Doren and Historical & Bibliographical Notes by Julian P. Boyd. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1938. xc, 340 pp. [Edition Limited to 500 Copies.] \$15.00.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society has done a distinct service to scholarship by reprinting the thirteen treaties contained in this handsome volume, for they are rare and no single library contains them all. Mr. Boyd's excellent historical essay, "Indian Affairs in Pennsylvania, 1736-1762," makes clear the great importance to the English colonies of the friendship of the Iroquois confederacy, which controlled an empire extending from the Saint Lawrence to the James and from the Hudson almost to the Mississippi. The Iroquois leaders were not only accomplished orators but statesmen, particularly Canasatego, chief of the Onondaga, who once urged the English colonies to follow the example of the Five Nations and unite. The interpreter, Conrad Weiser, was both a Pennsylvanian and by adoption an Iroquois. Something of his statesman-like quality appears in the treaties. In the treaties strict ritual played an important part, and again and again we find the favorite Indian figures of the fire, the road, and the chain. Mr. Van Doren, at whose suggestion the treaties have been reprinted, writes of their literary importance:

The Indian treaty was a form of literature which had no single author. Shikellamy and Scarouady may have suggested the metaphors and rites to be used, but they had to be adapted by Weiser as impresario, and then be accepted by the government of Pennsylvania. The secretaries who kept the minutes never dreamed they were making literature, nor need Franklin have guessed that he was printing it in his folios. These were simply the records of public events. The events, being based on ritual, had their own form, and they fixed the form of the record. Accuracy in such cases was art. Now and then the secretaries left out speeches or parts of speeches uttered by the hard tongues of the Indians, but there was not too much expurgation, and there was no literary self-consciousness. Here for once life seems to have made itself almost unaided into literature (pp. xvii-xviii).

The Indian speeches given often display a real eloquence which, however, bears no close relation to that of Cooper's Indians. The novelist might have profited from a perusal of some of the speeches of the hated Minogoes. The treaties have been supplemented by three journals, one by Conrad Weiser, which throw light upon the treaties of 1745, 1758, and 1762. Lewis Evans's Map of the Indian Walking Purchase is reproduced in colors, and Miss Margaret Van Doren has supplied for endpapers a useful and attractive map showing the places mentioned in the treaties.

NEW POETRY OF NEW ENGLAND: *Frost and Robinson*. By Robert P. Tristram Coffin. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. xvi, 148 pp. \$2.00.

The six chapters of this little book are the Turnbull lectures on poetry at Johns Hopkins University for 1938. They are very informal and quite

unlike typical university lectures, and they throw a revealing light upon the New England background of Frost, Robinson, and Mr. Coffin himself, who often illustrates his points by quoting his own poems as well as those of Frost and Robinson. Mr. Coffin has obviously done considerable thinking about the problems of the modern poet living in New England. Especially interesting to the reviewer are the first two lectures: "The World That Is Gone" and "The Artist in the Wrong World." "Three as simple things as the disintegration of an economic fabric, the coming of a new kind of knowledge, and the insufficiency of the code itself have accounted for the presence of fine minds in a world that has no place for them" (p. 36). There is an interesting discussion of humor in modern poetry which begins: "I think, if I were asked to name the qualities in the poetry of our time that are both new and very vital, I should mention next, after the wider sympathy that draws all creation together into one brotherhood of living, the emergence of humor as a serious element in poetry" (p. 140). The non-New-England reader is likely to feel, as in the case of many Southerners writing about the South, that Mr. Coffin regards too many of the characteristics of life in his section as unique when they are in fact characteristics of the rural population all over the United States.

**THE OLD VIRGINIA GENTLEMAN AND OTHER SKETCHES.** By George W. Bagby. Edited and Arranged by His Daughter Ellen M. Bagby. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press. 1938. xxx, 296 pp. \$3.50.

"Included in this memorial edition," says the editor in her Foreword, "are his best known and best loved works together with a number of hitherto unpublished sketches found among his papers." She includes also Thomas Nelson Page's "A Virginia Realist," which was the Preface to a selection from Bagby's works published in 1910. Douglas Freeman contributes a new Introduction, "George W. Bagby, Patriot." A brief Bibliography is given at the end of the volume. Some of Bagby's once popular pieces seem outmoded, but "John M. Daniel's Latch-Key" is still a notable character portrait of a great journalist.

**SEGMENTS OF SOUTHERN THOUGHT.** By Edd Winfield Parks. [Athens: The University of Georgia Press.] 1938. x, 392 pp.

This volume, which is one of the first books to be published by the University of Georgia Press, is made up largely of essays already published. It includes the Introduction to Dr. Parks's *Southern Poets* (1936), "A Note on Southern Literature," "Legaré and Grayson," "Southern Towns and Cities" (from *Culture in the South*, 1934), "Frances Wright at Nashoba," "Mark Twain as Southerner," and other essays on American

literature. A personal essay, "On Banishing Nonsense," which opens the volume, suggests the author's point of view, which in his Preface he defines as follows: "The informal studies presented here . . . treat certain phases of Southern life and literature from a point of view, not overly popular at the present time, which is best described as distributist-agrarian. . . ."

LETTERS OF JAMES GILLESPIE BIRNEY, 1831-1857. Edited by Dwight L. Dumond. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. [1938]. 2 vols. xxxvi, xiv, 1189 pp. \$10.00.

When the antislavery movement is mentioned, the average person thinks first of William Lloyd Garrison. A few years ago Messrs. Dumond and Gilbert H. Barnes edited the *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké*, which revealed Weld as a much more practical reformer than Garrison. The *Letters* of Birney supply much material on the activities of the son of a Kentucky slaveholder who eventually became an ardent abolitionist and was the Liberty Party's candidate for the Presidency in 1840 and 1844. Birney's correspondence is indispensable to a complete understanding of the antislavery movement. This volume was "Prepared and published under the direction of The American Historical Association from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund."

HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES, 1876-1901: *As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams*. Edited by W. Stull Holt. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. 314 pp. Paper, \$2.50; cloth, \$3.00.

This new volume in "The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science" gives us a portion of the correspondence of an extraordinarily influential graduate teacher of history who himself wrote no well-known historical works. The letters, most of which are addressed to other students of history, cover the period from 1876, when Adams was appointed a fellow at Johns Hopkins, until his death in 1901. There are letters to and from Adams's best known students: Woodrow Wilson, John Spencer Bassett, Frederick J. Turner, J. Franklin Jameson, W. P. Trent, and others. The letters throw light upon a period when historical writing was passing into the hands of college and university professors. Although Adams had studied in Germany, the volume reveals no high regard for German historical scholarship or German teachers of history. "On the other hand," remarks Mr. Holt, "the letters testify to a much more intimate contact with English scholars. The number and eminence of the Englishmen who visited the Johns Hopkins and

with whom Adams corresponded suggests the possibility that the orthodox account of the dominant influence of German scholarship in America during this period may need revision" (p. 11).

**THE KING IN YELLOW.** By Robert W. Chambers. Foreword by Rupert Hughes. Memorial Edition. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. xiv, 274 pp. \$2.00.

"I envy those who will read for the first time this ever-young story that I read in my youth. Yet on re-reading it, I find that it has lost none of its original savor or poignancy in its forty-three years of published existence.

"Its revival seems to be a sign of the times, and of better times, in literature; a breath of spring after a winter of discontent. For we have been going through a prolonged era of intentionally bad art in every form, whether of writing, painting, sculpture, music—what not? And *The King in Yellow* harks back to a day when polished English was expected of a writer, along with a sense of form, of progress, suspense, and climax" (Foreword).

**SONGS OF AMERICAN SAILORMEN.** Edited by Joanna C. Colcord. With an Introduction by Lincoln Colcord. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. [1938.] 212 pp. \$3.50.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of *Roll and Go: Songs of American Sailormen*, published by The Bobbs-Merrill Company in 1924. This standard collection includes considerable new material. The songs are well annotated, and music as well as words is given. The marine artist Gordon Grant supplied the illustrations.

**AMERICAN SKETCHBOOK.** Collected by Tremaine McDowell, Winfield H. Rogers, John T. Flanagan, Harold A. Blaine. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. xvi, 706 pp. \$2.00.

This collection, designed primarily for Freshman classes, is made up wholly of American literary materials. These materials are arranged under the following heads: New England, The Mid-Atlantic States, The South, The Middle West, The Far West, and These States. There is a second table of contents arranged by types of writing. The compilers have succeeded remarkably well in finding fresh and interesting materials of fine literary quality. The *American Sketchbook* is a book that even the average American Freshman will enjoy.

THE PEOPLING OF VIRGINIA. By R. Bennett Bean. With Plates. Boston: Chapman & Grimes, Inc. [1938.] viii, 302 pp. \$3.00.

This historical-anthropological study of the population of Virginia was undertaken by Dr. Bean, who is Professor of Anatomy at the University of Virginia, at the suggestion of the noted anthropologist, Ales Hrdlicka. The measurements are based upon an examination of several thousand Virginians whose ancestors have lived in the state for at least three generations. Dr. Bean reprints his four monographs on Stature, Sitting Height and Leg Length, Hair and Eye Color, Head Length and Breadth and Cephalic Index. The first 238 pages, which are new, are divided into two sections: "A Short History of the Peopling of Virginia" and "The Peopling of the Counties of Virginia."

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), Arthur E. Christy (Columbia University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the May number of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, Chapel Hill, N. C.

### I. 1607-1800

[BARLOW, JOEL] Maxfield, Ezra Kempton. "The Tom Barlow Manuscript of the *Columbiad*." *New Eng. Quar.*, XI, 834-842 (Dec. 1938).

In the script of Thomas Barlow, the nephew and secretary of Joel Barlow, is a manuscript of which "there is no reasonable doubt of its being the original draft of the *Columbiad*, and perhaps also the printer's copy for the entire first edition of 1807."

[BRADFORD, ANDREW] De Armond, Anna Janney. "Andrew Bradford." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXII, 463-487 (Oct., 1938).

The printing activities of the son of William Bradford, and the competitor of Franklin.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Marsh, Philip, and Ellis, Milton. "A Broadside of Freneau's *The British Prison Ship*." *Amer. Lit.*, X, 476-480 (Jan., 1939).

A comparison of a broadside account of Freneau's incarceration during the Revolutionary War, which has been recognized as the work of Freneau, with the two previously known versions of 1781 and 1786.

[MATHER, COTTON] Davies, David. "Coleridge's Marginalia in Mather's *Magnalia*." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, II, 233-240 (Jan., 1939).

Quotations from and comments upon Coleridge's vigorous marginal notations in his copy of the 1702 edition of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, a volume now in the Huntington Li-

brary. The notations are strongly anti-Puritan and anti-Mather, some of them markedly witty.

[ODIORNE, THOMAS] Howard, Leon. "Thomas Odiorne: An American Predecessor of Wordsworth." *Amer. Lit.*, X, 417-436 (Jan., 1939).

The poetry of Odiorne, which was not noticed in Bryant's survey of early American verse published in 1818, indicates the danger of using Bryant's canon as a basis for generalizations about American poetry of the late eighteenth century. Odiorne's *The Progress of Refinement* (1792) shows that the influences which inspired the most vital work of Wordsworth were operating in America perhaps earlier than they were in England.

[TRUMBULL, JOHN] Cowie, Alexander. "John Trumbull as a Critic of Poetry." *New Eng. Quar.*, XI, 773-793 (Dec., 1938).

"Trumbull was interested in man, not men; he did not value the subjective approach to experience which marked the habit of many romantic poets."

## II. 1800-1870

[ALCOTT, LOUISA M.] Talbot, Marion. "Glimpses of the Real Louisa May Alcott." *New Eng. Quar.*, XI, 731-738 (Dec., 1938).

[COOPER, J. F.] Blanck, Jacob. "News from the Rare Book Shop." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXIII, 1696 (Apr. 23, 1938).

In a copy of H. L. Barnum's *The Spy Unmasked* are bound letters from Susan Cooper, Joseph N. Ireland, and Charles P. Clinch, who dramatized *The Spy*, "which completely demolish Enoch Crosby's claim to peculiar fame."

Kouwenhoven, John Atlee. "Cooper's 'Upside Down' Turns Up." *Colophon*, III, 524-530 (Autumn, 1938).

Information about the contents of the play derived from *The Albion*, June 20, 1850, and a scene published by William E. Barton in *The Cyclopaedia of Wit and Humor*, New York, 1858.

[FULLER, MARGARET] Orr, Evelyn Winslow. "Two Margaret Fuller Manuscripts." *New Eng. Quar.*, XI, 794-802 (Dec., 1938).

A "psychometric reading" (1845) and an autobiographical poem (1836).

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Gerould, Katherine Fullerton. "Call It Holy Ground." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLXIII, 74-82 (Jan., 1939).

The author describes the mind and spirit of the typical New Englander and names Hawthorne as the only New England author who has correctly interpreted that spirit.

Randel, William Peirce. "Hawthorne, Channing, and Margaret Fuller." *Amer. Lit.*, X, 472-476 (Jan., 1939).

The thesis [advanced by Professor Oscar Cargill in "Nemesis and Nathaniel Hawthorne," *PMLA*, LII, 848-862] that Hawthorne attacked Channing by slandering Margaret Fuller in *The Blithedale Romance*, and for this rashness suffered severe retribution, is held to be without basis in fact.

[HAYNE, P. H.] Coleman, Rufus A. "Hayne Writes to Trowbridge." *Amer. Lit.*, X, 483-486 (Jan., 1939).

Hayne's letter of Feb. 29, 1869, here reprinted, has references to his ill-health and poverty, and a request that he be allowed to submit a tale to Trowbridge's *Our Young Folks*.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Mathews, J. Chesley. "Washington Irving's Knowledge of Dante." *Amer. Lit.*, X, 480-483 (Jan., 1939).

On Irving's reading of the *Inferno*, in Italian, "between May, 1823, and Christmas, 1825," and his references to Dante from 1828 to 1849.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Longfellow, Samuel. "The Five of Clubs." *Christian Science Monitor*, XXX, 9 (Oct. 22, 1938).

A sketch of Henry W. Longfellow as a participant in the society of Cambridge.

[LORD, W. W.] Randall, David A. "Footnote on a Minor Poet." *Colophon*, III, 587-597 (Autumn, 1938).

The poet is William Wilberforce Lord, who published *Poems* (1845), *Christ in Hades* (1851), and *André* (1857).

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Thorp, Willard. "Redburn's Prosy Old Guide-book." *PMLA*, LIII, 1145-1156 (Dec., 1938).

A study of Melville's borrowings from *The Picture of Liverpool; or Stranger's Guide* in writing the eleven Liverpool chapters in *Redburn*.

[PARSONS, T. W.] Haraszti, Zoltán (ed.). "Letters by T. W. Parsons." *More Books*, XIII, 472-493; XIV, 11-20 (Dec., 1938; Jan., 1939).

The final installments of the correspondence.

[POE, E. A.] Jackson, David K. "Poe and the 'Messenger.'" *So. Lit. Messenger*, I, 5-11 (Jan., 1939).

A sketch of T. W. White's founding and editorship of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and especially of Poe's connection with the magazine.

Mabbott, T. O. "Poe's Word 'Tintinnabulation.'" *Notes and Queries*, CLXXV, 387 (Nov. 26, 1938).

This word occurs in an unpublished letter of William W. Lord, dated June 11, 1845.

[THOREAU, H. D.] White, William (comp.). "A Henry David Thoreau Bibliography, 1908-1937 [to be continued]." *Bul. of Bibl.*, XVI, 131-132 (Sept.-Dec., 1938).

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Baym, Max I. "The 1858 Catalogue of Henry Adams's Library." *Colophon*, III, 483-489 (Autumn, 1938).

A catalogue reproduced from manuscript.

[BELLAMY, EDWARD] Franklin, John Hope. "Edward Bellamy and the Nationalist Movement." *New Eng. Quar.*, XI, 739-772 (Dec., 1938).

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Cowie, Alexander. "Mark Twain Controls Himself." *Amer. Lit.*, X, 488-491 (Jan., 1939).

Objections to De Lancey Ferguson's contention in "Huck Finn Aborning," *Colophon*, III, 171-180 (Spring, 1938), that Mark Twain is "one of the freest authors who ever lived," with arguments that his robust style was censored.

De Voto, Bernard. "The Mark Twain Papers." *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, XIX, 3-4, 14-15 (Dec. 10, 1938).

An explanation of the proposed ultimate publication of a number of volumes from the more than twenty thousand pages of unpublished manuscripts possessed by the Mark Twain Estate but now deposited in the Harvard Library.

Jordan, Elizabeth. "A Silent Celebrity." *Christian Science Monitor*, XXX, 9 (Nov. 4, 1938).

A description of Mark Twain, and a humorous anecdote about his meeting with the English novelist, May Sinclair.

Lorch, Fred W. "Mark Twain's Early Nevada Letters." *Amer. Lit.*, X, 486-488 (Jan., 1939).

The sequence of Mark Twain's early Nevada letters in Volume I, Section III, of Paine's *Mark Twain's Letters* is inaccurate and incomplete, and Mark Twain's interest in mining was somewhat earlier than Paine supposed.

Moore, John Bassett. "Mark Twain and Copyright." *Mark Twain Quar.*, III, 3 (Winter, 1938).

Mott, Howard S., Jr. "The Origin of Aunt Polly." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXIV, 1821-1823 (Nov. 11, 1938).

The similarity between Aunt Polly in *Tom Sawyer* and Benjamin Penhallow Shillaber's Mrs. Ruth Partington in *The Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington*.

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# CHANNING AND TRANSCENDENTALISM

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## I

ALTHOUGH writers on American literature do not agree upon the relation of the elder William Ellery Channing to transcendentalism, it appears that most of them consider him to have been a transcendentalist before transcendentalism had become full-fledged, or at least to have been a forerunner of the transcendentalist movement. Thus, one historian says that with regard to his emphasis on the sanctity of the individual conscience, Channing was "the direct intellectual precursor of Emerson and the Transcendentalists."<sup>1</sup> H. C. Goddard calls Channing "the bridge between Unitarianism and transcendentalism," and thinks that Channing "shows a development in the transcendental direction," adding that

all those distinctive doctrines which gave his preaching uniqueness and significance in his own day and which give him historical importance now, flowed from the transcendental elements in his belief.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Parrington, in like manner, refers to Channing as "a forerunner of transcendental individualism."<sup>3</sup> O. B. Frothingham, however, thinks that Channing was not essentially a transcendentalist, but that he came nearer to being a liberal Unitarian,<sup>4</sup> while another writer puts Channing and Emerson casually together as formulators of the positive creed of Unitarianism.<sup>5</sup> Not only do historians fail to agree as to Channing's relation to transcendentalism, but they appear rather vague; to call a man a bridge between two movements is not to indicate clearly his relation to either.

<sup>1</sup> Charles F. Richardson, *American Literature: 1607-1885* (New York, 1894), I, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Harold C. Goddard, "Transcendentalism," *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, 1933), I, 330; *Studies in New England Transcendentalism* (New York, 1908), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1930), II, 337.

<sup>4</sup> Octavius B. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England: A History* (New York, 1876), pp. 110 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Henry K. Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States* (New York, 1924), p. 129.

To clarify that relation should be of value to the study of American literature, for, as R. E. Spiller has maintained, in Channing's time his literary influence was pronounced, both in America and England; in the latter country, from 1823 to 1849, Channing's reputation as an American author was second only to the reputations of Irving and Cooper.<sup>8</sup> Richardson states that American literature during its formative period in the early nineteenth century "owed much of its growth to the constant and beneficial influence of such a creator, critic, and stimulating power as Channing."<sup>9</sup> Lowell praised Channing's essays as examples of excellent prose,<sup>8</sup> and Emerson called Channing's papers on Milton and Napoleon

the first specimens in this country of that large criticism which in England had given power and fame to the Edinburgh Review. They were widely read, and of course immediately fruitful in provoking emulation which lifted the style of Journalism.<sup>9</sup>

Part of the misunderstanding regarding Channing's position evidently results from the fact that, at least during his last years, he expressed dissatisfaction with Unitarianism. This is one of the reasons for Goddard's conclusion that Channing showed increasing sympathy with transcendentalism.<sup>10</sup> But Channing's dissatisfaction did not reflect a change on his part; the change was in Unitarianism, not in him.

In his famous 1819 sermon Channing defined the position of the Unitarians,<sup>11</sup> and apparently felt himself in genuine sympathy with them. With them he rejected Calvinism, and proclaimed the unity of God, the dignity of man, the significance of Jesus as divinely sent to be an example for humanity, and the love of God for man. With them, too—and this was perhaps most important of all—he welcomed the spirit of free inquiry, the untrammeled activity of the human spirit in its attempt to establish its proper relationship

<sup>8</sup> Robert E. Spiller, "A Case for W. E. Channing," *New England Quarterly*, III, 55-81 (Jan., 1930).

<sup>9</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, I, 289. See also Samuel M. Crothers, "William Ellery Channing," *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 6; George S. Hellman, "Later Essayists," *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, 1933), III, 109; F. G. Peabody, "The Humanism of William Ellery Channing," *Christian Register*, CIX, 407-409 (May, 1930).

<sup>10</sup> Horace E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell: A Biography* (Boston, 1901), II, 364.

<sup>11</sup> Edward Waldo Emerson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Centenary ed., Boston, 1904), X, 339. <sup>10</sup> See footnote 2.

<sup>11</sup> *The Works of William Ellery Channing*, D.D. (New and Complete ed., Boston, 1890), pp. 367-384; Crothers, *loc. cit.*

with God and man.<sup>12</sup> To accomplish this end, Channing desired for men complete freedom from authority that they might "give themselves to deliberate, devout, fearless study of God's word in connection with his works and providence";<sup>13</sup> as long as he thought the Unitarians had the same desire, he felt himself one of them. He thought they still had that desire in 1826 when he preached his sermon "Unitarian Christianity Most Favorable to Piety."<sup>14</sup> He thought so in 1831 when he wrote of the Unitarian faith: "It has no established creed or symbol. Its friends think each for himself, and differ much from each other."<sup>15</sup> But during the decade that followed, Channing felt that Unitarianism had developed a creed of its own, by which he could no more be bound than he could by the creed of Calvinism. At length he thought himself forced to condemn the Unitarian creed decisively. In 1841 he wrote to James Martineau:

Old Unitarianism must undergo important modification or developments. . . . It began as a protest against the rejection of reason. . . . It pledged itself to progress, as its life and end; but it has gradually grown stationary, and now we have a *Unitarian Orthodoxy*.<sup>16</sup>

In another letter written in the same year he said:

I do not speak as a Unitarian, but an independent Christian. I have little or no interest in Unitarians *as a sect*. . . . With Dr. Priestley . . . who had most to do in producing the late Unitarian movement, I have less sympathy than with many of the "Orthodox."<sup>17</sup>

Again in 1841 he wrote to W. Trevilcock:

I am little of a Unitarian, have little sympathy with the system of Priestley and Belsham, and stand aloof from all but those . . . who look for a purer and more effectual manifestation of Christian truth.<sup>18</sup>

It seems plain that it was not Channing that changed, but Unitarianism. Consequently, that his opinion of Unitarianism in 1841 was different from that which he had held a decade earlier does

<sup>12</sup> Channing, *Works*, pp. 380-384.

<sup>13</sup> *Memoir of William Ellery Channing with Extracts from His Correspondence and Manuscripts* (2d ed., Boston, 1848), II, 361. <sup>14</sup> Channing, *Works*, pp. 384-401.

<sup>15</sup> Channing, *Memoir*, II, 387. Also Charles T. Brooks, *William Ellery Channing: A Centennial Memory* (Boston, 1880), pp. 107-120; Minot J. Savage, "Channing Unitarianism," *The Channing Centenary in America, Great Britain, and Ireland*, ed. Russell N. Bellows (Boston, 1881), pp. 111-118. <sup>16</sup> Channing, *Memoir*, II, 399.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 380.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 381.

not mean that he moved, as did Emerson, in the direction of transcendentalism.

## II

Insistence upon the validity of immediate intuition, independent of any external experience or teaching, is an important tenet in the transcendental philosophy. In fact, it gives to transcendentalism its most significant characteristic; namely, its striking faith in the infallibility of the individual conscience. This is agreed upon both by those who think that Channing was a transcendentalist and by those who think he was not. Thus, Goddard distinguishes the Unitarians from the transcendentalists by ascribing to the former the belief that human nature is essentially good, whereas the latter believe that it is divine. This distinction, he thinks, is one more reason for recognizing Channing as essentially a transcendentalist.<sup>19</sup> Frothingham agrees concerning the nature of transcendentalism, which "had a creed, and a definite one."

Transcendentalism was a distinct philosophical system. Practically it was an assertion of the inalienable worth of man; theoretically it was an assertion of the immanence of divinity in instinct, the transference of supernatural attributes to the natural constitution of mankind.<sup>20</sup>

However, as we have seen, Frothingham does not agree that Channing was a transcendentalist. The problem for us, then, seems not so much to involve the nature of transcendentalism, as to ascertain what Channing really did think of the transcendentalist conception of the divinity of human nature, and of the infallibility of the human conscience.

This cardinal point of transcendentalism Channing rejected. Particularly he disagreed with the transcendental attitude toward Christ and the miracles, and toward the Christian virtues of humility and meekness in which throughout his life he firmly believed. In a letter to George Bush in 1841 he wrote:

I might adopt much of the Trinitarian language, not only on the Trinity, but the Atonement. I could say, that Christ died to magnify the law, to satisfy Divine justice, and that God cannot forgive without manifesting his displeasure at sin.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Studies in New England Transcendentalism*, pp. 28 f.

<sup>20</sup> Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>21</sup> Channing, *Memoir*, II, 379. See also Grace Ellery Channing (ed.), *Channing's Note-Book: Passages from the Unpublished Manuscripts of William Ellery Channing* (Boston, 1902), pp. 25 f., 53; Channing, *Memoir*, I, 427.

At another time he said:

Christian truth coming to me from the living soul of Jesus, with his living faith and love, and brought out in his grand and beautiful life, is a very, very different thing from an abstract system.<sup>22</sup>

How far Channing's religious philosophy separated him from the transcendentalists he was well aware. Concerning their interpretation of Jesus he wrote:

Any speculations which throw mists or doubts over his history, and diminish the conviction of his grandeur and importance, are poor and must come to naught. . . . I do fear a tendency in the present movement, to loosen the tie which binds the soul to its great Friend and Deliverer.<sup>23</sup>

In 1841 he wrote to James Martineau concerning the transcendentalists:

They are anxious to defend the soul's immediate connection with God. They fear lest Christ be made a barrier between the soul and the Supreme, and are in danger of substituting private inspiration for Christianity. Should they go thus far, my hopes from them will cease wholly.<sup>24</sup>

This comment Channing follows with an exhaustive defense of the validity and value of faith in miracles.<sup>25</sup> To Miss Peabody he writes: I am also grieved to find you insensible to the clear, bright distinction between Jesus Christ and ourselves. To me, and I should think to every reader of the New Testament, he stands apart, alone. . . . He is a being of moral perfection, unstained by sin.<sup>26</sup>

Channing's belief in the divine nature of Jesus and the New Testament, and his conception of sin, clearly indicate a fundamental distinction between his thought and transcendentalism. "I am somewhat disappointed that this new movement is to do so little for the spiritual regeneration of society," he reflects,<sup>27</sup> and later adds: "I have little hope in this new movement, except as it indicates deep wants of the soul. . . ."<sup>28</sup> Again he writes to Miss Peabody:

It would seem as if your experience had shown you human nature developing its highest sentiments without help and confirmation from abroad. To me, history and observation and experience read very different lessons, and the consequences of overlooking them are not doubtful.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Channing, *Memoir*, II, 442.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 449.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 451.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 453, 455.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 446.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 449.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 450.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 449 f.

How completely does this contradict the vital transcendentalist idea that intuitive knowledge is supremely valid, and that history and experience are of comparatively little worth. Furthermore, it is apparent that Channing was not hazy about transcendentalism. He understood its essential nature, and expressly repudiated it.

But perhaps the difference between Channing's philosophy and that of the transcendentalists is nowhere better indicated than in his criticism of Theodore Parker's sermon, "The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity." Writing to Miss Peabody in 1841, a year before his death, Channing says of it:

I grieved that he did not give some clear, direct expression of his belief in the Christian miracles. His silence under such circumstances makes me fear that he does not believe them. I see not how the rejection of these can be separated from the rejection of Jesus Christ. . . . There is not a trace of a time when he existed in men's minds without them. . . . Without miracles the historical Christ is gone. . . . Reduce Christianity to a set of abstract ideas, sever it from its teacher, and it ceases to be "the power of God unto salvation."<sup>30</sup>

It has been advanced as evidence of Channing's sympathy with transcendentalism that he pleaded for toleration of Parker's views, and for his right to express himself fully. Naturally Channing would have done so, for belief in religious and intellectual liberty, in the untrammeled expression of ideas, was a vital part of his creed.<sup>31</sup> But it is evident from the above passage that he did not agree with Parker's ideas.

### III

So far we have been chiefly concerned with Channing's opinion of transcendentalism and its adherents. We may next consider the opinions of some of the major transcendentalists with regard to Channing. Goddard writes:

That his influence on the transcendentalists was so powerful and their sympathy for him so great—Emerson called him "our Bishop"—is the surest proof of the transcendentalism of his own nature.<sup>32</sup>

This reference to Emerson's words is based on a stray remark attributed to Emerson by Miss Peabody.<sup>33</sup> It would seem more

<sup>30</sup> Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, *Reminiscences of Rev. Wm. Ellery Channing, D.D.* (Boston, 1880), pp. 423 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Goddard, *Studies*, p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> Channing, *Memoir*, II, 359 f.

<sup>33</sup> *Reminiscences*, p. 371.

satisfactory to make a systematic search of Emerson's *Works* and *Journals* for his real opinion of Channing.

Emerson was early acquainted with Channing and in the decade of the 1820's admired his preaching<sup>34</sup> so much that he asked Channing to direct his religious studies. In 1823 we find him writing in his *Journals* with regard to a sermon by Channing:

He considered God's word to be the only expounder of his works, and that Nature had always been found insufficient to teach men the great doctrines which Revelation inculcated.<sup>35</sup>

In 1832 Emerson voiced his approval of Channing's discourse on war.<sup>36</sup> He was acquainted with Channing personally, and preached by invitation in Channing's pulpit.<sup>37</sup> In 1837 he remarks casually in his *Journals* that Channing had called upon him, but he notes nothing but the fact itself.<sup>38</sup> At another time he records that Channing was present at a meeting of the Concord literati.<sup>39</sup>

In view of Emerson's long acquaintance with Channing, the most striking fact, perhaps, about his references to the great preacher is their infrequency and their casual character. Only in seven entries in his *Journals* does Emerson mention Channing, and when he does, his comments, as we have seen, are brief and mostly matter-of-fact. He does not indicate that Channing had ever particularly influenced his thinking, nor does there appear definite evidence to that effect in Emerson's writing. We have seen that Emerson thought highly of the literary merits of Channing's essays on Napoleon and Milton, and he expressed admiration for Channing's Christian character.<sup>40</sup> It was in this, however, rather than in the field of ideas, that Emerson thought Channing's excellence lay. After the death of Channing, Emerson referred to him as "the star of the American Church," but he immediately added: "He could never be reported, for his eye and voice could not be printed, and his discourses lose their best in losing them."<sup>41</sup> And he wrote in his *Journals*: "I think Doctor Channing was intellectual by dint of his fine moral sentiment, and not primarily."<sup>42</sup> That Emerson showed

<sup>34</sup> James E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1893), I, 105.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (eds.), *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1909), I, 290 f.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 456.

<sup>37</sup> Emerson, *Works*, X, 575 n.

<sup>38</sup> *Journals*, IV, 236.

<sup>39</sup> *Works*, X, 340 f.

<sup>40</sup> *Journals*, VI, 284 ff. *Works*, X, 440.

<sup>41</sup> Emerson, *Works*, X, 339.

<sup>42</sup> *Journals*, VI, 271.

a genuine personal regard for Channing as a preacher does not mean that he agreed with, or was influenced by, Channing's ideas, for Emerson showed the same regard for Dr. Nathaniel Frothingham, whom he praised and invited to the meeting at his home in Concord which resulted in the formation of the "Transcendental Club." And Frothingham was an avowed Unitarian, genuinely suspicious of the transcendental movement.<sup>43</sup>

Theodore Parker also knew Channing well, and after Channing's death wrote an essay about him. However, Parker's praise for Channing, high though it is, commends in him the same qualities as did Emerson; namely, his high moral and religious personality.<sup>44</sup> "His life was eminently useful and beautiful."<sup>45</sup> But in estimating the value and nature of Channing's thought, Parker again is strikingly in accord with Emerson. Channing's "eminence came from no extraordinary intellectual gift. . . ."<sup>46</sup> "He was not eminently original either in thought or in the form thereof; not rich in ideas."<sup>47</sup> Plainly it was not Channing's philosophy that Parker applauded.<sup>48</sup>

As for Thoreau, in the twenty-volume *Walden* edition of his writings there appears to be no reference of any sort to Dr. Channing.<sup>49</sup> Yet Thoreau was immersed in transcendental philosophy during the last years of Channing's life, while Channing was well known in Concord. It seems certain that Thoreau must have been acquainted with the thought of the elder Channing, and equally certain that he was not particularly impressed by it.

Comments like those by Emerson and Parker indicate that their authors were as well aware of the intellectual separation between themselves and Channing as Channing was. As cultivated men of religious and philosophical temperament, the transcendentalists and Channing had various common interests, and they appear generally

<sup>43</sup> Octavius B. Frothingham, *Boston Unitarianism, 1820-1850: A Study of the Life and Work of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham* (New York, 1890), p. 59 ff.

<sup>44</sup> George W. Cooke (ed.), *The Writings of Theodore Parker* (Centenary ed., Boston, 1907), VIII, 141-171.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 139.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 171.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 140.

<sup>48</sup> The transcendentalists paid homage to the same qualities in Channing of personal goodness and humanitarianism that were most admired by non-transcendentalist writers such as Lowell, Longfellow, and Whittier (John White Chadwick, *William Ellery Channing: Minister of Religion*, Boston, 1903, pp. 423-426, 343, 353). It seems plain that the transcendentalists' regard for Channing was not for any virtues or ideas peculiar to transcendentalism.

<sup>49</sup> *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (Walden ed., Boston, 1906).

to have admired one another. But their philosophies were not in accord. Channing was interested solely in a purer Christianity. He was not a transcendentalist. He rejected Unitarianism with the words we have already seen: "I . . . stand aloof from all but those . . . who look for a purer and more effectual manifestation of Christian truth." These words express Channing's fundamental philosophy, a philosophy which forced him to stand as far aloof from that of the transcendentalists as it did from the orthodoxy of the Unitarians.

## POE AND THE CHESS AUTOMATON

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IT WAS GRISWOLD who wrote in his *Memoir* of Poe that the stories of ratiocination had been thought "more ingenious" than they were, that there was about them, besides a method, an "air of method." The fate of the unfriendly Griswold at the hands of subsequent scholars has been so forlorn, the praise of Poe has been for over fifty years so sustained on almost every score, that the present writer only with a certain diffidence in nonconformity ventures this nibble at Poe's ratiocinative reputation, in the way of a study of his essay "Maelzel's Chess-Player."

"The essay on the Automaton *cannot be answered*, and we have heard the Editor challenges a reply from Maelzel himself, or from any source whatever. The piece has excited great attention." Such was the comment of the *Norfolk Herald*, quoted by Poe in the "Supplement" to the July issue of the *Messenger*. Applause is quoted from six other papers too—the *Baltimore Gazette*, the *Baltimore Patriot*, the *United States Gazette*, the *Charleston Courier*, the *Winchester Virginian*. Only one, the *New Yorker*, finds a fault—that too much space is sacrificed to the essay.<sup>1</sup>

Forty-four years later the biographer Ingram gave the literary world the following opinion: "The poet demonstrated by clear, concise, and irrefutable arguments, that the machine then being exhibited before the citizens of Richmond must be regulated in its operation by *mind*—that, in fact, it was no automaton at all, but simply a piece of mechanism guided by human agency."<sup>2</sup> Next, Woodberry, after a somewhat more critical examination, wrote in a state of indecision. Poe "demonstrated that Maelzel's Chess Player must be operated by human agency, and solved the methods used." But on the same page, the essay "has been vastly overrated, as anyone may convince himself by comparing it minutely with Sir David Brewster's 'Letters on Natural Magic,' to which it stands confessedly

<sup>1</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 518-523 (July, 1836). The essay on the "Chess-Player" had appeared in the April issue (II, 318-326).

<sup>2</sup> John H. Ingram, *Edgar Allan Poe, His Life, Letters and Opinions* (London, 1880), I, 135.

obliged, and from which it is partly paraphrased."<sup>3</sup> Poe's most romantic biographer writes as follows: "Chief of these essays was *Maelzel's Chess-Player* in which he exposed the method by which a dummy chessman, that had gone the rounds of American cities winning games from living opponents, was operated. Many persons had been more mystified than amused by the manoeuvres of the automatic man, and the *exposé*, although only partly correct, created quite a little furor. It was the first of Poe's work in which he emerged as the unerring abstract reasoner, and foreshadowed the method he followed later in his detective stories such as the *Murders in the Rue Morgue*."<sup>4</sup>

The purpose of this article is to insist, more specifically than seems yet to have been done, that the essay on the automaton "has been vastly overrated," that it was "only partly correct," to add that it was based on no original thinking, and hence to suggest that so far as Poe emerges from it as anything at all, it is not as an "unerring abstract reasoner," but as an artist with a certain method.

There were two chief mysteries presented by the automaton. First, if one assumed, as most writers did, that there was a human player within, how was he concealed during the opening of the doors and drawer? Secondly, how was this player aware of the moves of his adversary made by Maelzel on the top of the chest, and how did he direct the automaton's arm in making his own moves? With the second of these Poe's only connection is that he was ignorant of the solution. The fact that the correct solution had been both guessed and betrayed before April, 1836, is not the pith of this argument, for Poe had no periodical indexes foreign or domestic, and if, unaware of the most recent publications, he had reasoned honestly to an independent solution, there would be no

<sup>3</sup> George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1909), I, 178. Woodberry wrote more specifically but not so happily (*The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Edmund Clarence Stedman and George Edward Woodberry, Chicago, 1895, IX, 315): "The portions other than those pertaining to the analysis of the *Chess-Player* are from Sir David Brewster's 'Lectures [sic] on Natural Magic,' partly in acknowledged quotation, partly in close paraphrase. . . . The analysis itself follows closely Brewster's method, but is more exact and detailed, and adds much to the explanation. The pamphlet, of which the solution is given by Brewster, and which Poe identifies with an article in a 'Baltimore weekly paper,' possibly the 'Saturday Visiter,' to which Poe contributed, has not been found; but, doubtless, Brewster's account is accurate, and it would appear probable from Poe's language that he did not himself write it, although perhaps it directed his attention to the theme."

<sup>4</sup> Hervey Allen, *Israel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1934), I, 323-324.

obstacle to his credit. Still some notice of the real working of the automaton is necessary—to make clear Poe's debt to a source that was only partly correct.

The method of conducting the game, by a kind of pantograph and by magnetized chessmen, had been approximated as early as 1789 in a pamphlet written by Joseph Friedrich, Freiherr zu Racknitz.<sup>5</sup> And both the method of conducting the game and that of concealing the player within the chest had been completely exposed, almost two years before Poe's essay, in an article appearing in *Le Magasin pittoresque*,<sup>6</sup> based on a betrayal of the secret by Mouret, a Parisian chessplayer, who was at one time the operator of the machine.<sup>7</sup> In 1838 Maelzel died in passage from Havana to Philadelphia; the automaton was bought at auction in Philadelphia and resold to Dr. John Kearsley Mitchell, Professor in the Jefferson College of Medicine, who together with a group of friends rehabilitated it, operated it till the novelty was gone, then deposited it in the Chinese Museum in Philadelphia, where it was destroyed by fire on July 5, 1854.<sup>8</sup> By 1857 Dr. Mitchell had dictated an account<sup>9</sup> of the construction and operation of the automaton, which was published in the *Chess Monthly*. This remains not only the most authoritative but the clearest statement and together with the article in the *Magasin pittoresque*, which it completely corroborates, constitutes the extant evidence of how the automaton actually worked.

The chest was divided into two apartments above, and a drawer beneath. In the smaller apartment, occupying about a third of the longitudinal dimensions of the box, was placed a number of pieces of brass, made very

<sup>5</sup> *Über den Schachspieler des Herrn von Kempelen und dessen Nachbildung* (Leipsic and Dresden, 1789), esp. pp. 33-44 and plates.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Magasin pittoresque, publié sous la direction de MM. Euryale Cazeaux et Edouard Chartron* (20 Livraison, 1834), II, 155.

<sup>7</sup> G[eorge] W[alker], "Anatomy of the Chess Automaton," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, XIX, 728 (June, 1839); and G[eorge] A[llen], "The History of the Automaton Chess-Player in America," *The Book of the First American Chess Congress*, ed. Daniel Willard Fiske (New York, 1859), p. 423 n.

<sup>8</sup> George Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 474-484.

<sup>9</sup> George Allen (*op. cit.*, p. 480 n) says that Dr. John Kearsley Mitchell dictated an explanation which was communicated to the *Chess Monthly*. The two parts of the article in the *Chess Monthly* are unsigned, but in the index are credited to "S. W. Mitchell," doubtless S. Weir Mitchell, son of John Kearsley. See *Dictionary of American Biography*. George Allen's fine collection of chess books was purchased after his death by the Library Company of Philadelphia and is now at the Ridgway Branch. Here also S. Weir Mitchell deposited a box containing newspaper clippings and manuscripts about the automaton and a small chessboard and pattern of the knight's tour which would seem to be relics of the famous machine.

thin, and designed only for the purpose of deception. . . . Behind this movable back of the drawer, there was therefore left an unoccupied space of the whole length of the chest, and rather more than a foot in breadth. In this trough was fixed an iron railroad . . . upon which was placed a low seat. . . . The left arm of the Turk, part of a pentograph, communicated, through his body, with the interior of the chest, where, by means of a lever, the operator, concealed within it, was enabled to give every desired motion to the arm, hand, and fingers of the figure. . . . On the under side of the chest appeared a chess-board directly beneath that upon the upper surface. . . . The squares were numbered from one to sixty-four, under each of which hung a little lever, well balanced, to which was attached a small disk of iron. These disks, when attracted by magnets [one in each chess-man], placed on top of the box, swung up into the excavations and remained there quietly until liberated by the removal of the magnets, when they vibrated for some seconds like a well-hung bell. In front of the operator was placed . . . another chess-board. . . . This was also numbered to correspond exactly to that above his head, and was perforated by holes . . . in order to prevent the possibility of his chess-men being disarranged.<sup>10</sup>

Poe makes much of his reasoning that the automaton cannot be a pure automaton, that only a human mind can act with the endless variety necessary to make the choices of a chess game.<sup>11</sup> Again, he suspects that the operator of the machine was a certain assistant of Maelzel's, Schlumberger, during whose illness, on a former visit to Richmond, the automaton did not play.<sup>12</sup> The truth is that Schlumberger *was* the "director" of the automaton in most of its American exhibitions.<sup>13</sup> But how Poe guessed, or knew, it, is an-

<sup>10</sup> "The Last of a Veteran Chess Player," *Chess Monthly: An American Chess Serial*, ed. Daniel Willard Fiske, I, 41-44 (Feb., 1857). Two significant passages I quote later in a more specific connection.

The most scholarly treatment of the subject is the extensive bibliography in Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels* (Berlin, 1874), II, 339-352. But van der Linde, although he describes the *Magasin pittoresque* and *Chess Monthly* articles, has not seen either and is consequently inaccurate in his notion of the true solution. The history of writings on the automaton both before and after Poe is one of complicated plagiarism, misinterpretation, and irresponsibility which I have been able only to hint at within the limit of this article.

<sup>11</sup> *Works of Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison (New York, 1902), XIV, 9-11. All references to the "Essay" are to this edition.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>13</sup> George Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 436 ff. Schlumberger, an Alsatian imported from the chess cafes of Paris, was actually ill during a visit of the automaton to Richmond in August and September, 1834. The second visit, during which apparently Poe gathered the data for his excellent description of a performance, took place in December, 1835, and January, 1836 (*ibid.*, p. 463 n.).

other matter. This seems the place to glance at a possibility that long before Poe wrote of the automaton he had ample testimony not only that a man was concealed in the machine but that it was Schlumberger.

About the end of May, 1827, while Maelzel was exhibiting in Baltimore, two boys actually saw Schlumberger emerge from the automaton after a performance and recognized him.<sup>14</sup> On Friday, June 1, the Baltimore *Federal Gazette* carried the following:

The Chess Player Discovered. This ingenious contrivance of M. Kempe-  
len . . . has at length been discovered. . . . an accidental circumstance  
exposed . . . the concealed agent as he emerged from the case, just after  
the conclusion of an exhibition of the Automaton.<sup>15</sup>

Four days later the *Gazette* was more circumstantial:

The Automaton Chess Player. The Editor of the United States Gazette expresses some doubt as to the discovery of the Agent in the Box or Table . . . because we did not vouch for it in our paper of Friday last. . . . It was not necessary *here* to vouch for a fact which was very generally known, and as generally believed. Two persons, one in his fifteenth, the other in his nineteenth year, at the same time witnessed the transaction. . . . We take this opportunity of noticing an observation made by the Editor of the Baltimore Republican on Saturday last, "that the boy who states he made the discovery demanded money for disclosing it. . . ." When the report had partially circulated of the discovery of the concealed Chess Player, a number of curious enquirers successively pressed for a relation of the circumstances, until it became "very annoying" to the elder youth, who was tired of telling "the oft repeated tale," and to his employer, whose business was interrupted by so many curious intruders.<sup>16</sup>

And on the following day the *Gazette* reverted to the topic again, this time in answer to a gibe in the *New York Commercial Adver-*

<sup>14</sup> George Allen (*op. cit.*, pp. 451-452) says they were standing on the roof of a shed in the rear of the building where Maelzel exhibited, that after the performance the automaton was wheeled into a back room and the top lifted, upon which Schlumberger climbed out. As it was a hot day, Maelzel had thrown the shutters of the room open; the boys saw everything clearly. I have been unable to find any contemporary notices which are so specific. Yet from the newspaper items which I quote it is evident that something of the sort happened. Allen gives a circumstantial history (pp. 436 ff.) of Schlumberger's connection with the automaton. There is no reason to doubt that it was he who was seen, though how much his name was connected with the story that went around is doubtful.

<sup>15</sup> *Federal Gazette*, June 1, 1827, p. 2, col. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, June 5, 1827, p. 2, col. 3.

tiser.<sup>17</sup> There can be little doubt that the affair received some notice outside Baltimore and within the city was commonly discussed. The diary of Robert Gilmor, Baltimore merchant and art patron (1774-1848), offers a fortunate illustration. On May 12 and 16 of this year Gilmor discusses the mystery of the automaton. On May 23 he attends an exhibition and thinks there is an "assistant" within the chest. Then on June 1 comes the revelation.

Called in for a moment at Meredith's to talk of the recent discovery by a boy, of the secret of Maelzel's Automaton Chess Player; which was as we all suspected moved by a man concealed in the Machine.<sup>18</sup>

Poe, of course, was not in Baltimore at this time; he was in Boston, publishing *Tamerlane and Other Poems*.<sup>19</sup> But his brother Henry Poe was in Baltimore—at least about this time.<sup>20</sup> Henry Poe's first contribution to the *North American* appeared in No. 11, July 28.<sup>21</sup> In No. 18, September 15, he published "The Happiest Day," taken from Edgar's *Tamerlane*,<sup>22</sup> so that it is certain that by that time the brothers had been in communication. There is no proof that this had taken place as early as the exposure of the automaton, but it is not unlikely. The two had been together in Richmond, on good terms, in 1825. In March, 1827, Edgar fled from Richmond. Probably in May or June he published *Tamerlane*.<sup>23</sup> "It is known that he sent out several copies of *Tamerlane* from Boston."<sup>24</sup> It would have been curious had he waited until September to send one to his brother.

The question overlaps oddly with the fact that in the first number of the *North American*, May 19, appeared an article on the "Automaton Chess Player." One cannot be sure that this is what Poe refers to when he writes: "His Essay was first published in a

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, June 6, 1827, p. 2, col. 3. George Allen (*op. cit.*, p. 452) says the *National Intelligencer*, of Washington, D. C., believed the *Gazette* article was a publicity trick of Maelzel's, and that other papers then kept silent.

<sup>18</sup> "Diary of Robert Gilmor," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII, 332, 333, 337, 341 (Dec., 1922). I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. Louis H. Dielman, Librarian of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

<sup>19</sup> Hervey Allen and Thomas Ollive Mabbott, *Poe's Brother* (New York, 1926), pp. 78-79.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92. It is barely conceivable that a copy of *Tamerlane* might have come into Henry's hands without Edgar's knowledge. But a week later Edgar's co-operation is clear, for "Dreams," in No. 23, has corrections that must be due to Edgar himself (*ibid.*, pp. 49-51, 92).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 78-81.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Baltimore weekly paper, was illustrated by cuts, and was entitled 'An attempt to analyze the Automaton Chess-Player of M. Maelzel.'<sup>25</sup> The article in the *North American* has only one cut; however, Poe may well have remembered it but vaguely. The title in the *North American* is simpler, but what more natural than that Poe should have given it approximately the title he had before him, that of the pamphlet to which Sir David Brewster refers?<sup>26</sup> Unless someone points out another such article in another Baltimore weekly, there must be a strong presumption that it was to this Poe made a confused reference—in his effort to appear acquainted with the bibliography of the automaton.<sup>27</sup> Mr. Allen and Professor Mabbott have suggested the connection by reproducing a page of Poe's essay, with his illustration, and following that the first two pages of the first number of the *North American*, containing the automaton essay in full.<sup>28</sup>

The essay in the *North American*, as it derives from the same stock as Poe's ideas, leads us conveniently to the last part of our discourse. The "original," the source, the fountainhead, of the already widespread ideas which Poe adopted—the anonymous pamphlet referred to by Brewster—was: *An Attempt to Analyse the Automaton Chess Player of Mr. De Kempelen. With an Easy Method of Imitating the Movements of that Celebrated Figure. Illustrated by Original Drawings. To Which is Added a Copious Collection of the Knight's Moves over the Chess Board. London. Printed for J. Booth. . . . 1821.* 40 pp. The author of the pamphlet was a young man twenty-one years old, Robert Willis, later Jacksonian Professor of applied mathematics at the University of Cambridge.<sup>29</sup> In the same year this anonymous

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> Sir David Brewster, *Letters on Natural Magic, Addressed to Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (New York, c. 1832), *Harper's Stereotyped Edition* (on binding, *The Family Library*, No. 50), p. 248. Cf. note 48. Brewster speaks of "a pamphlet, entitled 'An Attempt to analyse the automaton chess-player of M. Kempelen'"—which of course was nearly the correct title of the pamphlet to which he was referring.

<sup>27</sup> It is extremely improbable that any article on the automaton appeared in a Baltimore paper before its visit there in 1827. Woodberry's suggestion that the article had appeared in the *Saturday Visiter* (cf. note 3) could perhaps be tested thoroughly by the file of the *Visiter* owned by the Cloud family. (See Hervey Allen, *Israel*, New York, 1926, I, 350, n. 448.) But the discovery of such an article could not add to or detract from Poe's credit for originality. I think it is plain from what is said above and from what follows that whatever he had seen he did not remember it or rely on it, but drew entirely from Brewster.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, Robert Willis (1800-1875).

pamphlet was reviewed in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, one of the editors of which was Sir David Brewster. The review, with extracts and eleven figures of the automaton, was in effect a second publication of Willis's well-reasoned, but only partially correct, solution.<sup>30</sup>

Six years later, during the first tour of the automaton in America, there were at least three more publications of the same solution. The automaton came to America in April, 1826, and after a short stay in New York, moved to Boston, where it remained until the end of October<sup>31</sup> and provoked *The History and Analysis of the Supposed Automaton Chess Player*,<sup>32</sup> a pamphlet with diagrams taken, perhaps through an intermediate account, from Willis, and drawing on the solution of Willis and on some intermediate account of a misinterpretation of Racknitz which had appeared in Hutton's *Philosophical and Mathematical Dictionary*.<sup>33</sup> Not many months later, in March, 1827, Poe himself, let us recall, was in Boston.

The automaton moved on to Philadelphia, and the *Franklin Journal and American Mechanics' Magazine* for February, 1827, published "Some Observations upon the Automaton Chess Player,"<sup>34</sup> an article which included the elements of Willis's solution and mentioned both the review in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* and the Boston pamphlet. It employed one simplified diagram, with but three letters. By May the automaton had moved on to Baltimore, and the *North American* published its article, borrowing both diagram and text from the *Franklin Journal*.

In 1832 Sir David Brewster published his *Letters on Natural Magic, Addressed to Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, in which, perhaps reminded of Willis's pamphlet from his editing of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, he drew again on the same source, giving the title, though not the name of the author, which he may not have known. And this brings us to Poe.

There is no reason to suppose that Poe drew on any writing but that of Sir David Brewster. He does not pretend to have seen Brewster's source, the pamphlet, but only its "original" in a Balti-

<sup>30</sup> *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, IV, 393-398 (April, 1821).

<sup>31</sup> For the itinerary of the automaton, see George Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 435, 442, 447.

<sup>32</sup> George Allen's copy, the only one I have located, is at the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

<sup>33</sup> See note 35.

<sup>34</sup> *Franklin Journal and American Mechanics' Magazine*, III, 125-132 (Feb., 1827).

more paper, and this if it was the *North American* article, we have already seen he could hardly have remembered very well. Concerning the pamphlet of 1789 by the Freiherr zu Racknitz, Poe has plainly learned everything from Brewster.<sup>35</sup> The same is true of the "large pamphlet printed at Paris in 1785 . . . the first attempt of which we ourselves have any knowledge";<sup>36</sup> and the same, of Poe's history of the automaton, its invention in 1769 by Baron von Kempelen of Presburg in Hungary, its exhibition in Presburg, Paris and Vienna, its visit to London in 1783 and 1784, von Kempelen's calling it a *bagatelle*.<sup>37</sup> Poe's knowledge that "the plume

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 19, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 247. Cf. note 5. Brewster's description, including the quotation, is taken from the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh, 1830), II, 65, of which he himself was the editor. The article in the *Encyclopedia* professes to have drawn (through an intermediate work, I think. Cf. above, p. 145) on an account by Thomas Collinson in a "Supplement to Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary, Art. Automaton." I have not seen the edition of Hutton's *Encyclopedia* with the "Supplement," but in the article "Automaton" in the edition of 1815, the account of the chess-player is quoted from Collinson, who, it appears, had a slight acquaintance with Kempelen and Racknitz but was ignorant of German. His "boy . . . thin and small . . . concealed in a drawer almost immediately under the chess-board" is a misinterpretation too complicated to be treated here (Charles Hutton, *A Philosophical and Mathematical Dictionary*, London, 1815, I, 194). Brewster makes the "thin and small" boy "thin and tall." Poe acquires from him this mistake, the original misinterpretation, and the amusing "Mr. Freyhere."

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 19, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 247. This "pamphlet" is Decremps, *La Magie blanche dévoilée* (Paris, 1784), a volume of 287 pages. George Allen's copy, the only one I have located, is at the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library Company. Decremps's solution is plainly what Brewster and Poe are describing.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-248. It is worth noting that Poe omits a second visit to England in 1819-1820 (the occasion of Willis's *Attempt*) and attaches Maelzel's name to the 1783-1784 visit, where it does not belong. It was Maelzel who brought the automaton to England in 1819-1820 (H. J. R. Murray, *History of Chess*, Oxford, 1913, p. 877). Poe's account of the other automata, the coach of Camus, the magician of Maillardet, the duck of Vaucanson, the calculating machine of Babbage (pp. 6-9), he seems to have taken also from Brewster. He admits the debt for the first three, and the fourth is there too; they are all in the same Letter as the chess automaton (Letter XI, pp. 241-243, 256-257, 263-267). "We copy the following account of it [Maillardet's magician] from the *Letters* before mentioned of Dr. B., who derived his information principally from the Edinburgh encyclopedia" (Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 7). We must not assume from this that Poe had seen the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*—not even when he adds, "Under the head *Androïdes* in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia may be found a full account of the principal automata of ancient and modern times" (p. 9 n.). Brewster had put a footnote to his account of Maillardet's magician: "See the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Art. *Androïdes*, vol. II, p. 66" (p. 257 n.). Brewster's Letter XI begins with an account of ancient automata; and in the same letter (p. 260) there is a second mention of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*—besides a few more in other parts of the book—ample premises for Poe to guess that most of the Letter on automata was from the *Encyclopedia*. (It is to be remembered, however, that Willis's solution was not in the *Encyclopedia*. See *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, Edinburgh, 1830, II, 64-65, "Androïdes.") Finally, had Poe turned to the *Encyclopedia* and found that the editor was none

... on the automaton's turban was not originally worn"<sup>38</sup> he could easily have got from the diagrams in Brewster. His note that "The making the Turk pronounce the word *echec*, is an improvement by M. Maelzel" could have been gathered from Brewster,<sup>39</sup> though what he adds, "the figure originally indicated a *check* by rapping on the box with his right hand," came from some other source, for Brewster says it shook its head thrice. Poe's idea might have been picked up as easily at the exhibition room as anywhere else. I have found it in no other writing.<sup>40</sup>

We come then to consider how much of his solution Poe owed to Brewster; and the answer is: almost everything, all that was correct, as well as much that was incorrect. As far as Brewster is right, Poe is right. Where Brewster is wrong, Poe is wrong. He who likes may compare point for point the opening of the three front doors, of the drawer, of the two back doors, the successive postures assumed by the operator within the box.<sup>41</sup> The mere X-ray like diagrams in Brewster, the shadowy figure of the man, first bent forward, then sitting upright, then up in the body of the Turk, shout the story. The fact that according to Brewster the operator extended his own left arm into that of the Turk, while according to Poe he brought his right arm across his chest to actuate some machinery, makes no difference—both were wrong. Poe has the operator's legs behind the drawer only when it is pulled out, and in a footnote calls attention to Brewster's "untenable" supposition that the drawer is a false drawer and does not extend to the back of the box. Brewster was nearer to the truth than he. "The drawer, which when drawn out, seemed to be of the entire hori-

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other than David Brewster, LL.D., it would have seemed pointless to accuse Brewster of deriving his information "principally from the Edinburgh Encyclopedia."

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 17 n., and Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

<sup>40</sup> Or perhaps Poe has remembered confusedly something from the *North American* article: "The right hand rests upon the table, and if a false move be made, the figure notices it by striking this hand repeatedly upon the table, and shaking his head" (p. 2). There is good evidence that Brewster gives the correct account of how the figure originally gave check. Racknitz, who says he has observed the automaton carefully (p. 3), writes: "Both die Figur dem Könige Schach: so neigte sie dreimal, bei Schach der Königin nur zweimal, den Kopf" (p. 9). (See note 5.) Windisch, an early and circumstantial first-hand reporter, writes: "Beym Schache der Königin nickt er zweymal, so, wie beym Schache dem Könige dreymal mit dem Kopfe; bey einem falschen Gange aber schüttelt er denselben" (Karl Gottlieb von Windisch, *Briefe über den Schachspieler*, Basel, 1783, pp. 31-32).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-255.

zontal dimensions of the chest, was also deceptive, as its back end was so constructed as to move upon wheels, by means of which it did not press backwards with the sides more than a foot and a half.”<sup>42</sup>

Having adopted the explanation of Sir David Brewster, Poe alleges as the foundation of his “result” seventeen “observations taken during frequent visits to the exhibition.”<sup>43</sup> Some of them are acute

<sup>42</sup> *Chess Monthly*, I, 42 (Feb., 1857). Cf. note 10.

<sup>43</sup> 1. The moves of the Turk are made at irregular intervals. Since it would have been easy to limit the time allowed to the opponent for each move, and, if the automaton were a pure automaton, to set its replies at a fixed interval, and since this would favor the operation of a pure automaton, the irregularity argues a human agency. (This argument is not in Brewster.) 2. When the automaton is about to make a move, the drapery over the left shoulder may be seen in agitation. If the opponent retract his move, even before Maelzel retracts the move on the automaton's board, the movement of the arm will be withheld. (Since the operator was not looking through the chest of the Turk, as Poe supposed, but depended for his information on Maelzel's moves on the board on the chest, it would appear that Poe's imagination beguiled him.) 3. A pure machine would win all games; but the automaton does not. (Not in Brewster.) 4. The Turk shakes his head and rolls his eyes only when the game is easy, i.e., when the operator has time to think about it. (Not in Brewster.) 5. When the doors in the trunk of the Turk were opened and the automaton was swung around, it seemed to Poe that pieces of machinery within shifted their position—an effect which he attributed to mirrors. (Again imagination—induced by his notion that the operator sat up in the trunk of the Turk.) 6. The appearance and movements of the automaton are artificial and awkward, not natural, like those of the rope-dancers and other automata of Maelzel; this is to support the illusion of pure mechanical operation. (Not in Brewster.) 7. When the automaton is wound up, the sound is not like that of an axis connected with “either a weight, a spring, or any system of machinery whatever.” (Brewster quotes from his source [Willis]: “. . . the axis turned by the key is quite free and unconnected either with a spring or weight, or any system of machinery” [*op. cit.*, p. 253]. Poe argued from the sound of the turning axis. Willis had argued from the fact that widely varying numbers of moves were the result of windings of the same length [*op. cit.*, pp. 20-21]—perhaps a better argument.) Maelzel will never directly affirm that the automaton is a pure machine. (Not in Brewster.) 9. When Maelzel holds the candle at the rear of cupboard No. 1 and the automaton is wheeled about, the machinery to the rear of the cupboard seems to move—evidence that it is swung out of position when the man straightens up into that space. (Not in Brewster. Perhaps the machinery did move; it was movable, but not for the reason Poe supposed. The player prepared to *play the game* by “swinging the whole interior furniture—wheels, partitions, and all—against the outer doors and walls of the box, so as to throw all the subdivisions into one large apartment” [S. W. Mitchell, *loc. cit.*, p. 4. Cf. note 10.].) 10. He corrects Brewster's statement that the Turk is only life-size. 11. The chest is designed so as to seem to have less capacity than it has. (Not in Brewster.) 12. The cloth which lines the interior of the main compartment is in places a false partition, easily removed. (Poe indulges in the same weakness for which he berates Brewster so severely—speculating on the interior arrangements. The Brewster solution makes much the same use of the cloth. It is not clear from Mitchell's explanation just how near either Poe or Brewster is to the truth; each is at least partly wrong.) 13. The antagonist is seated away from the automaton, lest he detect the breathings of the man within. (Not in Brewster.) 14. Maelzel occasionally deviates from his routine of showing the interior of the box, but never in any essential. (An attempt to refine on Brewster's argument: “This ingenious explanation of the chess automaton is, our author states,

and well applied, but these all tend to establish, not the way the machine worked, but, as Poe confesses in a footnote, the fact, already amply established, that the machine must be regulated by *mind*. Willis had given sufficient attention to this preliminary matter. Sir David Brewster had assumed it was obvious and dwelt on it but momentarily.<sup>44</sup>

It remains to be said that Poe's consciousness of his debt to Brewster is best proved by his studied attempts at disparagement. The long complaint beginning with "The solution consists in a series of minute explanations"<sup>45</sup> is but a red herring. "It was altogether unnecessary," he says, "to devote seven or eight pages for the purpose of proving what no one in his senses would deny—viz.: that the wonderful mechanical genius of Baron Kempelen could invent the necessary means for shutting a door or slipping

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greatly confirmed by the *regular and undeviating* mode of disclosing the interior of the chest" [*op. cit.*, p. 253]. Poe's example, "he never opens the main compartment without first pulling out the drawer," etc., is probably not significant, for as we have seen, the back of the drawer moved on rollers, and the operator's legs could have been behind it even when it was closed.) 15. There are six candles on the chest before the Turk, to enable the operator to see through the material, "probably fine gauze," of the Turk's chest. The candles are of different heights to prevent by the dazzle of the crossing rays, the spectators' having a clear view of the gauze chest. (Wide of the mark.) 16. About Schlumberger. (See above, pp. 141-143.) Also, a story about an Italian in the suite of Baron von Kempelen, suspected of being the operator, ill once at a time when the automaton did not play. (I have not seen this in any other account. Poe might have heard it in the gossip of the exhibition room, or he might have invented it without much fear of contradiction.) 17. The Turk plays with his left arm—not by accident, but in order that the operator, sitting in the body of the Turk, may reach his right arm across his chest to operate machinery in the left shoulder of the Turk. (Again wide of the mark. Poe takes occasion to remark: "The early writers of treatises on the Automaton, seem not to have observed the matter at all, and have no reference to it. The author of the pamphlet alluded to by Brewster, mentions it, but acknowledges his inability to account for it." The first of these statements is simply irresponsible. The early writers *do* observe the matter. Racknitz's plates show a left-handed player, and he comments [p. 39] on the fact that Kempelen's is left-handed, rejects an explanation by Windisch and offers one of his own. Willis takes the matter fully into account [*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31]. If Poe's second statement could be taken as a literal reflection of his mind, it might be a clue to whether the "original" he saw was the Baltimore *North American* article, which says: "The figure plays with the left hand, which when not in action, rests upon a cushion placed near to the board" [p. 1]. But any article based on Willis's pamphlet could hardly avoid mentioning the fact at least cursorily, and Poe's addition that the author "acknowledges his inability to account for it" certainly need have been prompted by nothing more than that Poe remembered that the author did not try to account for it.)

"He says merely: "Upon considering the operations of the automaton, it must have been obvious that the game of chess was performed either by a person enclosed in the chest or by the exhibitor himself" (p. 246). Willis's longer treatment was repeated in a different form in the *Franklin Journal* and from that was copied in the Baltimore *North American*.

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

aside a pannel." So he imposes upon the reader's imagination the concept that Brewster's article is but a tangle of arbitrary carpenter's specifications. What is but the superstructure of Brewster's account is made to seem the foundation—while the real foundation Poe has shifted into his own essay without acknowledgment.<sup>46</sup> Another fault which he has found is even more factitious. "It is quite impossible to arrive at any distinct conclusion in regard to the adequacy or inadequacy of the analysis, on account of the gross misarrangement and deficiency of the letters of reference employed."<sup>47</sup> This is a monstrous exaggeration. To begin with, if there were hardly a letter of reference in Brewster's whole explanation, the eleven figures, in which the Turk and his box are cross-sectioned and anatomized from every direction, would convey the necessary ideas with sufficient lucidity. In the second place, there is not much wrong with the letters of reference—not enough to cause an interested student more than a moment's perplexity.<sup>48</sup> "The same fault is to be found," says Poe, "in the Attempt &c, as we originally saw it." If the "Attempt" as he originally saw it was the article in the *North American*, then he had no possible grievance, for there were only three letters, A, B, C.

What then is the merit of Poe's essay? George Allen wrote that "it was only in favor of the great mechanician [Maelzel], that the public resolutely persisted in refusing to know a secret, which had been exposed and published a dozen times."<sup>49</sup> Why did Poe's "exposure" attract so much notice, win the applause of so many contemporary journals? Why was he, of all who had written on the same subject, both more and less accurately than he, singled out in the public imagination as the champion who had slain the mechanical monster? Why was it that after a few years his was the only solution that people outside of a very esoteric chess world remembered at all? George Allen, for example, must have realized perfectly Poe's little claim to originality. He had the "Essay" in his

<sup>46</sup> It is worth while recalling that the original work of Willis was meant not only as an analysis of the automaton but a suggestion of "An Easy Method of Imitating the Movements of that Celebrated Figure." <sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>48</sup> There are two editions of the *Letters* which Poe could have used, the first edition, London, 1832, John Murray; and the American edition, undated, published at New York perhaps soon after 1832, by Harper as No. 50 of the *Family Library*. (There were a number of later impressions, or perhaps issues, of both of these, with varying title-pages.) Throughout this article I have referred to the latter, as the one Poe is more likely to have used. In that I have discovered six slight errors, and in the London edition, five.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 477-478.

large collection of works on the automaton. But Ingram was apparently unaware that any such books as Allen's existed, or if he was aware, he never thought of them as possible rivals to the "clear, concise, irrefutable arguments" of Poe.

The answer, of course, is partly that Poe was Poe, and that the "Chess-Player" has been embedded in the rest of his reputation. But also there is the fact that the other men who wrote were mechanicians, journalists, or editors, while Poe was a prose master. His arguments, if not "irrefutable," *were* "clear, concise," graceful and strong. It has not been the purpose of any part of this article to deny that Poe's "Essay" was a good one, in some parts—where he was right—the best exposure of the automaton ever made. Other exposures of the automaton, that of the *Magasin pittoresque*, that of Dr. Mitchell, were rooted in the world of fact, which for artistic purposes is a scrap heap. Such writings had eminently less claim to general interest than Poe's, which sprang from the ideal soil of vision. Not what *has happened*, says Aristotle, but what *may happen*. So the quarrel is not with Poe, with an illusion which succeeded, but with the evaluation of that illusion by his critics, with the common opinion of "Maelzel's Chess-Player"—which comes sometimes even to the ears of school children. Poe emerges from the "Essay" not as a detective drawing from observed facts a conclusion which squares with other facts. He emerges as an imaginative writer, with a power of making bright and acceptable the drab, mechanic guesses of writers with an eye to reality.

True wit is nature to advantage dress'd,  
What *oft was thought*, but ne'er so well express'd.

## POE'S FRIEND REYNOLDS

AUBREY STARKE

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THE FIGURE of a man that Mr. Robert Almy conjured from the past for readers of *The Colophon* in his brief biography of J. N. Reynolds<sup>1</sup> is one to command respect, even admiration. Reynolds, famous in his day as an advocate of polar exploration, remembered vaguely today as a man connected in some way with Poe, was not a neglected genius (as Mr. Almy observes); but the omission of his name from the ranks of many less interesting, and certainly many less important, names in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, seems strange, even inexcusable. His was the last name spoken by the dying Poe, and the sound that rang all night through the death room in the Baltimore hospital and has rung ever since on the pages of Poe biographies, rings mysteriously still for those who seek to understand the ways of the imagination and the sources of Poe's stories. Surely Poe knew Reynolds, and knew him well, for his personality to have made on Poe "an undying impression" (as Mr. Hervey Allen put it).<sup>2</sup> He must have known Reynolds far better than Mr. Almy finds necessary to assume to chart the polar regions of Poe's early tales and to explain the last agonizing cry. And there is some evidence overlooked by Mr. Almy that may be examined, and other evidence that may be examined more closely than Mr. Almy or other writers on Poe have previously examined it, to discover how well Poe may have known a man of his actual meeting with whom there is no record.

In the first place, however, all credit to Mr. Almy for recovering, or discovering, and recording the major facts of Reynolds's career, the place of his origin, his Christian name (Jeremiah, not John as the Library of Congress cards have it), the titles of his pamphlets and other publications. What is offered here is offered as a supplement to Mr. Almy's excellent article, primarily, neither by way of correction nor contradiction.

Reynolds was born in 1799, and so was ten years older than

<sup>1</sup> II, n.s., 227-245 (Winter, 1937).

<sup>2</sup> *Israel* (New York, 1926), II, 419, n. 503. Dame Una Pope-Hennessy is less cautious than Mr. Allen. She writes (*Edgar Allan Poe*, London, 1934, p. 184): "Poe, fired by his friend Reynolds. . . ."

Poe, was in fact thirty-six when the brilliant young editor of the newly established *Southern Literary Messenger* published his review of Francis Glass's life of George Washington in Latin prose, with an introduction by Reynolds, in the December, 1835, issue of the *Messenger*.<sup>3</sup> Reynolds had already appeared before the public as the proposer of an expedition "fully endorsed by [President] John Quincy Adams";<sup>4</sup> he had made the sealing voyage on the *Seraph*; he had been on the frigate *Potomac* and had written the account of the voyage (published by Harper, in the summer of 1835) that Poe had come to the *Messenger* a little too late to review.<sup>5</sup> Reynolds's was a well-known name.<sup>6</sup> His patronage alone had brought about the publication by the established firm of Harper and Brothers of the somewhat absurd *Vita Washingtonii*, written by an unknown Ohio schoolmaster.

Poe's review of the *Vita* was written with his tongue in his cheek, but the ridicule he gently piled on the book was for the author of the *Vita*, and for the absurdity of writing the biography of a recently deceased, almost contemporary, man in an ancient and dead language; it was not for the author of the introduction. "While we agree with Mr. Reynolds, for whose opinions, generally we have a high respect. . . ."—there is no ridicule in that statement by Poe, and there is the implication, which must not be insisted on too strongly, of course, that Poe was already familiar with Reynolds's and Symmes's theory of a hollow earth and had given it—as his stories later proved—respectful consideration.

<sup>3</sup> II, 52-54. This and other reviews quoted here are attributed to Poe by Killis Campbell (*The Cambridge History of American Literature*, II, 456-460) and other scholars.

<sup>4</sup> Not noted by Mr. Almy is a letter from Reynolds to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the subject of an Antarctic Expedition, dated Jan. 22, 1828: *House Executive Document No. 88, 20th Congress, 1st Session*, Vol. 3, printed separately by Gales and Seaton, Washington, 1828.

<sup>5</sup> I, 594 (June, 1835). Poe's story "Hans Pfaall" appeared in the same number. Poe, who became editor of the *Messenger* after the resignation of Edward Vernon Sparhawk, who brought out the July, 1835, issue, had contributed earlier reviews to the *Messenger*, and a review of Bird's *The Infidel* to this very June number. But there is no reason for thinking the review of Reynolds's *Voyage* by Poe. In contrast with Poe, who wrote of "eloquent extracts" from a later work by Reynolds, the author of this review said: "He [i.e., Reynolds] writes well though somewhat too enthusiastically."

A long review of Reynolds's *Voyage of the . . . Potomac* appeared in the *Monthly Review* (London), CXXXVII, 454-464 (July, 1835). The review is a complimentary one in spite of British disparagement of evidences of American national pride.

<sup>6</sup> I have found a reference in the *New York Mirror* of Sept. 5, 1835 (XIII, 78), to a fourth edition of his *Voyage*—one a month since publication. In his chapter on autography, published in Feb., 1836, Poe speaks, but perhaps facetiously, of a fifth edition. Allibone's *Dictionary* referred to an eighth edition, in 1845.

Two months later Poe, now editor, published in the *Messenger*<sup>7</sup> the first of his several articles on autography, in which as a learned professor of calligraphy he set out to analyze the handwriting of well-known people. The letters were of course fictitious, though written in some approximation of the style of the men whose authentic signatures were reproduced in facsimile in connection with them. Poe, in his first essay on autography, included no primarily literary figures, but he did include such eminent men as Richard Henry Dana, Chief Justice Marshall, and Judge Story; and the inclusion of Reynolds, even in the frivolous, facetious essay, was a tribute of respect.<sup>8</sup>

In the August, 1836, issue of the *Messenger*<sup>9</sup> Poe inserted a critical notice of the report (on March 21, 1836) of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives. There had been referred to the committee memorials from sundry citizens of Connecticut interested in the whale fishery, praying that an exploring expedition be sent to the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas. In connection with the report and Reynolds's address before the House on April 3, 1836,<sup>10</sup> Poe spoke of Reynolds's "nervous and emphatic language," and added "Mr. Reynolds . . . has been appointed to the highest civil situation in the [projected] expedition; a station which we know him to be exceedingly well qualified to fill." By this time surely Poe had become thoroughly familiar with the facts of Reynolds's career, with his character and with his style. And he wrote of him as one writes of a man known better than merely as a public figure.

In the January, 1837, issue of the *Messenger*—the last that Poe edited—appeared two contributions from the editor, important in the study of the relationship between Poe and Reynolds. One was the first instalment of the story "Arthur Gordon Pym," the connection of which with the theories of Reynolds Mr. Almy has adequately traced. The other was a review<sup>11</sup> of an address by Reynolds,

<sup>7</sup> II, 205-212 (Feb., 1836). Reynolds's autograph is No. XVIII, on p. 211.

<sup>8</sup> I note here, in chronological sequence, a reference overlooked by Mr. Almy: *New York Mirror*, XIII, 350 (April 30, 1836): "Reynolds' Lecture on Maritime Discovery."

<sup>9</sup> II, 587-589.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Almy says April 2. The title-page of the published address gives April 3, a Saturday, which is correct.

<sup>11</sup> III, 68-72. Poe's story appeared on pp. 13-16; it was concluded in the Feb., 1836, issue. Reynolds's *Address* was also reviewed by Nathan Hale, in the *North American Review*, XLV, 361 (Oct., 1837).

delivered before Congress and published by Harper and Brothers as an *Address on . . . a Surveying and Exploring Expedition*. In the course of his long review Poe made a number of personal references to Reynolds that seem to imply personal acquaintance:

Mr. Reynolds . . . is the originator, the persevering and indomitable advocate, the life, the soul of the design. . . . He is a native of Ohio, where his family are highly respectable, and where he was educated and studied for the law. He is known, by all who know him at all, as a man of the loftiest principles and of unblemished character. . . . For ourselves, we have frequently borne testimony to his various merits as a gentleman, a writer and a scholar. . . .

Mr. Reynolds has received the highest civil post in the expedition—that of corresponding secretary. How admirably well he is qualified for [his] task, no person can know better than ourselves. His energy, his love of polite literature, his many and various attainments, and above all, his ardent and honorable enthusiasm, point him out as the man of all men for the execution of the task [of preparing for publication a record of the expedition]. . . .

And it has been said that envy and ill will have been already doing their work—that the motives and character of Mr. Reynolds have been assailed. . . . We will not insult Mr. Reynolds with a defense. Gentlemen have impugned his motives—have these gentlemen ever seen him or conversed with him half an hour?

Poe's editorial connection with the *Messenger* ended with the January, 1837, number. But Poe was not the only editor of the *Messenger* who was interested in Reynolds. In June, 1839, seven of the *Messenger's* finely printed, double-column pages were given over to J. N. Reynolds, six<sup>12</sup> to "A Leaf From an Unpublished Manuscript," an account of a "Visit to the Volcano of Antuco in 37° South latitude [and] Return to Los Angeles."<sup>13</sup> The visit was of course made before Reynolds became secretary to Commodore Downes of the *Potomac*. The "leaf" helps to fill a lacuna in Reynolds's career noted by Mr. Almy.<sup>14</sup>

The "leaf" was followed by a republication from the *New York Enquirer* (which in turn had made extensive quotations from the *Cincinnati Republican*) of certain "documents" pertaining to the

<sup>12</sup> V, 408-413.

<sup>13</sup> On Nov. 12; no year given. 1831?

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 241. A reference on page v of the Introduction to the *Voyage of the . . . Potomac* suggests that Reynolds had done more than merely plan a second volume to cover his experiences from the time he left New York in October, 1829, to the time he joined the *Potomac* at Valparaiso in October, 1832.

history of the South Sea Exploring Expedition.<sup>15</sup> "We give [the documents]," wrote Thomas W. White, owner and editor of the *Messenger*, "as an act of justice to [the author of the expedition], without intending ourselves to depart from that strictly neutral ground in political controversy, which we have endeavored heretofore to maintain. We are not certain that the department did not do Mr. Reynolds a favor, under all circumstances, in withholding from him a position, which by common consent of the whole country, he had so nobly won. Without, however, saying more on our part, we give place to the paper alluded to which has lain since August last, in our drawer."

On the first page of the *Messenger* for December, 1843,<sup>16</sup> was published a letter from Reynolds to Benjamin Blake Minor, the new editor and proprietor of the *Messenger*, dated New York, September 28, 1843. In the letter Reynolds described himself as "being at present wedded to the law." The letter alluded to a note "requesting something from my pen," and so served as introduction to another passage from Reynolds's South American adventures, "Rough Notes of Rough Adventure"<sup>17</sup>—a continuation of the paper previously published in the *Messenger*. The "leaf" and the "Rough Notes," with the better known "Mocha Dick" published in the *Knickerbocker*<sup>18</sup> and the "Leaves from an Unpublished Journal" published in the *New York Mirror*<sup>19</sup> (both noted by Mr. Almy) are probably all extracts from a travel volume Reynolds never published, the manuscript original of which is now lost.

From February, 1837, until August, 1838, as Mr. Almy pointed out, Poe lived in New York, "where Reynolds . . . had his headquarters. . . . During the interval the two could very well have met."<sup>20a</sup> Whether they did or not, Poe did not forget Reynolds. In 1841, a resident of Philadelphia, Poe contributed to *Graham's Magazine* two papers on autography. These papers were reminiscent of the earlier, and less well-known, chapter in the *Messenger*, but the tone of these articles was wholly serious, and there were no fictitious, burlesque letters attached to the authentic signatures. It is note-

<sup>15</sup> *S. L. M.*, V, 413-415.

<sup>16</sup> IX, 705.

<sup>18</sup> IX, 705-715 (May, 1839).

<sup>19a</sup> Mr. David K. Jackson sends me the following reference and note: "J. F. O. [J. F. Otis], 'Currente Calamities, No. IV,' *S. L. M.*, V, 254-256 (April, 1839). Reynolds was staying at the Astor House in the spring of 1839. Otis admires Reynolds."

<sup>17</sup> IX, 705-715.

<sup>20</sup> XIII, 377-392 (April 21, 1838).

worthy that Reynolds was one of the few men of the original twenty-six honored by inclusion in the original article, honored again by calligraphic analysis in the second.<sup>20</sup> Nor is the Reynolds autograph reproduced here the same as that used in the *Messenger* article.<sup>21</sup> But the tone of Poe's reference to Reynolds is a little more critical, a little more restrained than that of earlier references:

Mr. Reynolds occupied at one time a distinguished position in the eye of the public, on account of his great and laudable exertions to get up the American South Polar Expedition, from a personal participation in which he was most shamefully excluded. He has written much and well. Among other works, the public are indebted to him for a graphic account of the noted voyage of the frigate Potomac to Madagascar.

His MS. is an ordinary clerk's hand, giving no indication of character.

Two years later, when Poe came to write again on Reynolds, his old enthusiasm had returned. In the September, 1843, issue of *Graham's Magazine* Poe published a review<sup>22</sup> of Reynolds's report on the United States exploring expedition which, lacking his former influence, Reynolds had been unable to induce a New York publisher to issue, possibly, however, because the pamphlet<sup>23</sup> was a reprint from the *American Journal of Arts and Sciences*, as Poe noted.

Poe gave a lengthy review of the history of the expedition. He expressed his opinion in no uncertain terms of the "scandalous chicanery practiced in the outfit of the expedition." Much that Poe had to say is important for an analysis of the temper of the times, and for one who would understand how an exploring expedition could become an issue to arouse the press of the nation. As such, Poe's review is important for the historian. For us, of prime interest are his references to Reynolds. In the opening sentence of his review Poe referred to the Reynolds Expedition, and in the last two paragraphs he wrote:

To the prime mover in this important undertaking—to the active, the intelligent, the indomitable advocate of the enterprise—to him who

<sup>20</sup> *Graham's*, XIX, 224-234 (autographs Nos. 1-41); 273-286 (autographs Nos. 42-108) (Nov.-Dec., 1841). Reynolds's autograph is No. 103. The reference in Mr. Almy's article to the *Autobiography* [sic] is of course a misprint.

<sup>21</sup> The only specimen of Reynolds's handwriting which I have seen is an inscription in a copy of his book on the *Pacific and Indian Oceans* (New York, 1841), in the library of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. It reads: "Hon John Bell, / Secy of War. / With the respects of / J. N. Reynolds." <sup>22</sup> XXIV, 164-165.

<sup>23</sup> *A Brief Account of the Discoveries and Results of the United States Exploring Expedition* (New Haven, B. L. Hamlen).

gave it birth, and who brought it through maturity, to its triumphant result, this result can afford nothing but an unmitigated pleasure. He has seen his measures adopted in the teeth of opposition, and his comprehensive views thoroughly confirmed in spite of cant, prejudice, ignorance and unbelief. For fifteen years he has contended, single-handed, in support of this good cause, against all that a jealous and miserably despicable *esprit de corps* could bring to his overthrow. He has contended, we say, single-handed, and triumphed. And well knew *we*, at least, that he would. Many years ago we maintained the impossibility of his failure. With mental powers of the highest order, his indomitable energy is precisely of that character which *will not admit* of defeat.

To him, we say—and to him in fact *solely*—does the high honor of this triumphant Expedition belong. Take from the enterprise the original impulse which *he* gave—the laborious preliminary investigation which *he* undertook—the unflinching courage and the great ability with which *he* defended it when attacked—the unwearying perseverance with which *he* urged its progress, and by which *he* finally ensured its consummation—let the Expedition have wanted all this, and what would the world have had of it but the shadow of a shade? To him, we repeat, be the glory of this important undertaking—and to those who deserve it—and who now sorely feel they deserve it—be whatever of disgrace has attached to its conduct. One thing is certain—when men, hereafter, shall come to speak of this Expedition, they will speak of it not as the American Expedition—nor even as the Poinsett Expedition, nor as the Dickerson Expedition,<sup>24</sup> nor, alas! as the Wilkes<sup>25</sup> Expedition—they will speak of it—if they speak at all—as “The Expedition of Mr. Reynolds.”<sup>26</sup>

1843—and apparently the last written reference of Poe to Reynolds. Poe was thirty-four then, with only six more years of life ahead. Reynolds, already well out of the public eye, had, according to Mr. Almy, opened a law office in Wall Street in 1841. Poe could have met him, seen much of him, in his later years in New York. The meetings would not necessarily have become a part, or a source of literature, but they would have fixed in Poe’s mind—if such

<sup>24</sup> Joel R. Poinsett had succeeded Mahlon Dickerson as Secretary of the Navy.

<sup>25</sup> Mr. Almy (*op. cit.*, p. 244) incorrectly gives the Christian name of Commodore Wilkes as John instead of Charles.

<sup>26</sup> But, as Mr. Almy points out, “today the exploit is known as the Wilkes Exploring Expedition, and no subsequent Antarctic research has been conducted without reference to its findings.” See, *inter alia*, R. E. Byrd, *Little America* (New York, 1930), p. 43: “It has always seemed a pity to me that the American government failed to follow up the work of this gallant officer [i.e., Wilkes], who had the courage to undertake the great responsibility of this mission.” However, there are several references to Reynolds in *Antarctica*, by Edwin Swift Balch (Philadelphia, 1903).

fixing was necessary—the name of the man, so often and earnestly defended, to whom Poe called “from the verge of that polar chasm whose shadow was as the shadow of death and whose concentric circles led downward to the incommunicable”—to the void to which Poe descended early one Sunday morning, October 7, 1849.

Reynolds was to live nine years longer than Poe. Mr. Richard J. Duval of the United States Naval Academy Library, at Annapolis, has located a reference in the *American Almanac* for 1859, page 357, under Necrology: “August 25, 1858. In St. Catherine’s Springs, Canada, J. N. Reynolds of New York. He was author of a Journal of Commodore Wilkes’ Exploring Expedition.”<sup>27</sup> The date may prove helpful to another student, seeking to garner more facts of Reynolds’s career.

Allibone’s *Dictionary of Authors* long ago gave his bibliography, without biographical facts or critical comment. There is little to add to it, that Mr. Almy has not already added. Chiefly one would note, as of most curious interest, *Historia de la ruina de Lima y el Callao en el año 1746; traducida de las obras de Don J. N. Reynolds*. It was a translation of pages 447-462 from the author’s old familiar *Voyage of the . . . Potomac*, and it appeared as a sixteen-page pamphlet, which went through at least two editions, at Callao, Peru, in 1860. An adequate bibliography of Reynolds would be a tribute to a neglected friendship between him and one who, not only greatest among his admirers, seems on the evidence of his own writings his greatest admirer, the staunchest of his supporters.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Communicated to the author by Mr. Duval in a letter of Aug. 28, 1933.

<sup>28</sup> For references to Reynolds in the *Southern Literary Messenger* I am indebted to Mr. David K. Jackson, who furnished me with the information before his index to the *Messenger* was published. Assistance from Mr. Richard J. Duval I have acknowledged in the body of this article.

# THOMAS MORTON OF MERRY MOUNT: HIS FIRST ARRIVAL IN NEW ENGLAND

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COMMENTATORS on Thomas Morton of Merry Mount concur, almost unanimously, that he arrived in New England for the first time in June, 1622. In view of existent data, however, there is reason to believe that he first visited New England, not in 1622, but in June, 1624.

Those who have accepted the 1622 date have based their convictions upon a statement which appears in Morton's own book, *New English Canaan*, in which he says:

In the yeare since the incarnation of Christ, 1622. it was my chance to be landed in the parts of New England. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Later, in the same work, the statement is repeated in the following words:

In the Moneth of June, Anno Salutis: 1622. It was my chaunce to arrive in the parts of New England with 30. Servants, and provision of all sorts fit for a plantation. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The only writer who has challenged the reliability of the 1622 date, Charles E. Banks, reached his conclusions after examining a number of legal papers which he came upon in England. The papers comprise the records of a series of actions (to which Morton was a party) tried in the courts of Chancery and of Star Chamber during the spring and early summer of 1622.<sup>3</sup> From his study of the papers, Banks finally concluded that:

. . . unless we suppose that he [Morton] was out of the kingdom at this important juncture in his affairs, the statement in *New English Canaan* that he arrived in New England in June, 1622, is an error of his pen or the type.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (Amsterdam, 1637), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Charles E. Banks, "Thomas Morton of Merry Mount," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* (hereinafter abbreviated *MHSP*), LVIII, 147-193.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

While Banks by his research has shown himself to be wisely skeptical of the earlier date, he stopped short and failed to make several further and logical inferences from the material he brought to light. Based on such additional interpretation, coupled with other data, the plan of the present paper sets forth: (1) reasons for discrediting the date which appears in two places in Morton's book; (2) data tending to establish the fact that Morton's first visit to New England occurred in June, 1624.

## I

In regard to the first point, an examination of the court records mentioned above affords sound reasons for concluding that Morton was in England during the spring and early summer of 1622. On June 3, 1622, Morton was named a defendant in a Bill of Complaint brought in the Star Chamber Court,<sup>5</sup> and on July 6, 1622, he was himself a plaintiff in a bill brought in the same court.<sup>6</sup> It is reasonable to presume, as Banks has done, that Morton would not have left the country at such a time. Further, in view of the fact that Morton was an attorney himself, it seems likely that he would have remained in England during the litigation in order to instruct the attorney who represented him how to answer the bill of June 3 and how to prepare the bill of July 6. But—more conclusively—on May 22, 1622, Morton took an oath in a Chancery Court situated in England;<sup>7</sup> and, sometime between June 3 and July 6, 1622, Morton and other defendants submitted an Answer, in the Star Chamber Court, to the bill dated June 3.<sup>8</sup> Now (1) the rules of procedure in operation at that time in the Chancery Court make it clear that, in order to take the oath which he did take, Morton had to be present in person in the court in England;<sup>9</sup> (2) it is also clear, from the rules of procedure then in force in the Court of Star Chamber, that a defendant had to be present in person in the court at the time he submitted an Answer to a Bill of Complaint.<sup>10</sup> All of this serves to discredit the statement in *New*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171-173.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179-185.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186. "Thomas Moreton and wife, plts. v. George Myller, deft 22 May 1622. Thomas Moreton made oath for serving a subpoena on deft."

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173-179.

<sup>9</sup> For proof of the fact that Morton had to be present in person in order to make an oath that he had served a subpoena, see William Tothill, "The Proceedings of the High-Court of Chancery," an appendix to *The Transactions of the High Court of Chancery* (London, 1649), pp. 5-6.

<sup>10</sup> That a defendant had to be present in person in the Star Chamber Court at the time he submitted an Answer, is evident from: (1) the fact that he was obliged to swear to

*English Canaan* that he visited New England in the spring or early summer of 1622.

Since neither Morton's manuscript nor any information regarding the circumstances surrounding the printing of it is available today, it is futile to attempt to discover precisely how the error of the date was introduced. However, considering the many typographical mistakes that are strewn through the text, it seems reasonable to suppose that this error may have crept in—together with many others—during the printing of the book.<sup>11</sup>

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his Answer; that is, he had to take an oath before the clerk of the court. See William Hudson, "A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber," in *Hargrave Tracts Relative to the Law and Constitution of England* (London, 1792), pp. 167-168: "And the answer must be engrossed in parchment, and subscribed by counsel, and so brought to the clerk of the court, who is to give the defendant his oath; which is . . . and he sweareth likewise, that he shall make true answers to such interrogatories as shall be ministered unto him concerning that cause. . . . And so I conclude, that I know not any sort of people (except corporations) freed from putting in an answer in this court by oath; for the body politic is without a soul, to be tried by oath; for attorneyes do not make oath there, as in the ecclesiastical courts, *super animam magistri* . . ." See also John Bruce, "An Outline of the History of the Court of Star Chamber," *Archæologia*, XXV (1833), p. 354: "After appearance the defendant was bound to put in an answer upon oath to the plaintiff's bill. If he refused to answer he was committed to prison for a certain time; and if, at the expiration of that time, he still refused, either the bill was taken *pro confesso*, or he was retained in custody and kept upon bread and water until he answered." See also the case of Mayor of London v. Wrothe, in John Hawarde, *Les Reportes del cases in camera stellata*, ed. Baildon (Privately printed, 1894), p. 10: "And because divers of the defendants have answered but will not be sworn to their answers, [it was moved] that they be compelled to be sworn." (2) the fact that he was obliged to answer interrogatories that were put to him. See the quotation from Hudson above. See also Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-355: "When the defendant had put in his answer, the plaintiff proceeded to examine him upon written interrogatories—a practice most scandalously abused, being employed, as Hudson admits, 'like a Spanish Inquisition, to rack men's consciences, nay to perplex them by intricate questions, thereby to make contrarieties, which may easily happen to simple men; and men were examined upon a hundred interrogatories, nay and examined of the whole course of their lives'. . . . If the defendant refused to answer the interrogatories, he was committed until he consented to do so."

<sup>11</sup> There is good reason to presume that the error in the text was caused by a printer's mistake. The reader of an early seventeenth-century manuscript is confronted with a multiplicity of difficulties—arising from the varied forms of letters and numerals, the inconsistencies in spelling, the obscure abbreviations, and the pen-flourishes that were employed—which must have made the task of printing a text free from errors a most difficult one. When it is remembered that, according to the title-page of the book, the printer was situated in Amsterdam, it may readily be seen how many errors slipped into the text. For information on the "many errors both in typography and punctuation, with which the *New Canaan* abounds," see Thomas Morton, *The New English Canaan*, ed. Adams (Boston: Prince Society Publications, 1883), pp. 101-102.

For information on the handwriting of Morton's day, see Samuel A. Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance* (New York, 1930). It is interesting to observe the striking similarity of certain forms of the numerals 2 and 4 as portrayed in plates in Tannenbaum's book, pp. 155-156. Although it is futile to attempt to prove, by the use of

It is important to note that Adams in commenting on the many errors of a miscellaneous character which he discovered in the text did not include the 1622 date among them; as a matter of fact, he regarded that date as authentic, and employed it in his account of Morton's first visit to New England. But his conjectural narrative can scarcely be regarded as confirmation of the date in the text. In an attempt to provide a plausible recital of the supposed visit of Morton to New England in 1622, Adams suggested that Morton was a member of the Weston expedition which arrived in that year.<sup>12</sup> He failed, however, to present facts to corroborate his view, and finally was obliged to conclude as follows: "The Charity was the only vessel which came to New England in June, 1622. Weston's was the only party. At Wessagusset only did such a party build any houses."<sup>13</sup> From this it may be seen that Adams did not verify Morton's alleged visit of June, 1622; he merely pointed out that if Morton came at that time he must have come with Weston's party. Further, in an attempt to explain away the significant fact that Morton never said that he was a member of the Weston expedition of 1622, Adams remarked:

At the time he wrote the *New English Canaan*, Morton was a dependent on Gorges and the Council for New England. Weston's expedition had left a very bad reputation behind it, and a peculiarly disagreeable association in Gorges' mind. Morton, therefore, had every inducement to ignore his own connection with it.<sup>14</sup>

But this interpretation of Morton's silence cannot be accepted, for: (1) although Adams endeavored to explain the silence of Morton, yet he offered no explanation for the significant silence that was

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such materials, that the printer of Morton's manuscript mistook 1624 for 1622, yet it is important to note the possibility that the error occurred in this way.

For information on the mistakes made by seventeenth-century printers, due to faulty reading of manuscripts, see Leon Kellner, *Restoring Shakespeare: A Critical Analysis of the Misreadings in Shakespeare's Works* (London, 1925).

For information on proofreading in the seventeenth century, see Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1935). Although Simpson states that proofreading by authors was a fairly common practice during the seventeenth century, yet he adds that it was not universal. Furthermore, on p. 16 he says: "It is clear . . . that an author's direct supervision of the printing of his book might be intermittent and haphazard. But even if he were careful and frequent in his attendance at the press . . . the corrections were apt to be incomplete. Often they would be made after a single reading."

<sup>12</sup> Charles F. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (Boston, 1892), I, 59, 163.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164 n.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163 n.

unanimously maintained on that point by the several contemporary chroniclers of Weston's settlement; (2) the purpose assigned by Adams to explain Morton's silence can scarcely be regarded as reasonable. Morton had been a dependent on the Council for some years before he wrote his book—having received from the Council, in 1620, a patent to land in Massachusetts.<sup>15</sup> Hence, had he been a member of Weston's party, the Council probably would have known about it many years before the *New English Canaan* was written; (3) the hypothesis that he came with Weston in 1622 is unsupported by facts, contrary to evidence, and illogical—had Morton affiliated himself with Weston's company, which was one of the Council's chief rivals in New England, he would have jeopardized his own patent to land in Massachusetts.

## II

Thus far an effort has been made to present legitimate reasons for discrediting the date 1622, which appears in two places in *New English Canaan*. Data will next be presented indicating that Morton first visited New England in 1624, probably in the month of June.

The following is taken from a petition submitted, in June, 1636, to the Court of Requests:

... Christopher Brodripp . . . in or about the yeare of our Lord God 1624 was indebted unto your said subject [Thomas Morton] . . . your said subject being then minded to travaile and to make a Voyage into New England aforesaid which he shortly after performed. . . . And whether he doth not beleieve or hath heard that your said subject about twelve yeares since departed out of this Realme of England, and travelled unto New England. . . .<sup>16</sup>

It is interesting to note that in this paper—which, in view of its legal character and in view of the fact that Morton was an attorney himself, presumably was prepared with the greatest care possible—it is clearly stated that he visited New England in 1624. There is no mention of an earlier visit, and the tone of the statement does not imply that there was any.

<sup>15</sup> See Henry Gardiner, *New England's Vindication*, ed. Banks (Portland: Gorges Society, 1884), p. 23. For confirmation of the existence of this patent, see the letter of Samuel Maverick to the Earl of Clarendon, in "The Clarendon Papers," *New York Hist. Coll.*, Publication Fund Series, 1869, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> Charles E. Banks, "Thomas Morton of Merry Mount," *MHSP*, LIX, 92-95.

A record of ships and passengers arriving in New England in the spring of 1624 confirms the trip mentioned by Morton:

UNITY, of London, Captain . . . Wollaston, Master. She arrived about May with thirty-five persons, who settled at Mount Wollaston . . . among whom were the following: Thomas Morton. . . .<sup>17</sup>

Further, the record tallies with the following information contained in an entry for the year 1628 in Bradford's chronicle of Plymouth:

Aboute some .3. or .4. years before this time, ther came over one Captaine Wolastone . . . and with him .3. or .4. more of some eminencie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provissions and other impl[e]ments for to begine a plantation; and pitched them selves in a place within the Massachusets, which they called, after their captains name, Mount-Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton. . . .<sup>18</sup>

The fact that in both of these records Morton's name is linked, not with Weston's, but with Wollaston's, is not without significance. It should be added, too, that Gardiner joined Morton's name with Wollaston's.<sup>19</sup>

In view of the complete lack of any proof that Morton ventured to New England with Weston or with anyone else in 1622, and in view of the striking similarity (save for the date given in Morton's book) of the various references pertaining to his actual arrival or to plans regarding his coming—contained in *New English Canaan*, in the record of the *Unity's* passenger list, in Bradford's chronicle, in Gardiner's book, and in the Court of Requests order—it is not unreasonable to conclude that his coming in company with Wollaston in 1624 constituted his first visit to New England.

One final piece of evidence tending to strengthen this conclusion appears in the following, taken from the *New English Canaan*:

This man [Thomas Morton] arrived in those parts [New England], and hearing news of a Towne [Plymouth] that was much praised, he was desirous to goe thither, and see how things stood, where his enter-

<sup>17</sup> Charles E. Banks, *The Planters of the Commonwealth* (Boston, 1930), p. 57.

<sup>18</sup> William Bradford, *Of Plimmoth Plantation*, ed. Ford (Boston, 1912), II, 45-46. Although Bradford's statement concerning the date of the Wollaston party's arrival is ambiguous—in that his remarks may be taken to refer to events of either 1624, or 1625—yet it seems, from a consideration of all the evidence, that the true date was 1624.

<sup>19</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 23: "Then [1620] the said Council granted sundry Pattents, as to Capt. Willeston, Mr. Tho. Morton, some of Dorchester and others, to settle in the Bay of Machechusets."

tainement was there best, I dare be bould to say: for although they had but 3. Cowes in all, yet had they fresh butter and a sallet of egges in dainty wise, a dish not common in a wilderness, there hee bestowed some time in the survey of this plantation.<sup>20</sup>

In view of the fact that Morton states that there were three cows in Plymouth when he first visited that town, it appears that his visit must have taken place in 1624.<sup>21</sup> The settlers in Plymouth did not possess any kine until the spring of 1624, at which time "3. heifers and a bull" were brought over from England;<sup>22</sup> by the spring of 1625, a second consignment of animals had arrived, and the cattle in the colony then numbered nine or ten.<sup>23</sup>

In view of the evidence cited, it seems reasonable to conclude that Thomas Morton first visited New England, not in June, 1622, but in the spring of 1624.

<sup>20</sup> Morton, *New English Canaan*, *op. cit.*, p. 116. The statement occurs in the opening paragraph of Chapter 7 of Book III. The bracketed matter is taken from the title and the context of the chapter.

<sup>21</sup> The editor of the Prince Society reprint of *New English Canaan* takes a different view of the matter. See Morton, *The New English Canaan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 n-260 n; "This chapter [Chapter 7, of Book III] relates to incidents of no apparent consequence, and of which there is no other record. It is not easy even to fix the time at which they occurred, and it would seem as if Morton, in his rambling, incoherent way, had confused the events of one year with those of another. . . . The chapter seems to have been introduced simply for the purpose of working on the church prejudices of Laud against the Puritans."

It is neither accurate nor fair to represent a text as being nonsensical, merely because one has failed to interpret it. Furthermore, Adams's opening remarks may be refuted by placing, side by side, chapters 6, 7, and 8, of the third book of the *New English Canaan*, with the sections of Bradford's history *Of Plymouth Plantation* that refer to events of the years 1623, 1624, and 1625. The three chapters in Morton's book refer to Weston's unfortunate experience in New England, to the arrival of Morton, and to the arrival and subsequent banishment of Lyford and Oldham; Bradford's book contains precisely the same information. The landing of companies of men, the arrival of cattle, the wrecking of a boat, and an account of the religious difficulties of the day, are recorded, not only in *New English Canaan*, but also in Bradford's history and in several other chronicles of the day. By this it may be seen that Morton was writing in a clear and orderly fashion when he wrote chapter 7 of the third book; the fact that he chanced to mention "the booke of common prayer" and "claret sparklinge neate," in widely separated portions of a single chapter, is no indication that he was writing in a frivolous or disorderly manner. Rather it appears that Adams was reluctant to discredit the date 1622 in Morton's book, and therefore interpreted this chapter in the light of his convictions with regard to Morton's arrival with Weston.

<sup>22</sup> See Bradford, *op. cit.*, I, 352-353. In his account of the events of the year 1624, Governor Bradford wrote: "Shortly after [March, 1624], Mr. Winslow came over, and brought a pretty good supply. . . . He brought 3. heifers and a bull, the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in the land. . . ."

<sup>23</sup> See "Governor Bradford's Letter Book," pp. 33, 35, *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, pp. 9-13, and Banks, *The Planters of the Commonwealth*, p. 58.

# ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S RHETORIC

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S prose has received no little praise and much impressionistic criticism in which categorical statement abounds. Lincoln is a great stylist, or he has no style; he was a master of language, or he had difficulty in expressing himself—depending upon how the critic reacts to the peculiar magic of Lincoln's words. But there has been surprisingly little analysis of his literary techniques and peculiarities of expression. Two critics, Luther Emerson Robinson and Daniel Kilham Dodge, have contributed much to our understanding of Lincoln's literary backgrounds and the development of his ideas, and Dodge has given a good, though incomplete, account of Lincoln's development as a stylist.<sup>1</sup> But neither of these has paid much attention to what seem to me to be outstanding peculiarities of his technique—peculiarities which set Lincoln's prose apart from the political writings of his contemporaries and perhaps give it much of its belletristic significance. It is my wish to illustrate these peculiarities in what follows.

## I

Repetition, grammatical parallelism, and antithesis may be considered the most obvious technical devices of Lincoln's general style. He uses these devices with such frequency and variety of effect that it seems to have been a consistent habit of his mind to seek repetitive sequences in both diction and sentence structure for the alignment of his thought. That these devices were the result of Lincoln's deliberate seeking for an emphasis and simplicity which would prove effective with the common man we may infer from the often repeated testimony given by William H. Herndon: "he used to bore me terribly by his methods, processes, manners, etc., etc. Mr. Lincoln would doubly explain things to me that needed no explanation. . . . Lincoln's ambition in this line was this: he wanted to be distinctly understood by the common people. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, *Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters* (New York, 1918), and Dodge, *Abraham Lincoln: The Evolution of His Literary Style* (Urbana, Ill., 1900), and *Abraham Lincoln: Master of Words* (New York, 1924).

<sup>2</sup> *The Hidden Lincoln: From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon*, ed. Emanuel Hertz (New York, 1938), pp. 132-133.

This inference seems to be strengthened by the fact that Lincoln's favorite ideas—those which appear again and again in his works and which he turned over and over in his mind through months and even years—and his most memorable phrases almost invariably betray this repetitive pattern.

The most rigid example of Lincoln's use of parallelism is the letter written in reply to Horace Greeley's "Prayer of Twenty Millions." Here the parallelism is not merely a sentence pattern, but a pattern for the whole letter. It arranges with such geometric precision the measured parts of a complex idea that an almost deceptive simplicity is the result. In no other piece can one find quite the heavy, reduplicating blows which Lincoln employs as, over Greeley's shoulder, he speaks to the average citizen:

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.<sup>3</sup>

For a more subtle use of parallel pattern in conjunction with antithesis we may consider a paragraph from the "Address at Cooper Union." As in the above, Lincoln here employs a characteristic amount of repetition, chiefly of the text which he has

<sup>3</sup> Abraham Lincoln, *Complete Works*, ed. John G. Nicolay and John Hay (New York, 1894), II, 227-228.

taken from a speech delivered by Stephen A. Douglas. Throughout the address Lincoln quotes this sentence in part and in whole, until it becomes at this climax the fulcrum of his antithesis.

If any man at this day sincerely believes that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history, and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" were of the same opinion—thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now."<sup>4</sup>

Further, Lincoln's writings abound in single sentence antithesis such as the following: "I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule."<sup>5</sup>

This conjunction of grammatical parallelism with antithesis is natural enough, and where one is found to be characteristic of an author's style we may expect the other. But with Lincoln such antithesis seems not merely a technique, but like parallelism, a habit of mind. His faculties seized upon differences in opinion and contrasts in fact. In the debates with Douglas he rarely missed a chance to turn to advantage the contrast between himself and his opponent in appearance, and in personality, and in thought. It is perhaps to this faculty for perceiving and stressing antithesis as much as to any other quality of Lincoln's mind that we may trace whatever victory he won over Douglas. Even Douglas's so-called

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 605. The full statement of Lincoln's text, which he repeats with considerable rhetorical effect throughout the address, is taken from one of Douglas's speeches: "Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better than we do now."

<sup>5</sup> "Letter to J. H. Hackett," *ibid.*, II, 435.

"Freeport Heresy" was the result of Lincoln's seizing upon an antithetical idea and literally placing it in his opponent's mouth: that a territorial legislature had not the power to exclude slavery, but that slavery could not exist in a territory unless the people desired it and gave it protection by legislation.<sup>6</sup> This fondness for antithesis is nowhere in Lincoln's works more striking than in the following passage:

In those days, as I understand, masters could, at their own pleasure emancipate their slaves; but since then such legal restraints have been made upon emancipation as to amount almost to prohibition. In those days legislatures held the unquestioned power to abolish slavery in their respective States, but now it is becoming quite fashionable for State constitutions to withhold that power from the legislatures. In those days, by common consent, the spread of the black man's bondage to the new countries was prohibited, but now Congress decides that it will not continue the prohibition, and the Supreme Court decides that it could not if it would. In those days our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all, and thought to include all; but now, to aid in making the bondage of the negro universal and eternal, it is assailed and sneered at and construed, and hawked at and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it.<sup>7</sup>

## II

On this basic pattern of parallelism in thought, Lincoln often elaborated a distinctly poetical cadence which suggests comparison with the cadenced prose of the seventeenth century. Although balanced rhythms with caesurae are indigenous to English poetry and perhaps to English prose, Hebrew literature through the King James Bible probably provided the literary examples which Lincoln knew best; and to his fondness for biblical phraseology we may trace at least a part of his mastery of the technique.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Nearly two months before the "Freeport Debate" Lincoln wrote to Henry Asbury, a lawyer of Quincy, Ill., who was actually the originator of the famous question, "You shall have hard work to get him directly to the point whether a territorial legislature has or has not the power to exclude slavery. But if you succeed in bringing him to it—though he will be compelled to say it possesses no such power—he will instantly take the ground that slavery cannot actually exist in the Territories unless the people desire it, and so give it protection by territorial legislation" (*ibid.*, I, 277).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 230-231.

<sup>8</sup> Of the Elizabethan and seventeenth-century writers whose prose is marked by caesural sentences, we know that Lincoln had read Sir Francis Bacon. But of Lincoln's knowledge of technical rhetoric there has been, so far as I have discovered, relatively little study. An examination of some of the textbooks which Lincoln used as a boy reveals

In his emotive, lyrical passages balance becomes most striking, as it enriches his melancholy reflections or his fervent appeals to the hearts of his audience. Within single sentences it occurs in two forms: in a balanced sentence of two parts with a caesura approximately midway; and in a series of phrases or clauses separated by caesurae and grouped in balanced staves of two or more phrase units. Within an individual phrase or clause internal balance and parallelism often occur. As an example of the first type, we may consider the following sentence typical:

The grateful task commonly vouchsafed to the mournful living, of casting the mantle of charitable forgetfulness over the faults of the lamented dead, is denied us; for although it is much to say, for any of the erring family of man, we believe we may say, that he whom we deplore was faultless.<sup>9</sup>

As an example of the second type, we may take the concluding sentence of the "Second Inaugural Address":

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nations wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.<sup>10</sup>

Sometimes this rhythm pattern extends over an entire group of sentences, or even the whole of a short address. The "Farewell Address" is an example:

I. *My Friends*: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting.

II. To this place,  
and the kindness of these people,  
I owe everything.

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that he probably had a more thorough training in formal rhetoric than the average college graduate of the present. It is of particular interest that in each of the texts examined a section devoted to model sentences draws heavily on examples with caesurae, parallelism, balance, and antithesis. The author is particularly indebted to the Lincoln collection of Lincoln Memorial University for the privilege of examining the following: *The Kentucky Preceptor . . .* (3d ed., Lexington, Ky., 1812); Thomas Dilworth, *A New Guide to the English Tongue* (Philadelphia, 1791); Lindley Murray, *The English Reader* (Utica, N. Y., 1823).

<sup>9</sup> "Address on the Death of Mr. Benjamin Ferguson, February 8, 1842," in Emanuel Hertz, *Abraham Lincoln: A New Portrait* (New York, 1931), II, 530.

<sup>10</sup> Lincoln, *op. cit.*, II, 657.

III. A. Here I have lived a quarter of a century,  
and have passed from a young to an old man.  
B. Here my children have been born,  
and one lies buried.

IV. I now leave,  
not knowing when or whether ever I may return,  
with a task before me greater than that which rested upon  
Washington.

V. A. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever  
attended him, I cannot succeed.  
B. With that assistance, I cannot fail.

VI. A. Trusting in Him who can go with me,  
and remain with you, and be everywhere for good,  
let us confidently hope that all will yet be well.  
B. To His care commanding you,  
as I hope in your prayers you will commend me,  
I bid you an affectionate farewell.<sup>11</sup>

In this address there are two parallel patterns, of thought and of rhythm. Within and between some sentences (III, for example) they become identical. In others they merely coincide (V or VI). Between others there is a compensating balance of phrases and pauses, although the thought pattern is reversed from periodic to loose structure, and the rhythm pattern is varied (as II is to IV). The only sentence which is without a compensating rhythm is the first, which stands alone as a topic statement. Within this general pattern of close parallels there is enough variety in individual sentences to avoid monotony but sufficient regularity of rhythm patterns to produce distinct cadence, in some phrases approximating loose metrical effect.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 672. The arrangement and numbering are mine.

<sup>12</sup> In the so-called "unrevised version" of this address which was printed in the newspapers of the day, although there is distinctly less cadence, there is something of the same general pattern. A comparison of the two may suggest that when he later wrote it down Lincoln consciously strengthened the rhythm. The "unrevised version" is as follows: "Friends: No one who has never been placed in a like position can understand my feelings at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness that I feel at this parting. For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived from my youth until I am now an old man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed. Here all my children were born; and here one of them lies buried. To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, checkered past seems to crowd now upon my mind. Today I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same omniscient mind and almighty arm that directed and

As these balanced rhythms sometimes approach meter in their regularity, Lincoln tends to heighten their effect with an occasional metrical phrase or sentence. Such phrases occur most frequently in perorations or passages of high emotional effect. As examples we may take a phrase from the "Second Inaugural Address" as quoted above— ". . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves . . ."; or from the "Gettysburg Address"— "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here"; or from the "First Inaugural Address"— "The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone. . .".<sup>13</sup>

### III

Repetition of sounds, as well as words, is another marked characteristic of his style. For the obvious purpose of emphasis, the reiteration of words in the letter to Greeley is typical of his habit of repeating key words. Along with this Lincoln often employs in poetic flashes alliteration, assonance, and even rime sounds. If we refer to the "Farewell Address," quoted above, we find a typical sequence of alliterated key words in the first sentence: "friends . . . situation . . . appreciate . . . feeling . . . sadness . . . parting," and in the following sentences, "place . . . people; born . . . buried," etc.<sup>14</sup>

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protected him shall guide and support me I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To him I commend you all. Permit me to ask that with equal sincerity and faith you will invoke his wisdom and guidance for me. With these words I must leave you, for how long I know not. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell" (W. H. Herndon and J. W. Weik, *Abraham Lincoln*, New York, 1926, II, 196-197).

<sup>13</sup> Lincoln, *op. cit.*, II, 657, 441, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Since Lincoln's fondness for alliteration and repeated sound effects is to be noted in several other passages, some speculation on whence the fondness came may not be out of order. Next to the Bible Lincoln confessed that he read as a boy one book that had influenced him more than any other, Weems's *Life of Washington*. It is a curious fact that Weems uses alliteration and repetition of sounds to such an extent that the device becomes, as it were, his *forte*. What the influence would have been on a young backwoods boy one can only surmise, but such sentences as the following, we may be sure, could not be entirely ignored: "In silence he rolled his eyes of fire on the floor, and twirled his terrible thumbs! his pages shrunk from his presence," or "a frightened fancy found food for its fears" (*The Life of George Washington . . .* by M. L. Weems, Philadelphia, 1844, pp. 38, 49). Weems had likewise a fondness for stupendous parallels and balanced sentences. W. E. Barton in his analysis of the "Gettysburg Address" traces Lincoln's use of the phrase "under God" to Weems's repeated use of it, and concludes, "That Lincoln owed a debt to Weems, he knew and acknowledged. That he realized himself to have been indebted to Weems for this form of words may not be so certain" (*Lincoln at Gettysburg*, Indianapolis, 1930, pp. 141-144).

In the "Gettysburg Address" these several varieties of repetition provide an effect unique in Lincoln's prose. Computation shows that of the two hundred and seventy-two words in the address nearly half (one hundred and thirty-two, to be exact) are repetitions. For example, the pronoun *we* occurs ten times; *here*, eight times. Recurring in a variety of positions and with changing emphasis, they furnish Lincoln's theme of the preservation of democracy with a pointed meaning—*we, here*. His abundance of *that's* has been lamented even by those who praise him most. W. E. Barton, in a generally good analysis of the address, makes the natural comment that "possibly if he had thought of it he could have substituted other words in a few instances."<sup>15</sup> But Lincoln did, apparently, think of it. He changed the only *that* which he could find a substitute for without jeopardizing his pattern and shifting his point of view. "The unfinished work *that* they have thus far so nobly advanced," which occurs in his first draft, he changed to "work *which*. . . ."<sup>16</sup> Instead of avoiding the word, Lincoln deliberately added it as he made his revisions, three times changing his original phrasing: "a portion of *it*" to "a portion of that field"; "that the nation" to "that that nation"; "This we may in all propriety do" to "It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this." Whether we like it or not, we are confronted with the fact that Lincoln deliberately, and I think with full consciousness of the effect, chose this close parallelism and obvious reiteration which others surely would have avoided even at the expense of emphasis and point of view.

In addition to this reiterative pattern Lincoln uses more abundantly in this address than anywhere else alliteration, assonance, and rime-sound repetition. With these devices indicated by italics, and repetitions of key words by parentheses, the oral peculiarities of the address become apparent:

*Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.*

Now we are *engaged* in a *great civil war*, testing whether that (nation), or any (nation) so (*conceived*) and so (*dedicated*), can long *endure*. We are met on a (great) *battlefield* of that (war). We have

<sup>15</sup> W. E. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>16</sup> For the various versions and revisions of the "Gettysburg Address" see Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.

come to (dedicate) a *portion* of that (field) as a *final* resting-place for those who here gave their *lives* that that (nation) might *live*. It is altogether *fitting* and *proper* that we should do this.<sup>17</sup>

The reader may, if he is interested, verify for himself the remarkable extent to which the remainder of the "Gettysburg Address" employs these devices, but perhaps other illustrations may be permitted. The following is the concluding paragraph to the "Address at Cooper Union":

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menace of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.<sup>18</sup>

In the "Second Inaugural Address" the sentence which some of Lincoln's critics have lamented as a pardonable lapse seems, in the light of this investigation, more likely to have been a deliberate choice: "Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away."<sup>19</sup>

Although it seems undeniable that Lincoln was conscious of sound effects, his choice of words seems to have been guided primarily by other values: meaning more than sound or connotation, concrete words more than abstract words, current idiom more than authoritarian nicety. So much has been written on the qualities of exactness, clarity, and simplicity in his style that it seems unnecessary to stress them here. They are, however, the qualities of prose excellence wherever it is met with, and as such hardly set Lincoln's style apart from that of Edmund Burke, though they do, in their degree, set his style apart from that of Stephen A. Douglas or that of William H. Seward. Important and obvious as these qualities are, the very meat and bread of his thought, one may wonder whether Lincoln's memorable passages are remembered today because of them, or because of the unique effects of arrangement, rhythm, and sound which accompany them. What Lincoln's own answer might have been we may infer from the following comment in one of Herndon's letters to Jesse W. Weik:

Mr. Lincoln's habits, methods of reading law, politics, poetry, etc., etc., were to come into the office, pick up book, newspaper, etc., and to sprawl

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 439.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 612.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 657.

himself out on the sofa, chairs, etc., and read aloud, much to my annoyance. I have asked him often why he did so and his invariable reply was: "I catch the idea by two senses, for when I read aloud I hear what is read and I see it; and hence two senses get it and I remember it better, if I do not understand it better."<sup>20</sup>

## IV

Lincoln's use of figures of speech shows a third quality of style and thought hardly less interesting than those we have discussed. The entire problem of Lincoln's diction and originality of expression seemed to William H. Herndon inextricably bound up with an instinct for analogy and metaphor. In order that the reader may have the complete problem, I quote Herndon's analysis at length:

Mr. Lincoln was often perplexed to give expression to his exact, clean-cut ideas: first, because he was not a master of the English language, not knowing its flexibility and its grandeur, and secondly, there were to him no words in it containing the coloring, shape, and weight of his ideas; he was frequently at a loss for a word and hence at the beginning of his life was compelled to resort to stories, jokes, maxims, to embody and express his ideas, that they might be comprehended. . . . Lincoln's mind, commencing in his boyish-youthful days, to his greatness, underwent four changes as to the method of conveying his ideas: first, he used Aesop's fables as a means to that end; secondly, he used the common maxims of the common people to give expression to his thoughts; finding out that these would not always convey his ideas, he used, thirdly, stories, jokes, to that end; and, fourthly, as he became more and better acquainted with his mother tongue, he resorted to words and words alone to convey his ideas, though he never ceased to tell his stories and his jokes to those who he knew loved and could appreciate them.<sup>21</sup>

Of this analysis we can say only that it is true to the facts as Herndon saw them and that it is an attempt to explain what seems to have been a basic quality of Lincoln's mind. He was consistently and naturally figurative. His pithy quips, his almost legendary stories, and his most serious analyses constantly reveal this quality. Even his official messages contain not a few sentences like the following, addressed to General Hooker: "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between

<sup>20</sup> *The Hidden Lincoln*, p. 95.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 416-417.

Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?"<sup>22</sup>

In many instances his figure is so much the texture of his thought that the reader may not be conscious of it. Perhaps it was this growing subtlety which caused Herndon's failure to perceive that in later life Lincoln continued to use analogy and metaphor, not less but more, in the very thinking out of ideas. Lincoln's later style shows a fusion of metaphor and analogy with logic that is far more subtle than the telling of a story to make a point. The "Gettysburg Address" is in its entirety such a fusion of figure and logic. The metaphorical language of birth and spiritual rebirth, with its biblical overtones and allusions, begins in the first phrase to play the religio-patriotic parallel of the life of man and the life of democratic society through its suggestion of and association with the psalmist's "the days of our years are three score and ten." The "brought forth," "conceived," and "dedicated," as well as the later "new birth of freedom," etc., are the result of this metaphorical thinking, which combines the theme of birth, death, and rebirth of the nation with the elegiac theme of honor for those who "gave the last full measure of devotion." The effect is to identify the theme dearest to Lincoln—the rebirth of democracy—with the theme dearest to his audience—the spiritual rebirth of "these honored dead."

Although Lincoln never abandoned simile, analogy, and metaphor, it is true that his later works employ them less obviously than his early works, and that his middle period (1850-1860) shows a gradual fusion of the two modes outlined by Herndon. To this we may add the perceptible fact that as Lincoln grew, his figures became more effective and dramatic, though they remained consistently natural, even homely, in quality. Even his finest figures in his later writings are couched in terms that will appeal to the common, even the illiterate, man. Metaphor in the grand manner of Webster's famous peroration to the "Reply to Hayne" Lincoln seldom used, and in such little known early speeches as we do find something like them, Lincoln seems to reflect poorly and unnaturally an influence foreign to his mind. It was perhaps, this quality of natural homeliness which led Herndon to believe Lincoln not a master of language and to infer that Lincoln's figurative language

<sup>22</sup> Lincoln, *op. cit.*, II, 352.

was the result of his seeking solely for clearness. With this inference later critics have generally agreed. Daniel Kilham Dodge summarizes, "Lincoln's figures almost always serve a useful purpose in making an obscure thought clear and a clear thought clearer."<sup>23</sup> And yet this implication of a purely utilitarian motive hardly does justice to an imaginative quality of mind. Herndon insisted, and others have agreed, that Lincoln had "no sense of the beautiful except in the moral world."<sup>24</sup> Such a limitation means nothing in an experimental or scientific sense, but even if we grant it we need not presume that Lincoln was oblivious of all but the useful in analogy or metaphor. All of Lincoln's contemporaries did not agree with Herndon's analysis. Stephen A. Douglas, as we shall see, thought that Lincoln loved figurative language for its own sake.

Lincoln's figures may be classified in two groups: those which are used as a method of explanation or as a basis for inference, and those which are used as rhetorical assertions for purposes of persuasion. In attempting to make any classification it is apparent that wide room for differences of opinion must be allowed, but let us proceed. The first classification is primarily utilitarian. In a scientific treatise such an employment of analogy may be very useful—as, for example, the wave analogy in explaining the theory of light—but it has dangers of inference if the analogy is carried too far or if the inference is too broadly drawn that waves of light and waves of water are "alike." Its usefulness diminishes as the inferences drawn tend to escape from the realm of observable fact. In a political speech, on the other hand, this type of figure may become more useful, if not in the pursuit of truth at least in getting votes, as the inferences drawn from it get farther from observable facts. With Lincoln the inferential values of such figures are almost without exception of more weight than their explanatory values, and as this is more or less evident in any particular figure Dodge's comment seems less or more true. Let us examine the progress of a typical series of figures through several stages of inference in one of Lincoln's most famous addresses:

Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it

<sup>23</sup> Abraham Lincoln: *The Evolution of His Literary Style* (Urbana, Ill., 1900), p. 27.

<sup>24</sup> *The Hidden Lincoln*, p. 416, *et passim*.

shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition? Let anyone who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery, so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief architects, from the beginning.

Under the Dred Scott decision, "Squatter sovereignty" squatted out of existence, tumbled down like a temporary scaffolding,—like the mould at the foundry, served through one blast, and fell back into loose sand,—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. . . .

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas's "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery in its present state of advancement.

[Then follows a lengthy analysis of the "working points of the machinery," climaxed by the following analogy:]

We cannot absolutely know that all these adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places, and by different workmen,—Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance [Douglas, Pierce, Taney, Buchanan],—and when we see those timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such piece in,—in such a case, we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck.<sup>25</sup>

Of the last paragraph Douglas later said: "He studied that out—prepared that one sentence with the greatest care, committed it to memory . . . to show how pretty it is. His vanity is wounded because I will not go into that beautiful figure of his about the building of a house. . . ."<sup>26</sup> This sarcasm seems at this late date to strike

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 240, 242, 243.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, I, 303.

rather close to the heart of Lincoln's method, which was to phrase carefully and dramatically a figure that would stay with his listeners and carry implications of something more than rational analysis could maintain. If it works toward "making a clear thought clearer," that clearness is like the glass near the edge of a lens, capable of distorting vision rather than improving it. His analogy of machinery, we may admit, is effective in explaining to his hearers how the Dred Scott decision and Squatter Sovereignty were working together for the extension of slavery, but his analogy of the "house or mill" in its further implications that Douglas was deliberately working for the extension of slavery seems a distortion of truth. Among all Lincoln's figures of speech of this first class, it would be difficult to find even a few that are not, like these, more significant as rhetoric than as means of clarifying thought.

Of the second type of figures, those which are used merely as rhetorical assertions for the purpose of persuasion, Lincoln uses far fewer. They tend to be, however, even more effective and dramatic. Consider, for example, the following analogy from the "Address at Cooper Union":

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this government unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action? But you will not abide the election of a Republican president! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters between his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"<sup>27</sup>

Considering Lincoln's writings as a whole, one finds his use of figurative language abundant. Even when one compares him in this matter with his supposedly more rhetorical contemporaries —Daniel Webster, for example—he seems to have been not less but more figurative than the current styles of public oratory allowed. In his later works one finds figurative language less obvious but more effective and more expertly blended with the whole pattern of his thought.

## v

There are in print very few passages which show clearly through various stages of revision that Lincoln consciously strove for the

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 610-611.

effects we have observed. His revisions of the "Farewell Address" and the "Gettysburg Address" have already been noticed, but even the first drafts of these have so much the stamp of Lincoln's peculiarities that his revisions do little more than accent them. In his revision of Secretary Seward's suggested peroration for the "First Inaugural Address," however, we may see the artist deliberately at work, bringing his own peculiar pattern of thought and rhythm to another man's ideas, substituting his own exact and concrete words for orotund and vague terms,<sup>28</sup> removing redundant and useless words,<sup>29</sup> bringing closer together words that will enhance through assonance and alliteration the sound effect of the whole,<sup>30</sup> and, finally, changing a vague, transcendental metaphor into a homely but poetic figure which would be understood by every man who heard or read it.<sup>31</sup>

To label one of the following as Lincoln's is superfluous. Every sentence declares its creator:

I close.

We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow-countrymen and brethren.

Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not, be broken.

The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battle-fields and so many patriot graves, pass through all the hearts and all the

I am loath to close.

We are not enemies, but friends.  
We must not be enemies.

Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this

<sup>28</sup> Note especially "stretching" for "proceeding"; "friends" for "fellow-countrymen and brethren"; "land" for "continent."

<sup>29</sup> Note the omission of "too hardly," "of ours," "again."

<sup>30</sup> Note the "loath to close," "break our bonds," "mystic chords of memory," etc.

<sup>31</sup> Seward's metaphor may suggest the extended metaphor in Coleridge's "Aeolian Harp," and in some respects may be considered good. To Lincoln, however, it probably seemed too metaphysical to appeal to the common citizen, who saw his angels plucking harps rather than imagined them as disembodied wraiths breathing upon aeolians. That Lincoln's revision of this metaphor was not quite an accident of the moment is indicated by earlier phrases such as the comment on Henry Clay, "This it is that truly touches the chords of sympathy" (*Complete Works*, I, 171) and by his phrase concerning the opening sentence of the "Declaration of Independence": "That is the electric chord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together" (*ibid.*, I, 258).

hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), III, 343. For a discussion of a possible source of Seward's theme and phraseology in Madison's concluding sentences in No. 14 of *The Federalist*, see Jay B. Hubbell's "Lincoln's First Inaugural Address," *American Historical Review*, XXXVI, 550-552 (April, 1931).

<sup>33</sup> Lincoln, *op. cit.*, II, 7.

## THE FIRST ENGLISH PLAYS IN NEW ORLEANS

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**A**MONG THE REFUGEES who came from St. Domingo to New Orleans in 1791 was "a company of comedians from Cape Français, who opened a theater a short time after their arrival,"<sup>1</sup> thereby inaugurating a long and brilliant history of French drama in New Orleans. But no such convenient occasion has been found by which clearly to date the beginning of drama in English on the New Orleans stage. Dunlap believed that James H. Caldwell, on January 7, 1820, "represented at New Orleans the first English drama ever performed in that city by a regular *corps dramatique*. The Honey-moon, and Three and Deuce, were the pieces of the evening."<sup>2</sup> Sol Smith was equally circumstantial and yet quite different in his statement: "The English Drama was introduced into the city of New Orleans in December, 1817, by a Commonwealth Company. The performance took place in the St. Phillippe Street Theatre, afterwards the Washington Ball-room."<sup>3</sup> Ludlow was even more precise:

I may state here, our performance Christmas Eve, 1817, was the *first representation by a regularly organized company speaking the English language, that appeared in New Orleans*. . . . There have been many misstatements of this matter . . . some . . . through ignorance, some from sinister motives, and some because they hoped for favor or reward in the way of *money*. I therefore record my statement on this point as a *fact* that is uncontrovertible.<sup>4</sup>

Now Ludlow should have known what he was talking about. He was certainly in New Orleans with a theatrical troupe in January, 1818, as evidence to be presented later shows clearly. But he was writing his memoirs in his old age, and his memory need not be regarded as infallible. Indeed, the very violence of his categorical

<sup>1</sup> Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (2d ed., New Orleans, 1879), III, 309.

<sup>2</sup> William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1832), p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Sol Smith, *Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years* (New York, 1865), p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> N. M. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life as I Found It* (St. Louis, 1880), p. 140. Italic Ludlow's.

statement should put an investigator on his guard. It is the purpose of the present article to trace the early history of plays in English on the New Orleans stage not from memoirs but from more objective and contemporary evidence, that found in the play-notices in the New Orleans newspapers from 1805 to 1818. The evidence these newspapers afford contradicts rather than confirms Ludlow's claim, and thus casts further doubt on Ludlow's reliability.<sup>5</sup> More important is the light thrown on theatrical and cultural conditions in New Orleans by this evidence, most of which is now presented for the first time.

The first dramatic performance in English which the notices in the New Orleans papers announced came almost within three years after the Louisiana Purchase. In 1806 a Mr. Rannie, entertainer, ventriloquist, magician, and actor was in New Orleans.<sup>6</sup> The *Louisiana Gazette* for April 29, 1806, announced that Mr. Rannie would give a theatrical entertainment in three acts, called *The Doctor's Courtship*, followed by two acts of the pantomime *Don Juan*, "at the new theatre in Mr. Moore's large building, Chartres Street. Boxes, \$1, gallery, 50c." *The Doctor's Courtship* was a popular farce which had had its first New York performance within a short time of the New Orleans production.<sup>7</sup> An advertisement in the *Gazette* for May 7, 1806, announced Mrs. Rannie's benefit, at which, in addition to magic and ventriloquism, would be acted "that comic piece, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, and the *Unfortunate Gentleman, or the Ghost's Return*." It is entirely possible that the Rannies had been in New Orleans for some time, and that *The Doctor's Courtship* was not their first play; for a benefit performance after only one prior performance seems unusual even for a barnstorming troupe in the provinces. With *The Battle of the Nile*, advertised for May 16, 1806, Mr. Rannie's career in New Orleans seems to have ended. There is no evidence about his success or his reception.

New Orleans was still largely a French city in 1806. It is important to note that thus early there was an attempt to provide the-

<sup>5</sup> Ralph L. Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 364, and elsewhere (e.g., I, 383-384) shows instances of Ludlow's unreliability, and his unsubstantiated claims concerning the establishment of the theater in St. Louis are treated by William G. B. Carson, *The Theatre on the Frontier* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 38 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Two Rannies, older and younger, were active on the New York stage from 1800 to 1810. Which of the two performed in New Orleans has not been determined. See G. C. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927), II, 143, and index, for the New York career of the Rannies.

<sup>7</sup> Odell, *op. cit.*, II, 305.

atrical entertainment for the Americans in New Orleans, by a New York professional actor who offered a recent New York success. The Americans in New Orleans were to wait five years before there was another attempt to provide an American theater.

But these five years were not devoid of signs of cultural *rap-prochement*, so to speak. The French theater was steadily active, as the advertisements in the *Moniteur* prove, and the French players occasionally showed some courtesy towards the American population. At the New Theatre on May 9, 1807 (and this performance is advertised in both the *Moniteur* and the *Gazette*), was presented *The Portrait of Washington*. This was an important scene in a crowded evening's entertainment, apparently. Fifteen figures in colored shades were to be exhibited, to be preceded by the likeness of his excellency, George Washington. An angel was to appear, come to offer the General a crown of laurel; it placed the laurel on Washington's head, retired three steps reverently, and then was to fly up into the heavens, all to be accompanied with appropriate music.

In this same week Le Sieur Falconi was presenting "physical and mathematical recreations, a galvanic machine and hydraulic experiments." Perhaps finding the scientific appeal of his performances not entirely suited to the disposition of the New Orleans public, he announced the addition of a quick-change dancer, a young girl, "who, while she is dancing, will change her costume so promptly that the audience will be unable to perceive it. She will appear as a luminous body surrounded by shadows of great natural grandeur for three or four minutes," states the advertisement in the *Moniteur* for April 25, 1807. But our estimate of the luxuriance of the New Orleans stage may be a bit checked by the announcement that at the new theater, "a la salle chinoise," the orchestra will be composed of four musicians.<sup>8</sup>

A concert and grand ball was arranged for Washington's Birthday the next year, 1808. The program as printed in the *Courier* for February 22, 1808, has no English or American pieces, however. More important was the pantomime arranged for July 4, 1810, and well advertised in the newspapers, both French and English. This pantomime was called *American Independence, Homage to the Memory of Washington*, and was in two acts. A special occasion helped to make this performance memorable. On July 1 a serious fire

<sup>8</sup> *Moniteur*, May 2, 1807.

had done much damage in the city. The actors announced that this performance of *American Independence* would be for the benefit of the fire sufferers. A growing attention to the American element in the city may be further evidenced by some concerts. Desforges, a prominent musician of New Orleans, had composed a march in honor of President Madison, and played it at a benefit on November 4, 1809. A march honoring President Jefferson was played at a benefit concert held on November 14, 1810.

But these instances can only show that the American element had not created its own art by 1810, and that the drama, and for the most part music as well, were still the almost exclusive possessions of the French population of New Orleans.

With April, 1811, however, came a series of dramatic performances that have to be considered carefully. An "American Company," headed by William Duff, was advertised to give several plays in the St. Philip Street Theatre.<sup>9</sup> Duff announced that by arrangement with Mr. Coquet he and his company would appear once or twice a week during the season; his success in different parts of the United States and even in Europe gave him reason to think that he could please New Orleans audiences. He announced for the first performance "the favorite comedy in three acts called *The Unfortunate Gentleman, or the Ghost's Return*," the same play, be it remembered, that Mr. Rannie had announced five years earlier. This was to be followed by the farce, *The Doctor's Courtship*, which also had been in Mr. Rannie's repertory. Mr. and Mrs. Duff were assisted by Messrs. Wood, Wilcox, and Thompson. Between the acts Duff would imitate bird calls, and execute several songs.

Duff and his company did not succeed in a permanent arrangement with the St. Philip Street Theatre, and next appeared at the Condé Street ballroom on June 29, 1811, in "the favorite drama, the *Slaves in Barbary*." The cast, printed in the *Gazette* for June 27, 1811, shows that several persons had been added to the company. Duff again assured the public that they would be pleased, and then went on to request that no "segars" be smoked in the theater during the performance. Edward Young's play, *The Revenge*, was announced as in rehearsal. It is not clear that *The Revenge* was ever performed. The next announcement in the *Gazette*, a month later

<sup>9</sup> *Gazette*, April 23, 1811.

(July 31, 1811), indicates a union of dramatic interests and racial strains as well. The notice reads:

Theatre of Variety. In Mr. Bonquiet's Ball room, Condé Street. The Society of Artists having united with Mr. William Duff have the honor to inform the public that on Saturday next the 3rd of August, they will perform the Two Hunters or the Dairy Maid, Pantomime and Ballet, in which a young lady just arrived from the United States will make her début in the part of the milk maid, and dance in character. The performance will end by a grand ballet in which Mme. Douvillier and Mr. Tessier will dance the principal part. This piece will be preceded by the Two Quakers, Pantomime in one act in which Mme. Douvillier and Mr. Tessier will perform the principal parts. At the rising of the curtain Mr. Duff will perform different feats of acting, balancing, etc., which will astonish the spectators. Between the play and the farce he will dance on the slack wire, perform the field exercise and will conclude the scene by imitating the Drunken Man, etc. The artists united at this theatre dare hope from the generosity and indulgence of the public the encouragement due not only to the efforts they have made to obtain good music and to decorate the room but also to those they will make to render the performance interesting, agreeable, and amusing.

For all this the public was asked to pay seventy-five cents, or fifty cents for the gallery. Later advertisements tell us that "the society of artists united with Mr. Duff" have had to postpone performance for four days, on account of the bad weather.<sup>10</sup>

How long this association continued, how well it was received, are questions yet unanswered. *The Two Hunters and the Dairy Maid* was a long-time favorite in New York, Charleston, and Philadelphia from 1795 on. It is also important to note that well-known artists from the French companies in New Orleans were assisting. Mme. Douvillier, indeed, had been a favorite on the Charleston stage in the French company there, and according to Ludlow had had a very interesting life.

In May, 1812, Duff was still in New Orleans, still promising entertainment to the public, though this time without much spoken drama. He was then associated with an acrobat named Siggismundi, who advertised himself as having performed in France, Italy, and Spain. Their show was to take place at 38 Bienville Street,

<sup>10</sup> *Gazette*, Aug. 5, 1811.

"formerly occupied as a ball room." Balancing, "philosophical experiments," slack-rope dancing, transparent shades, imitation of bird calls, ground and lofty tumbling, and the musical farce of the *Two Blind Fiddlers*, made up the program for May 21.<sup>11</sup> On May 25 the performance was augmented by the addition of Mr. Love, who appeared as a comic character on the slack rope, and by this master-stroke by Duff:

Mr. Duff will do that wonderful operation which has never been attempted by any performer in this country but himself and Mr. Ramey. He will allow any gentleman in company to cut off the head of a living chicken, and after which to the astonishment of the audience, he will cement the head to the body, the chicken shall live and not be any the worse, except loosing [sic] a few drops of blood.

It is tempting to try to identify this Mr. Duff with the James Duff later well known to the Atlantic seaboard, husband of the noted actress who was Tom Moore's first but unattainable love. But dates as well as first names are opposed to this identification, and our William Duff's career seems unknown, except for this glimpse of him.

Further evidence of more tolerant racial relations is the presentation, of July 4, 1811, of the world première of *A Trait of Washington, or, France and America*, described as "an heroic comedy, never before presented on any stage." This was presented in French by the established group of players, Tabary taking the part of Washington, M. Auguste, Lafayette, and the part of America, "jeune paysanne," by Mlle. Laurette. "The scene takes place near the town of York, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered himself to the combined forces of America and France."<sup>12</sup> The author of this heroic comedy was Alexis Daudet,<sup>13</sup> actor and sometime manager of one or the other French groups before 1812. *Un Trait de Washington* was repeated September 12, 1811, was given on Washington's Birthday, 1812, and a performance was announced for August 16, 1812, as "demanded under the present circumstances."<sup>14</sup> The demand seems to have been due to the heated party controversy aroused by

<sup>11</sup> *Louisiana Gazette*, May 21, 1812.

<sup>12</sup> *Moniteur*, July 2, 1811.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, July 20, 1811. Daudet proclaimed his authorship in a note denying that another French play had been composed in order to ridicule the Creoles of this country. Daudet's earliest comedy, *L'Ecossais à la Louisiane*, had had its first performance June 22, 1808, according to an item in the *Moniteur*.

<sup>14</sup> *Moniteur*, Aug. 11, 1812.

the election of the first Louisiana State officials. The first performance of *Enfin nous sommes en état*, or *The Marriage of Louisiannette*, an allegorical comedy, interspersed with songs, had taken place on June 28, 1812.<sup>15</sup>

Washington, of course, was often presented in one guise or another. At the Phantasmagoria at the Condé Street ballroom in 1813 one of the important representations was that of Washington crowned by the Genius of Liberty.<sup>16</sup> This Phantasmagoria, according to the advertisement, was a very notable improvement on anything of the kind hitherto seen. "The variety of shades, allegorical figures and great personages represented . . . will convince amateurs that this new species of representation is entirely different from all those hitherto given, which were but coarse imitations. . . . The room will be lighted at every change of object, which the ladies are assured will represent nothing frightful or disagreeable. Military music will play several American and French airs, analagous to the figures. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

It would be erroneous to infer that the Battle of New Orleans brought about a complete and permanent reconciliation between the French and American elements in Louisiana. There was, however, an increased activity in several of the arts. Mr. H. Laclotte fairly promptly had a picture, "The 8th of January, 1815," copies of which were for sale in 1817.<sup>18</sup> Then there was a popular musical composition representing the battle of January 8. This was being performed at least as early as January, 1816, and an arrangement for the piano was for sale by April, 1816.<sup>19</sup> This composition may have had its first performance on January 31, 1816, for at a concert held that night in the Condé Street ballroom, it was the chief attraction. It was performed by a full band, and was described as "composed by Mr. Laroque from historical facts." At this first performance, the advertisement states: "It is confidently expected that every American, as well as every patron of the fine arts, will contribute, by his presence tonight, to the reward of genius, especially when thus exerted in commemoration of the equally memorable and glorious Eighth of January 1815."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, June 23, 1812.

<sup>16</sup> *Courier*, April 7, 1813.

<sup>17</sup> *Courier*, April 7, 1813.

<sup>18</sup> *Courier*, Oct. 27, 1817.

<sup>19</sup> *L'Ami des lois*, Jan. 12, April 19, 1816.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1816. This advertisement was in French and English, but the French advertisement was silent about American participation. That the notice indicates a dis-

For the four years from 1812 to 1816 the advertisements do not indicate any professional actors trying to give plays in English in New Orleans. But the absence of professionals was in some measure compensated by several amateur performances for various charities. On Friday, January 24, 1812, a number of gentlemen performed the comedy of *John Bull, or the Englishman's Fireside*, by Coleman, at the St. Philip Street Theatre, charging an admission fee of two dollars, children half price, gallery one dollar. This performance was for the benefit of the Charity Hospital. "The design of the gentlemen who leave their usual departments in life for a road untrodden, is solely to relieve the distresses of their fellow creatures," the advertisement assures us. The managers were James Mather, Joseph Saul, William Flood, and G. W. Morgan, businessmen and politicians whose names are of frequent occurrence in city affairs, Morgan at one time being sheriff and Mather mayor. The managers later announced that the performance had cleared \$531.<sup>21</sup> The same group presented Coleman the Younger's play, *The Heir at Law*, together with "the celebrated farce" of *Raising the Wind*, at the St. Philip Street Theatre, April 3, 1812. This performance called forth the first bit of pseudo-dramatic criticism I have found in the *Gazette*:

We were again gratified, on Friday evening last, with the representation of a comedy and farce in the English language, at the St. Philip Street Theatre. Whatever may be thought objectionable in the Comedy, we cannot but say we were really gratified; and it surely must give to the gentlemen, who for the moment "left their usual avocations for a path untrodden," the most pleasurable sensations in the recollection of the brilliancy of the audience, of the thundering applause they received, of the cheering smiles and approbation of the fair, and in the sweet recollection that while amusing themselves, they were largely contributing to the relief of distressed humanity.<sup>22</sup>

In the following year another English play was performed for charity, again one by Coleman the Younger; this time it was the "favorite comedy of the Poor Gentlemen." Originally advertised for January 22, the performance had to be postponed one day, and then gained \$426.50, as the Charitable Society later announced.<sup>23</sup>

inction between "Americans" and "the patrons of the fine arts" may after all be unintentional. It has, however, something of a prophetic value.

<sup>21</sup> *Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1812, and Feb. 12, 1812. *Moniteur*, Jan. 21, 1812.

<sup>22</sup> *Gazette*, April 6, 1812; see also *ibid.*, March 30, 1812, and *Moniteur*, April 2, 1812.

<sup>23</sup> *Courier*, Jan. 20, 1813; *Gazette*, Jan. 30 and Feb. 13, 1813.

This was repeated February 23, 1813, and then announced as presented by "the Thespian Charitable Society."<sup>24</sup> *A Cure for the Heartache* was presented for the benefit of the Charitable Society in November, 1813.<sup>25</sup> *A Cure for the Heartache* was again performed three years later, February 17, 1816, "along with the celebrated song, the quack Doctor." The English advertisement in the *Courier* (February 16, 1816) announced the play as given for "the benefit of the Thespian Benevolent Society," but the French notice in *L'Ami des lois* (February 16, 1816) makes it clear that a group of amateurs was presenting the play for the benefit of the poor.

A month later, the Thespian-Benevolent Society was announcing the favorite comedy, *Who Wants a Guinea?*, to be followed by the farce, *Taste*, at the Orleans Theatre, for March 22, 1816. This play had to be transferred to the St. Philip Street Theatre, since the Orleans house could not be obtained for the necessary rehearsals, and was finally presented March 28, 1816.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that the performance of *The Point of Honor*, described as "translated from the German by Mr. Kemble," may have been done by professionals. It was advertised as "for the benefit of the sufferers by the late fire," and was performed at the St. Philip Street Theatre, November 21, 1816, "the part of Valcour by Mr. Robinson."<sup>27</sup> Another performance by amateurs for the benefit of several unfortunate families was advertised for February 12, 1817, but it is not clear whether the play was given in French or in English.<sup>28</sup> But the members of the Thespian Benevolent Society performed *The Honeymoon*, with the farce, *The Spoiled Child*, certainly in English. This performance, first advertised for March 1 at the St. Philip Street Theatre, was postponed to March 7, and then to March 11. It was for the benefit of the Female Orphan Society. The play went over so well that it was repeated March 28, with this editorial comment from the faithful *Gazette* of March 27, 1817:

We are happy to find that the play *The Honeymoon* is to be repeated, for the benefit of the Female Orphan Society. From the few opportunities of rational amusement afforded to that portion of our fellow citizens who do not understand the French language, an English play

<sup>24</sup> *Courier*, Feb. 17; *Gazette*, Feb. 16, 1813; and Feb. 23, 1813. *Moniteur*, Feb. 23, 1813.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1813.

<sup>26</sup> *Courier*, March 15; *Gazette*, March 28, 1816.

<sup>27</sup> *Gazette*, Nov. 20, 1816.

<sup>28</sup> *L'Ami des lois*, Jan. 29, 1817; *Courier*, Feb. 10, 1817.

is at all times a matter of interest—but when to that interest is added the conviction that the characters will be respectably filled, and that the profits will add to the funds of one of the noblest institutions ever formed by piety and charity, the well known character of the people of New Orleans leaves us no reason to doubt but the house will be well filled.

Again at the St. Philip Street Theatre, but by what company the advertisements do not state, was presented the melodrama of *The Magpie and the Maid*, "translated from the French," with a comic farce, *All the World's a Stage*. This was scheduled for April 8, 1817.<sup>29</sup>

Six plays in English, by amateurs, within the year, and an editorial note calling attention to the "few opportunities for rational amusement afforded to that portion of our fellow citizens who do not understand the French language"—here is a situation ripe for development. The evidence is quite likely incomplete, since the newspaper files in the city archives and the Louisiana Historical Society are curiously meager for the years 1814 and 1815. It is a fair inference that the events of the War of 1812 increased local patriotism, and furthered that interest in American culture and language which had already been stimulated by the acceptance of Louisiana as a state.

But to return from conjecture to a more solid footing. In the summer of this same 1817, when the amateurs were busy offering English plays, a professional American company became active. On May 23 at the St. Philip Street Theatre *The Miller and His Men*, a melodrama in three acts, was presented for Mr. Robinson's benefit. The cast included Mr. Keen, Mr. Cargill, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Jones. That this was not the first performance by these gentlemen is clear. First, a benefit performance for one of the cast can hardly be given until the player has established himself to some degree in the affections of his audience. It may be remembered that Mr. Rannie had appeared at least once before advertising Mrs. Rannie's benefit, in 1806. Then, in the farce or after-piece, which was *The Weathercock*, Mr. Jones took the part of Tristram Fickle, with this note, "his second appearance."<sup>30</sup>

For June 2, 1817, this same group advertised, for Mr. Cargill's benefit, "Shakespeare's very justly celebrated, and much admired

<sup>29</sup> *Gazette*, April 3, 1817.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, May 20, 1817; *L'Ami des lois*, May 21, 1817.

tragedy of Othello The Moor of Venice." Mr. Cargill was Iago; Mr. Jones, Othello; Mr. Robinson, Roderigo. The rest of the cast were not named in the advertisement. "In the course of the evening Mr. Cargill will sing the favorite song of The American Soldier, or Battle of New Orleans. . . ." The advertisement is important enough to quote in part:

In presenting this entertainment to the citizens of New Orleans, Mr. Cargill feels confident of giving, at least, as much satisfaction as has ever been experienced by an American audience in this place. The merits of the celebrated author of this piece, as justly termed the father of the English stage, are too well known to require any remarks on this occasion; and the weight of the piece depending principally on a small number of characters, it is conceived to be perfectly within the compass of the present society. . . . N.B. The ladies and gentlemen who may honor the theatre with their presence on that evening are respectfully assured that the scenery will be so managed as to cause no unnecessary delay; and the entertainment, (though long) will not exceed twelve o'clock.<sup>31</sup>

Two members of this American company, Jones and Cargill, according to the *Courier* for May 30, 1817, joined with Douvillier for a performance of *The Battle of Bunker Hill, or the Death of General Warren*, announced for June 5, 1817. The English speeches by Samuel Adams and John Hancock fell to Jones and Cargill. This was advertised as the first New Orleans performance of the work.<sup>32</sup> It should be noted that the Douvilliers had, as early as 1811, united with William Duff's troupe for a few performances.

In 1817, "The Olympic Circus" began to be a strong competitor with the St. Philip Street Theatre. This establishment seems to have been a combination of a horse-show ring and a theater. On June 9 at the Circus there was performed "The Battle of New Orleans, or Glory Love and Loyalty, written by a gentleman of this city."<sup>33</sup>

June 26, *The Madison Family, or the Good and the Bad Savage* was announced as in preparation for Mme. Douvillier's benefit. Since this play had been successfully presented in the Northern theaters, and with notable success in Philadelphia, it was thought that

<sup>31</sup> *Courier*, May 30, 1817. The performance may have begun as early as six-thirty, and certainly by seven. A city ordinance, which the mayor seems to have insisted on having observed, regulated the hours of the curtain rising.

<sup>32</sup> I owe this reference to Professor Charles I. Silin, of Tulane University, who has been studying the history of the French theater in New Orleans.

<sup>33</sup> *Courier*, June 9, 1817.

New Orleans would welcome it. This is the earliest advertisement noted in which the English or American success of the play is spoken of. The French plays were, of course, frequently advertised as the latest Parisian successes. In July *The Hunted Tailor* was in preparation, "As performed at Astley's Circus in London, and lately introduced in America by Mr. West's company. It will be got up under the direction of Mr. Menial."<sup>34</sup> Menial, according to Odell, was no stranger to the New York stage from 1810-1815. Cayetano was also in this production. His name too was well known in New York and better known in New Orleans from his circus. Menial's last appearance in the 1817 season was in *The Madison Family*, on July 24, announced several weeks ahead.

In November, 1817, Cargill again tried his fortunes with the New Orleans audience. The advertisement reads in part:

American Theatre, for one night only. Mr. Cargill, having been disappointed in receiving his benefit last spring has the pleasure to inform the ladies and gentlemen of New Orleans and vicinity that there will be performed for their amusement, and, as he hopes, for his benefit . . . on Tuesday Evening, November 4th, How to Die for Love.<sup>35</sup>

The phrasing of this notice is not conclusive. Cargill had advertised *Othello* for his benefit for June 2. "Having been disappointed in receiving his benefit last spring" probably means that the performance was not given; it may, however, mean that the returns from the performance were disappointing.

More ambitious was the next play announced by the American Theatre, "Shakespeare's celebrated tragedy, Henry IV, or, the humours of Sir John Falstaff." Cargill played the King, Mr. Robinson, Prince Hal, Mr. Jones, Falstaff. Hotspur was played by Mr. Vos, "lately from the eastern theatres." The scenes were the work of Mr. Jones. On account of bad weather, says a later statement, the play was postponed, and had its first performance on December 15.<sup>36</sup>

An unusual amount of "plugging" was done to get out a good house for *Henry IV*. In the *Gazette* for December 9 "Thespis" was pleased at observing an advertisement for an American performance. It will be a treat indeed, and the more so, as it is one of Shakespeare's best tragedies. We know not one in the whole catalogue of plays more suited

<sup>34</sup> *L'Ami des lois*, July 5, 1817.

<sup>35</sup> *Courier*, Oct. 24; *Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1817.

<sup>36</sup> *Gazette*, Dec. 2; *L'Ami des lois*, Dec. 12, 1817.

to the temper and natural affability of Frenchmen; and we sincerely hope, the young amateurs composing the company, will not be discouraged by beholding a beggarly account of empty boxes. The parts we understand are judiciously cast, and we recommend to all Americans to visit the Theatre on that evening as they may not have such an opportunity again shortly.

Thespis again appeared in the *Courier* on Monday, December 15:

We were greatly disappointed on Wednesday evening last, at not receiving our anticipated pleasure in witnessing the performance of Henry IV. However, as we are informed that great pains have been bestowed in bringing this admired piece forward, we anticipate two fold pleasure on this evening, (when, as we understand, the performance is to take place). We are promised the part of Hotspur by Mr. Vos, from the eastern theatres, who is said to be a "theatrical genius," and we may expect in his Hotspur, "Hotspur himself." Mr. Jones as Falstaff will do justice to his character—Mr. Cargill is from Kentucky and to his talents we are no strangers—Mr. Robinson likewise claims our attention: without rivalry he is the first comic player in this part of the country, and in the afterpiece, (The Tooth-Ache) he will have full scope for his abilities: the *amateurs* no doubt will likewise obtain our approbation. Let us not then deny their exertions, but compose what is called a "good house," and patronize the rising merit of our beloved country.

The notice is in both French and English, with a curious modification of sense in the final sentence. The French readers got only this: "We citizens should not lose the chance to encourage talents"; nothing about patronizing "the rising merits of our beloved country."

After all this, it is gratifying to record that the performance was repeated "by particular desire." The second performance was on December 18, and took place in the Circus, the December 15 performance having been in the St. Philip Street Theatre.

From Thespis's second notice, it should be pointed out, it is clear enough that Cargill, Jones, and Robinson were familiar names to the theater audiences in New Orleans of 1817, and were regarded as professionals, in distinction from amateurs who took the minor parts.

The American troupe was back at the St. Philip Street Theatre for Christmas Eve, 1817, in Kotzebue's three-act comedy, *How to Die for Love*, followed by a Christmas medley, concluded by the farce

of *The Tooth-Ache*.<sup>37</sup> "Tickets and places may be taken of Mr. Jones, at the Theatre."

During the last ten days of 1817 the following dramatic performances were advertised in the New Orleans press:

Dec. 20, at the Circus, *The Servant Maid*

Dec. 24, at the St. Philip, the American players, *How to Die for Love*

Dec. 26, at the Circus, *The Reward of Valor*; at the St. Philip Street

Theatre, *Edward in Scotland*

Dec. 28, at the Circus, *The Cooper*

Dec. 31, at the St. Philip Street Theatre, Miss Lise's benefit, *Mathilde*.

Our American company continued its appearance in 1818. For January 5, *Othello* was announced at the St. Philip Street Theatre.<sup>38</sup> Their offering for January 8, at the Circus, was advertised to be "the admirable comedy in 3 acts (never performed here) called The Duel." Cargill, Vos, King, Jones, and Robinson were announced as members of the cast.<sup>39</sup> Douvillier and Mlle. Laurette, who had been among the French artists to unite with William Duff's American troupe in 1811, and who in June, 1817, were playing with Jones and Cargill, again joined forces with the Americans for a performance scheduled for January 25, 1818. Douvillier offered for his benefit "an entire new American performance, got up under the management of Mr. Jones, called, The Watchword, or Quito Gate." Cargill, Vos, King, and Robinson are named in the cast. In the pantomime, *The Shipwreck of La Peyrouse*, Douvillier, Barnet, and Mlle. Laurette took part.<sup>40</sup> Cargill announced for his benefit, at the Circus, Lewis's *Timour the Tartar*, for February 19, 1818. On this occasion he sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," "with an additional verse."<sup>41</sup> Meantime, the French company continued to offer plays at the St. Philip Street Theatre.

But what of Ludlow, who was so positive that his company gave the first professional English drama in New Orleans on December 24, 1817, with *The Honeymoon*? In *L'Ami des lois* for January 10, 1818, is found the answer:

AMERICAN THEATRICAL COMMONWEALTH.

(By permission of the Mayor.)

The American Theatrical Commonwealth Company having recently arrived in this place, take this opportunity to inform the patrons of the

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1817.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1818.

<sup>39</sup> *Courier*, Jan. 5, 1818.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1818.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1818.

Drama that they have entered into an agreement with the proprietor of the St. Philip Street Theatre for the purpose of performing regular Dramatic pieces; and assure them that every exertion will be made to select such pieces as shall tend to render the amusement at the same time pleasing, moral and instructive. The theatre will, therefore, open on Tuesday evening, January 13, 1818, with a celebrated comedy in five acts, written by John Tobin, esq., called the *Honey Moon*.<sup>42</sup>

It is clear, then, that Ludlow's memory was wrong, by some three weeks, about the date of his first showing in New Orleans. Instead of Ludlow's being the first professional company to offer plays in English in New Orleans, Rannie in 1806, Duff in 1811, and the Cargill troupe in 1817, must share the honors of priority. At least twenty-two performances in English, professional and amateur, took place in New Orleans before Ludlow arrived there. The very play that Ludlow's company opened with, *The Honeymoon*, had already been twice performed within the year. When Ludlow's company arrived, they found a small American troupe in New Orleans, giving plays with some regularity. Furthermore, the French performances continued to be given with about their usual regularity after Ludlow's arrival. All of which makes Ludlow's statement more and more difficult to reconcile with the established facts, for he wrote (p. 139):

Some few years before our arrival there had been performances in the French language, but none in English. During our season there were no French performances in the city, the theatre having been burned some months prior to our arrival.

How could Ludlow have forgotten that there were French plays alternating with his own at the St. Philip Street Theatre for part of his stay?

Ludlow's company had a brilliantly successful season in New Orleans, as is clear both from his own account and from the supplementary evidence of the advertisements.<sup>43</sup> Their first season may thus be summarized:

<sup>42</sup> This advertisement is reproduced on p. 131 of *The American Stage*, by Oral S. Coad and Edwin Mims, Jr. (Vol. XIV, *The Pageant of America*, New Haven, 1929), without any comment or discussion of the problem. Other recent works on the history of the American theater follow Ludlow.

<sup>43</sup> The first performance by Ludlow's company was evidently reviewed in the *Orleans Gazette*, a newspaper now inaccessible, for the *Courier* for Jan. 19, 1818, refers to a review by Thespis. The departure of Ludlow's company was appropriately regretted by the *Louisiana Gazette* for April 25, 1818.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Jan. 13, <i>The Honeymoon</i>  | March 6, <i>John Bull</i>  |
| Jan. 16, <i>The Foundling of the Forest</i>  | March 10, <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>  |
| Jan. 21, <i>The Castle Spectre</i>   | March 12, <i>George Barnwell</i>   |
| Jan. 30, <i>She Stoops to Conquer</i> (announced first for Jan. 24, but postponed because of failure to obtain suitable music)   | March 21, <i>Tekeli</i>  |
| Feb. 4, <i>Douglas</i>   | March 24, <i>The Way to Get Married</i>  |
| Feb. 7, <i>The Farm House, or the Way to Win Him</i>   | March 27, <i>The Mountaineers</i>  |
| [Feb. 20?], <i>The Merchant of Venice</i> (announced first for Feb. 14, postponed several times on account of bad weather, finally ( <i>Gazette</i> , Feb. 19) announced for "the first fair evening, Thursdays and Sundays excepted") | (March 31, <i>Lover's Vows</i> , announced but not given)                              |
| Feb. 27, <i>Speed the Plough</i>   | April 2, <i>Venice Preserved</i> , with Mr. and Mrs. Savage, from the Eastern theaters |
| March 3, <i>The Stranger</i> (or March 4, perhaps, "weather permitting")   | April 4, <i>The Foundling of the Forest</i>  |
|  | April 8, <i>Ella Rosenberg</i>   |
|  | April 11, <i>The Blind Boy</i>   |
|  | April 15, <i>Laugh While You Can</i>   |
|  | April 18, <i>The Blind Boy</i>   |
|  | April 21, <i>The Doubtful Son</i>  |
|  | April 23, <i>The Birthday</i>  |
|  | April 25, <i>Lovers' Vows</i>  |
|  | April 29, <i>The Honeymoon</i>   |
|  | May 1, <i>The Castle Spectre</i> .   |

Some twenty-six plays since January 13, more than the Americans in New Orleans had seen in all the years of the territory and state. Ludlow recalled (p. 152) that the profits were surprisingly large, \$3,000 net profits for the fifteen weeks' season. From an advertisement in the *Gazette* for April 14, 1818, signed by Bainbridge as treasurer of the company, we learn that Mr. Hanna, one of the principal actors, had never been kept waiting for his salary of \$25 per week, which is additional evidence of the success of the company. Yet Ludlow complained (p. 142) that the St. Philip Street Theatre was too far from the American population "to have that benefit of their support as we should have had if we had been nearer Canal Street."

One of the notable stories that Ludlow relates about his first season in New Orleans is that of the performance of the *Don Juan* pantomime by the Douvilliers, who, he says, had asked for an appearance with the Ludlow company. Ludlow remembered this as occurring in April, 1818. But the advertisements give no informa-

tion about this performance. Perhaps it belongs to a later year in Ludlow's history.

But the most surprising lapse in Ludlow's statement (or memory) is his silence about the Cargill troupe. Later in his book (p. 180) he states that "a Mr. Cargill" joined the company which he took to St. Louis in December, 1819. He thought Cargill was a substantial and competent actor rather than an inspired one, and gave the impression that he had not heard of Cargill until late in 1819. But if an advertisement reproduced in *The American Stage*<sup>44</sup> is correctly dated, Cargill was in Ludlow's troupe in Nashville at least as early as December 15, 1818. The advertisement is for a performance of *Henry IV*, "Mr. Jones's benefit," and Jones is playing Falstaff, Cargill the King, and Vos, Hotspur, with Ludlow playing Poins. Now Jones, Cargill, and Vos had these same parts in their New Orleans productions of December, 1817; so it seems that Ludlow had added his New Orleans competitors to his own troupe within the year. Jones was known also as a scenic artist, and seems to have been regarded by Ludlow as a member of the Ludlow company from their first arrival in New Orleans. But the Ludlow troupe's performance of *The Doubtful Son*, April 21, 1818, was advertised as "Mr. Jones's benefit," with this note: "The American Company having volunteered their services for the benefit of Mr. Jones,"<sup>45</sup> a clear indication that Jones was not then a regular member of their company.

Ludlow's inaccuracies, however confusing and irritating they may be, hardly deserve further consideration. As the evidence from the contemporary press shows, there were several attempts to establish an American theater in New Orleans before Ludlow's arrival. In addition to the numerous plays given in English by amateurs for charity, Rannie in 1806 and Duff in 1811 represent professional efforts; and the Cargill company, acting in New Orleans when Ludlow arrived, were good enough to be taken into Ludlow's company within the year. The importance of these various efforts may well lie in having served as a foundation on which were to be based the astounding successes of the New Orleans theaters in the 1820's and 30's.

<sup>44</sup> Coad and Mims, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>45</sup> *Gazette*, April 20, 1818.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### AN EARLY AMERICAN IMITATOR OF MILTON

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OF FIFTY-ONE poems in Nathaniel Evans's small volume, *Poems on Several Occasions*, published in Philadelphia in 1772, six are clearly imitative of Milton—indeed, in several instances, are little more than paraphrases of poems by him. The six poems are: "Beginning of a Poem on the Passion and Resurrection of Christ," "On Time," "Hymn to May," "An Ode, on Completing My One and Twentieth Year of Age," "An Anacreontic Ode," and "To Melancholy."<sup>1</sup>

Evans's "Beginning of a Poem on the Passion and Resurrection of Christ," a fragment of seventeen lines, is virtually a paraphrase of Milton's "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." For comparison with Milton's poem, I quote Evans's:

Now came the hour, th'important hour  
When Heav'n's eternal Son,  
(Who deign'd the fleshly form to wear,  
And all our sins and troubles bear),  
His sacred blood for man must pour  
By Satan's wiles undone.  
O Thou! all-hallowed Spirit, hear!

Inspirer of the prophets old,  
Who tun'd the royal David's ear,  
When thro' his breast sweet transports roll'd;  
Thou Paraclete divine, o'er-rule my humble lyre,  
And touch a mortal breast with thy celestial fire.

For all in vain  
We wake the strain  
Our gratitude to prove  
And sing Messiah's love,  
Unless thy holy flame our frozen hearts inspire.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Leon Howard, in his article "The Influence of Milton on Colonial American Poetry," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 9, p. 73 (April, 1936), has referred briefly to Evans's being indebted to Milton in three of these poems: "Hymn to May," "An Anacreontic Ode," and "To Melancholy." The scope of Professor Howard's study naturally forbade an exhaustive consideration of Evans's indebtedness to Milton.

<sup>2</sup> *Poems on Several Occasions with Some Other Compositions* (Philadelphia, 1772), p. 136.

The identical themes are not, of course, significant, but the similarities in development and diction are. The opening lines of the two poems specify the time, that of Christ's birth. In the second line of each poem, Christ is named—by Milton as "Son of Heav'ns eternal King" and by Evans as "Heav'n's eternal Son." In the third line of each, mention is made of Christ's supernatural being; in the fourth line, of his mission as the redeemer of mankind. In the fifth line of Evans's poem and the sixth line of Milton's, the nature of Christ's sacrifice is indicated. Between other lines of the two poems there is also an apparent parallelism. Milton, in line 15, invokes the "Heav'nly Muse"; Evans, in line 7, the "all-hallow'd Spirit." Milton speaks, in line 24, of a "humble ode" which his Muse is to place at Christ's feet; Evans, in line 11, asks his muse to overrule his "humble lyre." Milton, in line 28, speaks of the "secret Altar toucht with hallow'd fire," and Evans, in line 12, asks his muse to "touch a mortal breast with celestial fire."

Evans's "On Time," an unfinished poem, bears marked resemblance to Milton's poem of the same title. Evans wrote, in part:

O Time! still urging to eternity,  
 In thy deep womb the world's vast actions lie—  
 Thy hours still whirl us on in full career,  
 Day following day, and year succeeding year;  
 Old moments ending as the new ones rise—  
 For thy first child, Succession, never dies;  
 But all things human own thy sov'reign pow'r,  
 Just live and die—a thousand in an hour.  
 Kings, empires, thrones and nations fade away,  
 And others still succeed as they decay;  
 Fair peace and horrid war still rule by turns,  
 With love and rage the world, alternate, burns;  
 And thus the same rotation shall be seen,  
 Till consummation shuts this earthly scene.<sup>3</sup>

It will be observed that both Milton's poem and Evans's begin with an apostrophe to time. Both refer to past events engulfed in the womb of Time. Milton says (l. 4):

And glut thyself with what thy womb devours.

Evans says (l. 2):

In thy deep womb the world's vast actions lie.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Both poets express the idea that Time will endure until this earth is destroyed. Milton says (ll. 10-11):

And last of all, thy greedy self consum'd,  
Then long eternity shall greet our bliss.

Evans, echoing the idea of these lines, writes (ll. 13-14):

And thus the same rotation shall be seen,  
Till consummation shuts this earthly scene.

Both Milton and Evans stress the idea that Time destroys only what is mortal; for Milton speaks (l. 6) of its devouring "meerly mortal dross" and Evans says (l. 7) that "all things human own thy [Time's] sov'reign pow'r."

In Evans's "Hymn to May" one finds echoes of both "Song. On May Morning" and "L'Allegro."<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of comparison, I quote Evans's verses:

Now had the beam of Titan gay  
Usher'd in the blissful May,  
Scatt'ring from his pearly bed,  
Fresh dew on ev'ry mountain's head;  
Nature mild and debonnair,  
To thee, fair maid, yields up her care.  
May, with gentle plastic hand,  
Clothes in flow'ry robe the land;  
O'er the vales the cowslips spreads,  
And eglantine beneath the shades;  
Violets blue befringe each fountain,  
Woodbines lace each steepy mountain;  
Hyacinths their sweets diffuse,  
And the rose its blush renews;  
With the rest of Flora's train  
Decking lowly dale or plain.  
Thro' creation's range, sweet May!  
Nature's children own thy sway—  
Whether in the chrystal flood,  
Am'rous sport the finny brood;  
Or the feather'd tribes declare,  
That they breathe thy genial air,  
While they warble in each grove  
Sweetest notes of artless love;

<sup>4</sup> The general similarities have been noted by Professor Howard, *op. cit.*

Or their wound the beasts proclaim,  
 Smitten with a fiercer flame;  
 Or the passion higher rise,  
 Sparing none beneath the skies,  
 But swaying soft the human mind  
 With feelings of ecstatic kind—  
 Thro' wide creation's range, sweet May!  
 All Nature's children own thy sway.<sup>5</sup>

A comparison of the lines just quoted with the first lines of Milton's "Song. On May Morning" indicates a fairly characteristic adaptation by Evans of Milton's theme and his imagery. Milton's first line:

Now the bright morning star, Dayes harbinger,

finds general correspondence in Evans's first line:

Now had the beam of Titan gay.

Milton's description of May scattering cowslips and primroses (ll. 3-4) is rather effectively modified and expanded by Evans (ll. 9-16). In the same manner, Milton's description of May as the season of "Mirth and youth, and warm desire" (l. 6) is taken over and amplified in the sixteen lines of Evans's second stanza.

Evans's "An Ode, on Completing My One and Twentieth Year" is analogous to Milton's sonnet written on his twenty-third birthday. The first stanza of Evans's ode displays an indebtedness to Milton, not only in general conception but in phraseology:

Father<sup>6</sup> of old oblivion, hail!  
 Restrain thy swift-revolving glass;  
 If soothing verse can ought avail,  
 To charm thy movements as they pass,  
 Still shall I let thee onward glide,  
 To waft me down thy boundless tide,  
 And unimprov'd remain my soul,  
 When twenty-one quick summers from me thou hast stole.<sup>7</sup>

An obvious borrowing, aside from the general idea, is Evans's employment of Milton's figure of Time as a thief. Moreover, Milton's

My hasting dayes fli on with full career

<sup>5</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>6</sup> Time (the poet's own note).

<sup>7</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

(l. 3) finds analogues in Evans's references to Time's "swift-revolving glass" (l. 2) and "onward glide" (l. 5). The closing stanza of Evans's rather lengthy ode presents further evidence of the borrowing of phrase and idea from Milton:

So come what will, the adverse scene,  
Or fortune's gay alluring smile,  
Still shall I keep my soul serene,  
Superior to all sinful guile;  
Then, whether Fate's resistless shears,  
Shall clip my thread in ripen'd years;  
Or, in my Prime, my doom be spoke,  
Undaunted shall I yield, and fearless meet the stroke.<sup>8</sup>

It is scarcely necessary to point out the attitude of Christian resignation apparent both in these lines and in Milton's sonnet (ll. 8-16). Significant also is the phrase "ripen'd years" (l. 6), obviously derived from the "inward ripenes" of Milton's sonnet (l. 7).

Evans's "An Anacreontic Ode" gives definite evidence of having been suggested by Milton's "L'Allegro."<sup>9</sup> I quote Evans's brief poem:

Hence with sorrow, spleen, and care!  
Muse, awake the jocund air;  
Wreathe thy brows in myrtle twine,  
And assist the gay design,  
Strike the trembling string with pleasure  
Till it sound the enchanting measure.  
Avaunt! thou fiend pale melancholy.<sup>10</sup>

Milton's opening line, "Hence loathed Melancholy," is paraphrased in Evans's first and last lines: "Hence with sorrow, spleen, and care!" and "Avaunt! thou fiend pale melancholy!" Both poets make the same antithesis between Melancholy and her opposite—Milton's "Goddes . . . ycleap'd Euphrosyne" and Evans's Muse who awakes the "jocund air." Moreover, Evans's "trembling string" and "enchanting measure" (ll. 5 and 6) suggest imitation of the passage near the end of "L'Allegro" beginning "Lap me in soft Lydian Aires."

One finds an even closer similarity between Evans's unfinished

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>9</sup> Leon Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 73, finds "echoes of 'L'Allegro'" in "An Anacreontic Ode."

<sup>10</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

poem "To Melancholy" and "Il Penseroso."<sup>11</sup> Evans, clearly borrowing his general theme and treatment from Milton, wrote:

Come, thou Queen of pensive air,  
 In thy sable, sooted car,  
 By two mournful turtles drawn—  
 Let me meet thee on yon lawn,  
 With decent vestments wrapt around,  
 And thy brows with cypress bound!  
 Quickly come, thou sober dame,  
 And thy musing poet claim.  
 Bear me, where thou lov'st to rove,  
 In the deep, dark solemn grove;  
 Where on banks of velvet green,  
 Peace, with silence, still is seen;  
 And Leisure, at the sultry noon,  
 On flow'ry carpet flings him down—  
 There, sweet Queen! I'll sing thy pleasures  
 In enthusiastic measures.<sup>12</sup>

The invocation to Melancholy, the description of her costume, the request that she lead the poet to the solemn depths of the forest, the poet's use of trochaic tetrameter lines rhyming in couplets, the use, in several instances, of exactly the same wording—all are points of close similarity between the two poems. Evans, in line 1, writes:

Come, thou Queen of pensive air,

a supplication analogous to that in line 31 of "Il Penseroso":

Com pensive Nun, devout and pure.

"Sable" is used by Milton to describe Melancholy's stole (l. 35); by Evans to describe her car (l. 2). Milton speaks of Melancholy's "stole of Cypress Lawn" (l. 35); Evans of her "brows with cypress bound" (l. 6). Milton's personification of "Peace" and "Quiet" (l. 45) undoubtedly prompted Evans's "Peace" and "Silence" (l. 12). Similarly, Milton's figure of Leisure taking his pleasure in trim gardens (ll. 49 and 50) must have suggested Evans's figure of Leisure throwing himself down on a "flow'ry carpet" (ll. 13 and 14). Lines 9 and 10 of "To Melancholy":

<sup>11</sup> Professor Howard remarks that the two poems have "similarity of verse" and that "To Melancholy" gives evidence of "the influence of 'Il Penseroso' in the opening invocation" (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>12</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

Bear me, where thou lov'st to rove,  
In the deep, dark solemn grove,

are plainly imitative of lines 131-133 of "Il Penseroso":

And when the Sun begins to fling  
His flaring beams, me Goddes bring  
To arched walks of twilight groves.

Not only in composing the six poems that have been discussed but also in writing paraphrases of the Psalms, Evans was an imitator of Milton. Evans did not select the same Psalms for paraphrase, but, as his own statement shows, he consciously followed Milton's example:

The Holy Scriptures are the true fountain from which to extract the richest draughts of poesy, both as to dignity of matter and embellishment of figures: witness the noble use the great Milton made of them in his marvellous poems, and though few must expect to reach such heights as did that prodigy of learning and genius, yet all according to their ability, may follow his illustrious example. . . .<sup>18</sup>

This examination of Evans's poetry indicates that elsewhere he followed Milton in the same spirit, knowing that he could not "reach such heights as did that prodigy of learning and genius," yet hoping to improve by following Milton's "illustrious example."

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#### A NEW BARLOW POEM

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THE BEST OF Barlow's occasional poems written before *Hasity Pudding* (1793) is this hitherto unpublished poem of thirty-seven octosyllabic couplets<sup>1</sup> on the Sun. The poem bears no title but might well be called "Sunset: in 'Epic Stile.'"<sup>2</sup> The manuscript contains no corrections and is in perfect condition save for about ten

<sup>18</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 83. This passage contains the only reference in Evans's volume to Milton.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. K. D. Metcalf, Director of the Library of Harvard University, for permission to publish this poem, which is in the *Barlow Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> Barlow rarely paid much attention to the selection of a title for his short poems. Of nine occasional poems written from 1777 to July, 1782, only three poems have titles. See Zunder, *The Early Days of Joel Barlow* (New Haven, 1934), pp. 42-44, 65-66, 71-72, 85, 98-99, 126-127, 137-138, 153-154.

blurred and blotted words in the last eight couplets. In lines 40, 50, 58 appear examples of the erratic spelling found in much of Barlow's early private correspondence and other writing in his hand. The handwriting throughout the manuscript of "Sunset" is of the period from 1785 to 1788 when Barlow was living at Hartford, Connecticut. At this time he was revising *The Vision of Columbus* (1787) for publication but did not allow any of its grandiose phrases to reverberate in the mock-heroic strains of "Sunset."

Of interest in the following poem are the references to Benedict Arnold (l. 40), "Captain Kids and Chevy Chases" (l. 54) and bundling (l. 29):

[SUNSET: IN "EPIC STILE"]

The sun, who sails secure in ether  
 But never stops for stormy weather,  
 Who toils all day in great commotion,  
 And moors at night in midst of ocean—  
 (This suits, you'll say, with days of yore,  
 Full twenty ages back or more,  
 Before he took the charge of nature,  
 And grew a circumnavigator.  
 Tho' now he's taught by learned men  
 To steer quite round & back again;  
 And when he can't have stars to guide him,  
 His ready compass stands beside him;  
 With this he veers at different stations,  
 And marks all Halley's variations,  
 By log and line his course to make good,  
 And finds his way as well as Drake could)  
 The sun, who his day's work attends to,  
 But goes to bed as soon as hens do,  
 Had now regain'd his last night's quarters,  
 And spread his couch beneath the waters;  
 The little squintey'd moon, half blind,  
 Who all that day rode close behind,  
 Lest in the dark she'd chance to lose him,  
 Leap'd off to snuggle in his bosom;  
 Dame Twilight march'd behind in form,  
 Soon as she tho't the bed was warm;  
 While Hesper, like a prudent father,  
 When thus he found they'd gone together,  
 For fear the lusty rogues would bundle,

Went down himself to hold the candle.  
 The sun (pray, reader, dont be fretting,  
 Because he seems so long in setting;  
 When set he must, 'tis worth our while  
 To have it done in epic stile;  
 For what avails for me to write,  
 Just now 'tis day & now 'tis night?  
 We ought to mark the course of nature,  
 Which gives us more poetic matter  
 Than all the story I could tell  
 How Belzebub or Arnold fell:  
 Besides, to lengthen out a subject,  
 With puny bards, is no mean project,  
 To every Muse's song they link on  
 Things that no Muse could ever think on,  
 And raise the work, in bulk, full twice  
 As high, &, if it sells, in price.  
 This very piece, which now I pen here,  
 From such dilations had it been clear,  
 Had fill'd of fools-cap half a sheet,  
 And cry'd at too [*sic*] pence thro' the street;

But now, preserv'd from pedler's pack,  
 From lighting pipe & turning jack,  
 From holding still more menial places  
 With Captain Kids & Chevy Chases,  
 I see it grow, as I shall handle it,  
 And swell from ballad up to pamphlet,  
 Or else, secure'd in deathless jingle,  
 Bound in one volume with M<sup>c</sup>Fingal,  
 It braves, for ages, vaults & sewers,  
 And mice & critics & reviewers.  
 Then let me lengthen out my lay,  
 And sing to sleep the God of day,  
 Tell how he sate in ancient time,  
 And how he still may set in rhyme.  
 If thus you give me leave, my friend,  
 I then will hasten to [the] end;  
 Resume the tale I l[eft] before,  
 Disturb'd with falling sun no more;  
 If well, this once, as[leep?] I stow him  
 He sets no more in[side?] this poem.)  
 The sun, I say, wh[ose] wheels were sink[ing]

As at the sea his s[teed]s were drinking,  
Sprang from the s[ur]f, as light as cork,  
And left all natu[r]e in the dark.

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## THE MARRIAGE OF POE'S PARENTS

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CONSIDERING the wealth of biographical writing concerning Edgar Poe, it is surprising that no complete and accurate account of the theatrical careers of David and Elizabeth Arnold Hopkins Poe has been published. Woodberry made the first serious effort to trace these careers, but as he states<sup>1</sup> his memoranda "were made, not with a view to a complete account of the careers involved, but to showing the sequence of engagements and the character of the acting." But in theatrical history, one of the essentials is completeness, for the persistent errors concerning the variety and importance of the parts sustained by Poe's parents are due to the fact that no biographer of Poe has really been aware of their significance. Mr. Hervey Allen, believing that the matter was "of minor importance,"<sup>2</sup> contented himself with information largely of a secondary nature, and depended usually on Woodberry. Since practically all we know of Poe's parents is based on their theatrical careers, it is of vital importance to know accurately their professional standing, the characters they portrayed and the effect upon their children's lives of the circumstances of their own. Miss Mary Phillips made an attempt to supplement Woodberry's account. But her material is not well organized and is often actually misleading.<sup>3</sup>

I hope in a later publication to present a list of performances of Poe's parents, as complete as is possible. At the moment, I wish to report an important discovery concerning the date and record of their marriage. The manner in which this discovery was made illustrates how a thorough search of the theatrical records will establish biographical facts at present unknown or incorrectly given.

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1909), I, 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Israfel* (New York, 1926), I, 8 n.

<sup>3</sup> A typical error is her statement that David Poe played Jacob in *The Flitch of Bacon* on August 4, 1804, in Richmond. He really played Jacob in *The Road to Ruin*, and Nat Putty in *The Flitch of Bacon*.

Charles Hopkins, a competent actor, met Elizabeth Arnold when he joined Wignell's Company in Philadelphia in March, 1800. He was married to her sometime between June 12, 1802, when she was still announced at the close of the Baltimore season as "Miss Arnold,"<sup>4</sup> and August 11, when she is announced as "Mrs. Hopkins" when she played Fanny in *The Shipwreck*<sup>5</sup> at Alexandria, Virginia. Mr. and Mrs. Hopkins played regularly with Green's Virginia Company, which David Poe joined at Richmond on June 30, 1804, playing Henry<sup>6</sup> to her Susan Ashfield in Morton's *Speed the Plough*. Hopkins died October 26, 1805,<sup>7</sup> at Washington, D. C., and the theater season closed December 21.

During the Richmond season, from January to May, 1806, both Poe and Mrs. Hopkins added some interesting roles to their repertoires. Mrs. Hopkins played the trying part of Sophia Woodbine and Poe the equally difficult role of Villars, suspected but innocent of evil, in *The Blind Bargain*. For Mrs. Hopkins's benefit on March 29, she played the leading part of Lady Randolph in Home's *Douglas*, "for the first time and that night only." On February 22, Poe and Mrs. Hopkins took the leading parts of Harry Harebrain and Harriet Manly in Dibdin's comedy, *The Will for the Deed*, announced as "performed for the first time in America." Since Harry runs away from his father to join a troupe of actors, the part was probably appealing to David Poe.

Woodberry tells us that "within a month, [after Hopkins's death] Mr. Poe, with some pecuniary aid from a friend (for these actors were always poor), married Mrs. Hopkins,"<sup>8</sup> but gives no supporting evidence. He also gives in his list of performances "Richmond, Feb. 1806. Mr. and Mrs. Poe."<sup>9</sup> Mr. Hervey Allen, after paraphrasing Woodberry's statement, speculates further: "Whether the young widow's haste was due to the natural ardor of her temperament or the failure of the deceased to engage her affections,

<sup>4</sup> *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 12, 1802.

<sup>5</sup> *Columbian Advertiser* of Alexandria, Aug. 11, 1802. The files of this period are not complete, nor are the casts always given. Marriage records of Baltimore show no record of a marriage between March 1 and August 15.

<sup>6</sup> Miss Phillips, I, 60, gives "Hervey" as Poe's part, following what is evidently a typographical error of J. H. Whitty, Appendix, p. 197, to his *The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, revised ed., 1917.

<sup>7</sup> *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* of Richmond, Nov. 6, 1805; *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, Nov. 29, 1805.

<sup>8</sup> *Life of Poe*, I, 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 361.

must remain in those realms of speculation sacred to theologians."<sup>10</sup> Mr. Allen also states without any reference, that David Poe and Elizabeth Hopkins were married in January, 1806.<sup>11</sup> Miss Phillips is more cautious, for she states that the marriage took place "some months later,"<sup>12</sup> but gives also no supporting authority.

In making the survey of the Richmond seasons, I fortunately secured the services of Miss Mary F. Goodwin, Historiographer of the Diocese of South Virginia, who made a day-by-day search of several of the Richmond newspapers. When her report for the spring of 1806 came, it was at once apparent that Woodberry and those who had followed him were incorrect. The *Virginia Gazette* of April 5, 1806, announced that "Mrs. Hopkins" was to play Irene in *Blue Beard* on April 7, while on April 9 the advertisement assigned the leading parts of Malford and Mrs. Malford in *The Soldier's Daughter* for April 10 to "Mr. and Mrs. Poe." This seemed to fix the date of their marriage as April 8. But since actresses frequently kept their earlier stage names after remarriage, I urged Miss Goodwin to make further search among the records in Richmond. The city records revealed nothing. But the Henrico County Court-house, situated near the houses where actors were accustomed to stay in those days, contained the marriage bond of David Poe and Mrs. Eliza Hopkins, dated March 14, 1806. By a curious mistake of the clerk in those days, the following bond had been filed with those of 1800, endorsed as was frequently done at that time, "1806."

Know all men by these presents that we David Poe jr and..... are held and firmly bound unto William H Cabell Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia in the sum of one hundred and fifty Dollars to\* the payment whereof well and truly to be made to said Governor and his successors for the use of said Commonwealth

We bind ourselves our heirs ex[ecut]ors and ad[ministrat]ors jointly and severally firmly by these presents sealed with our seals and dated this 14th of March 1806

The Condition of the above obligation is such that whereon a marriage is intended to be had and consummated between the above bound David Poe jr and Mrs Eliza Hopkins widow of Charles D Hopkins dec[ease]d of the City of Richmond If therefore there be no lawful

<sup>10</sup> *Israel*, I, 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 853.

<sup>12</sup> I, 62.

\* This word is illegible in the original bond, which is written by hand. In later printed forms of marriage bonds, the word is "to."

cause to obstruct the said marriage then this obligation to be void else to remain in full force and virtue

Executed in the presence of David Poe Jr (seal)

James Whitelaw (seal)

## George Chesman

The marriage therefore took place between March 14 and April 9, 1806, and since Easter fell on April 6, perhaps the actors took a brief honeymoon on that day. In any case, criticism, direct or implied, of undue haste in the wedding proves unwarranted. Any-one familiar with the theatrical conditions of that time knows that the lot of a widowed girl of nineteen would have been difficult if not impossible. One has only to read the description of the disorders which took place both behind the scenes and in the audiences,<sup>18</sup> to make any speculation concerning her acceptance of David Poe's protection unnecessary. How well he tried to protect her is revealed years later in the testimony of J. T. Buckingham, the editor of the *Polyanthos*, one of the most influential journals of Boston:

Mr. Poe—the father of the late Edgar A. Poe,—took offence at a remark on his wife's acting, and called at my house to chastise my impertinence, but went away without effecting his purpose. Both he and his wife were performers of considerable merit, but somewhat vain of their personal accomplishments.<sup>14</sup>

If the visit of David Poe was prompted by the criticism of Mrs. Poe's performance in "Little Pickle" in *The Spoiled Child*, "We never knew before that the Spoiled Child belonged to that class of beings termed hermaphroditical, as the uncouthness of his costume seemed to indicate,"<sup>15</sup> we can only sympathize with the natural resentment of a gentleman.

#### A NOTE ON POE'S "BERENICE"

FRANK DAVIDSON

*Indiana University*

AFTER EDGAR ALLAN POE had submitted his "Berenice" to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, he replied to T. W. White's criticism of it with the explanation that it was of a type that was

<sup>18</sup> See *Norfolk Herald* for April 14, 1803, for an account of the pugilistic exercises which took place while Mrs. Hopkins was acting Moggy McGilpin in *The Highland Reel* on April 12.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph T. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life* (Boston, 1852), I, 57. <sup>15</sup> *Polyanthos*, IV, 282 (March, 1807).

achieving celebrity in magazines.<sup>1</sup> As examples of the type he mentioned Thomas Maginn's "The Man in the Bell," DeQuincey's "Confessions of an English Opium Eater," and Bulwer's "Monos and Daimonos" and "A Manuscript Found in a Madhouse." All of these except the last have been easily accessible. Of "A Manuscript" Professor Napier Wilt wrote:

Although Poe speaks of a "A MS. Found in a Madhouse" as "of the London New Monthly" and "by . . . Bulwer," no article by this title has been found; neither the *New Monthly Magazine* nor the collected works of Bulwer contain any tale which suggests it.<sup>2</sup>

Such a tale was printed in one of the American annuals, *Affection's Gift* for 1854.<sup>3</sup> It was listed in the "Contents" as "Manuscript Found in a Madhouse, E. L. Bulwer." Though this particular printing was too late for Poe to have seen, it does afford evidence of Bulwer's having composed such a narrative.

The story is of a benevolent genius who has been hideously deformed from birth—whose countenance is a horror. Denied human love and sympathy, he has developed such an affection for nature as gives him insight into its beauty and mystery and makes of him a poet. Unintentionally he overhears a beautiful girl tell her companions that in a lover she asks not beauty but genius and affection. Under the mask of night he courts her with his songs, confessing his deformity, but pleading his love. She sets him the task of winning the acclaim of others as he has won hers. This he accomplishes and then returns. The two meet often at night. When she can no longer conceal her pregnancy, she consents to marriage. But her lover's hideousness is beyond what she had anticipated, and she faints at the altar and is borne away. He comes secretly to her room, finds her corpse and near it a dead infant, the image of himself. He carries the bodies to a cavern in the woods, where, famishing for love, he "played with the worms—that played with them."

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Napier Wilt in "Poe's Attitude toward His Tales," *Modern Philology*, XXV, 101-105 (Aug., 1927).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Affection's Gift; A Christmas, New Year, and Birthday Present for MDCCCLIV* (Philadelphia, 1854), pp. 53-64.

## WHITMAN'S NEW YORK AURORA\*

JOSEPH JAY RUBIN

*The Pennsylvania State College*

IT IS POSSIBLE to announce the discovery of a complete file of the *New York Aurora*, the daily newspaper which Walt Whitman edited in the early part of 1842.<sup>1</sup> The *Union List of American Newspapers* mentions that files of the *Aurora* for N24 1842-N23 1843 are in the library at Paterson, New Jersey;<sup>2</sup> an examination by the writer revealed that the files start November 24, 1841, thus spanning Whitman's editorship.

Whitman's editorship commenced formally on March 28, 1842, when publishers Herrick & Ropes announced:

The publishers of the *Aurora* would respectfully announce to their friends and the public that they have secured the services of Mr. WALTER WHITMAN, favorably known as a bold, energetic and original writer, as their leading editor. The addition of Mr. W. to the editorial department of the *Aurora*, the publishers feel assured will enable them to carry out their original design of establishing a sound, fearless and independent daily paper, which shall at all times and on all occasions advocate and sustain the dignity and interest of our country. The American public have severely felt the want of a journal thoroughly imbued with a true American spirit. . . .

Whitman, however, had been working and writing for the *Aurora* before March 28. Thomas Low Nichols, his predecessor, had severed his association with the newspaper by February 22, 1842; in his autobiography *Forty Years of American Life*, Nichols mentions having known his successor when Whitman was a journeyman printer.<sup>3</sup> On March 8, an editorial appeared in the *Aurora* on McDonald Clarke, the "Mad Poet," whose pitiful life had ended three days before:

He seems to have been a simple, kindly creature—a being whose soul, though marked by little that the crowd admire, was totally free from

\* I wish to acknowledge the aid of the staff of the Paterson Library, Professors D. Lee and W. L. Werner of The Pennsylvania State College, and Emory Holloway of Queens College.

<sup>1</sup> See *Complete Prose*, p. 188; and *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 87.

<sup>2</sup> P. 462.

<sup>3</sup> T. L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life* (1937, New York reprint of the 1874 ed.), p. 409.

any taint of vice, or selfishness, or evil passion: From his peculiarities, he was exposed to the ridicule of vulgar men, who seldom go 'beyond externals; yet Clarke possessed all the requisites of a great poet. . . .

In the Brooklyn *Eagle*, June 13, 1846, Whitman described his excursion to Greenwood Cemetery, Clarke's resting place. He repeated, with only a few changes, the entire *Aurora* editorial.<sup>4</sup>

Of possible Whitman material in the *Aurora*, two poems are recognizably his. The first, signed with the initial W., was published on March 18, 1842:

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF McDONALD CLARKE. A PARODY.<sup>5</sup>

Not a sigh was heard, not a tear was shed,  
As away to the "tombs"<sup>6</sup> he was hurried,  
No mother or friend held his dying head,  
Or wept when the poet was buried.

They buried him lonely; no friend stood near,  
(The scoffs of the multitude spurning,)  
To weep o'er the poet's sacred bier;  
No bosom with anguish was burning.

No polish'd coffin enclosed his breast,  
Nor in purple or linen they wound him,  
As a stranger he died; he went to his rest  
With cold charity's shroud wrapt 'round him.

Few and cold were the prayers they said,  
Cold and dry was the cheek of sadness,  
Not a tear of grief baptised his head,  
Nor of sympathy pardon'd his madness.

None thought, as they stood by his lowly bed,  
Of the griefs and pains that craz'd him;  
None thought of the sorrow that turn'd his head,  
Of the vileness of those who prais'd him.

Lightly they speak of his anguish and woe,  
And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him,  
But whatever he was that was evil below,  
*Unkindness and cruelty made him.*

<sup>4</sup> The rest of the *Aurora* editorial corresponds to II, 110-113, *The Gathering of the Forces*.

<sup>5</sup> The poem parodied is Charles Wolfe's "The Burial of Sir John Moore at Corunna."

<sup>6</sup> The New York prison where Clarke had been held.

Ye hypocrites! stain not his grave with a tear,  
 Nor blast the fresh planted willow  
 That weeps o'er his grave; for while he was here,  
 Ye refused him a crumb and a pillow.

Darkly and sadly his spirit has fled,  
 But his name will long linger in story;  
 He needs not a stone to hallow his bed;  
 He's in Heaven, encircled with glory.

W.

The second poem was published April 9, under the full signature of the editor:

TIME TO COME.<sup>7</sup>

BY WALTER WHITMAN.

O, Death! a black and pierceless pall  
 Hangs round thee, and the future state;  
 No eye may see, no mind may grasp  
 That mystery of Fate.

This brain, which now alternate throbs  
 With swelling hope and gloomy fear;  
 This heart, with all the changing hues,  
 That mortal passions bear—

This curious frame of human mould,  
 Where unrequited cravings play,  
 This brain, and heart, and wondrous form  
 Must all alike decay.

The leaping blood will stop its flow;  
 The hoarse death-struggle pass; the cheek  
 Lay bloomless, and the liquid tongue  
 Will then forget to speak.

The grave will take me; earth will close  
 O'er cold dull limbs and ashy face;  
 But where, O, Nature, where shall be  
 The soul's abiding place?

<sup>7</sup> Cf. "Our Future Lot," *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 1-2. The publication by Whitman of this signed revision of "Our Future Lot" justifies the judgment of Professor Holloway, who has stated that "Our Future Lot," even though unsigned, was written by Whitman.

Will it e'en live? for though its light  
 Must shine till from<sup>8</sup> the body torn;  
 Then, when the oil of life is spent,  
 Still shall the taper burn?

O, powerless is this struggling brain  
 To rend the mighty mystery;  
 In dark, uncertain awe it waits  
 The common doom, to die.

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#### A PASSAGE IN "THANATOPSIS"

CHARLES WASHBURN NICHOLS

*University of Minnesota*

IN A RECENT reading of Lamb's "New Year's Eve" I was struck by the correspondence of phrasing between his carelessly quoted "lie down with kings and emperors in death" and Bryant's "lie down . . . with kings" passage in "Thanatopsis." In a hunt for Lamb's "quotation" I turned to the *Urn Burial* of his beloved Sir Thomas Browne, and found a somewhat similar passage, which is now recognized as based upon two verses in the Book of Job. Lamb's phrasing, however, seems to echo Job rather than Browne. Bryant's similar phrasing seems too close for coincidence, and since I have been unable to discover such a passage in the "graveyard" poets who were read by Bryant before he wrote "Thanatopsis," I am led to the conclusion that he, too, was consciously or unconsciously echoing the Book of Job. Bryant, as we know, was familiar with Job at a very early age. It is a curious coincidence that both Bryant and Lamb used the more natural word "down," after "lie"—a word preferred by the later American Revised Version, whereas the "Authorized Version" read "lain still." The four passages are as follows:

1. For now should I have lain still and been quiet, I should have slept: then had I been at rest, with kings and counsellors of the earth, which built desolate places for themselves.

Job 3: 13-14.

2. What time the persons of these ossuaries entered the famous nations of the dead, and slept with princes and counsellors, might admit a wide solution.

Sir Thomas Browne, *Urn Burial*,

Chap. v (1658).

<sup>8</sup> The original reads "trom."

3.

Thou shalt lie down  
 With patriarchs of the infant world—with kings,  
 The powerful of the earth. . . .

Bryant, "Thanatopsis," ll. 33-35 (1821), (*North American Review*, Sept., 1817).

4. For what satisfaction hath a man, that he shall "lie down with kings and emperors in death". . . .

Lamb, "New Year's Eve," *London Magazine*,  
 Jan., 1821.

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF AMERICAN  
 LITERATURE

DELANCEY FERGUSON  
*Western Reserve University*

IN HIS COMMENT on my article about the MS of *Huckleberry Finn* I think Mr. Cowie<sup>1</sup> has been betrayed into a fallacy and has made an admission damaging to the theory he is supporting. He has also, however, stated a need which I enthusiastically second.

Mr. Cowie's fallacy is the same as Van Wyck Brooks's. Out of a great mass of evidence, certain particulars are chosen which will substantiate a thesis—in this case, the thesis that Mark Twain was thwarted by the censorship of his wife and of William Dean Howells. These particulars are then elevated to the rank of crises; they, and they alone, are the pivotal episodes in the man's life. This method vastly simplifies the task of interpreting an author, but it also falsifies it. It is neither criticism nor biography; it is a form of drama. No real life is as simple as all that. Considered merely as historical fiction, such books are frequently interesting, but they become pernicious when, as in the case of *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, they furnish teachers and newspaper critics with a neat, ready-made theory which saves them the trouble of doing their own thinking.

In the present instance I suppose I have helped to distort the evidence. Out of some nine hundred alterations in the MS I gathered together all that by any stretch of interpretation could relate to the tabooed topics of religion and sex and could therefore be held to support the Brooks thesis. Hence these particular topics bulk far larger in my summary than they do in the MS itself. To get a just

<sup>1</sup> *American Literature*, X, 488-491 (Jan., 1939).

perspective on the matter the total number of these changes should be correlated both with the changes made for other reasons and with the number of allusions to the forbidden topics which were not altered.

Mr. Cowie's admission is that Mark Twain was inclined to be intellectually lazy in revising his work. He gladly relinquished to Howells the task of revising and pruning his MSS. This is perfectly true. But Mark was uncertain, and rightly so, of his own taste in many other matters besides sex and religion. I would only suggest that such easygoing indifference to his final expression is not conclusive evidence that he was a frustrated satirist. Mark was far from being a meek man. If he had felt as strongly on some matters as Mr. Brooks and Mr. Cowie suppose, he would have put up a fight on a few points at least, even if he yielded others for the sake of peace or respectability.

With Mr. Cowie's suggestion that the evidence of *Huckleberry Finn* requires supplementing by a study of Mark Twain's earlier books, I am heartily in accord. In fact, I am more than in accord. I now have ready for the press the complete text of the original newspaper publication of *Innocents Abroad*. Unfortunately I have yet to discover a publisher willing to bring out the book. The changes are so numerous and so varied, the deletions so extensive, that I hesitate to attempt summarizing them in an article.

I may mention here that, of the tabooed subjects, the original letters contain no more sex than the book does, but have a lot more jesting about religion, or at least about the Bible. In particular, New Testament as well as Old Testament stories are burlesqued unsparingly. To my doubtless prejudiced judgment, however, it appears that the author of these burlesques is not a potential Jonathan Swift but only the crude and heavy-handed columnist of the Virginia City *Enterprise*.

It is entirely possible that I have given the pendulum too brisk a push away from the Brooks thesis. What I am really trying to do is to collect evidence and to prod other people into fresh consideration of both the new evidence and the old. It is time for the critics in the colleges and out of them to stop theorizing on the basis of the limited and equivocal material available in the authorized texts of Mark Twain and to get to work gathering the complete facts from his unpublished letters and from the manuscripts of his books.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

The Mind and Art of George Bancroft. Russell Nye (Wisconsin).

The Mind and Art of Timothy Dwight. Lewis Buchanan (Wisconsin).

A Critical Biography of Edward Eggleston. William P. Randell (Columbia).

A Critical Edition of the Poems of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Carl F. Strauch (Yale).

Emerson and Economic Reform. John C. Gerber (Chicago).

Franklin and Sectarianism. A. Stuart Pitt (Yale).

The Development of Washington Irving's Political, Social, and Literary Theories. P. K. McCarter (Wisconsin).

The Critical Reputation of Henry James as Revealed in American and British Periodicals, 1875-1916. Richard N. Foley (Catholic University).

Thomas Nelson Page. Alfred McEwen (Virginia). John O. Eidson (Duke) has dropped this subject.

Benjamin P. Shillaber and *The Carpet Bag*. Farron Turner (Pennsylvania).

The Prosody of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Henry A. Lowe (Pennsylvania).

Walt Whitman in France. Ray W. Hazlett (Columbia). Mr. Hazlett has dropped the Age of Hamilton and Jefferson.

Whitman in New Orleans. Blanche Foster (Pennsylvania).

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

American Criticism of English Literature, 1870-1910. D. C. Thompson (Harvard).

American Utopias Before 1900. Vernon Louis Parrington, Jr. (Brown).

British-American Folk Ballads Based on a Collection Made in Pennsylvania During the Years 1929-1935, and Consisting of Words and Music, with Editorial Comment. S. P. Bayard (Harvard).

The Conception of Public Duty Found in American Sermons from 1650 to 1750. Ruth Jackson (Radcliffe).

A History of the Boston Stage, 1800-1850. Mary R. Michael (Radcliffe).

The Literature of the American Friends from the First Settlements to 1825. R. N. Morgan (Harvard).

Metaphysical Expression and the Modern American Poets. Sonia Raiziss (Pennsylvania).

The Negro Author Since 1900. Hugh M. Gloster (New York University).

Novels Dealing with the South: 1865-1900. Ashbel Green Brice (Duke).

Studies in the American Vogue of Dickens: The Publication of His Works in America and His Relations with Certain American Authors. Harvey S. Gibson (Duke).

Studies in English Satire and Satirists, with Special Reference to the American Revolution. L. H. Butterfield (Harvard).

**III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:**

Dr. Samuel Johnson in America: A Study of His Reputation, 1750-1812. Daniel Robert Lang (Illinois, 1939).

Horace Greeley and Humanitarian Reform. Archibald G. Delmarsh, Jr. (Cornell).

Philip Pendleton Cooke, A Biographical and Critical Study. John D. Allen (Vanderbilt).

The Validity of the New Humanist Criticism of Romanticism. David Lee Mounts (Southern California).

The Social Criticism of William Dean Howells. George Warren Arms (New York University).

*University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

GREGORY PAINE, *Bibliographer.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.** By Thomas Franklin Currier. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1937. xvi, 692 pp. \$8.00.

While scholars devoted to English writers such as Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton have begun at the logical beginning and taken great pains to establish complete and scientifically edited texts as the absolutely essential basis for any trustworthy interpretative or critical superstructure, it is probably true that scholars devoted to American writers have been too prone to neglect the matter of complete texts, the complete evidence, and have plunged perhaps prematurely into the more exciting but more subjective matter of interpretation and criticism. No English scholar of good standing would dream of trying to write an interpretative or critical essay on Shakespeare or Milton if he knew that he had made use of less than half the evidence. But this sort of thing has been done hundreds of times in the case of American writers, and as a result it is likely that the treatments of many topics in this field will have to be done over, and many generalizations now current will have to be radically revised when *all* the evidence is considered. Many of the editions of the so-called "Complete Works" of our major writers were made in the amateurish days before the ideal of literary study in our universities had turned from general appreciation and subjective "critical estimates" to scientific investigation of the genetic development of an author's mind and art seen against relevant biographical, social, political, religious, and aesthetic backgrounds. This modern ideal, which does not preclude criticism but seeks to provide a substantial basis for it, obviously requires a knowledge of the author's complete writings, good, bad, and indifferent, including all that is uncollected and in the files of obscure magazines, newspapers, letters, etc. Not only must one know all the man's writings, but he must be able to place each piece precisely in the chronological pattern of the author's complex development and changes of attitude year by year. Thus the dates of first publication of each item are of great importance as the indispensable means of genetic study. All this no doubt seems trite enough, but the fact that it has been so generally disregarded seems to make a restatement worth while.

The vast reaches of basic text remaining to be explored in the case of our major writers are strikingly illustrated in Dr. Currier's monumental *Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier*. He has found four hundred poems by Whittier not in the so-called *Complete Works* edited by

Pickard; he does not say how much prose has been added to the known list, but it seems likely that it has been at least *tripled*. For example, Dr. Currier finds fifty pieces of literary criticism not in the meagre selection in the *Complete Works*. This is important, because, while the intrinsic value of Whittier's aesthetic theories is no doubt not high, his vast popularity makes him perhaps our best barometer of American literary taste among the masses in the nineteenth century; and thus the full evidence of the theories underlying his writing is of great significance to the social historian and it also enables us to see just how the poet achieved his success as the spokesman of his people. The new prose is especially important, however, as enabling us to obtain a much more complete picture of Whittier's incessant political activities before the Civil War and his contribution to a multitude of social reforms. We need a substantial book, preferably by someone with the training of a social historian, on Whittier's political and social ideas and activities. It might help to break down the notion current in some circles that our major writers represent a "genteel" tradition aloof from the political and social life of their time, and it might also help those addicted to an exclusively economic interpretation of history to see that religious ideals are not negligible. Incidentally, it is interesting to notice that in the light of his comprehensive knowledge Dr. Currier concludes that, although Albert Mordell's *Quaker Militant* (1933) stresses political and social matters, Pickard's *Life and Letters*, as revised over a quarter of a century earlier, "still remains the best" (p. 515).

Dr. Currier points out the enormous difficulty in getting to "know Whittier's prose in its entirety" because the newspapers in which it appeared are either very rare (in some cases only one tattered file exists) or they are found scattered in widely distant libraries. He wisely urges that "steps may be taken to have them all filmed or photostated. There could be," he says, "no more useful expenditure for some generous Whittier enthusiast" (p. 392). When so much is being spent by the government to conserve our physical resources, it seems as if something might be done to help preserve the intellectual and cultural resources of the nation. Before too much time is spent by scholars on premature writing of our literary history and on criticism it seems as if steps should be taken to provide some scientifically edited texts of our major authors including *all* their work.

In view of Dr. Currier's breath-taking contribution, and the monumental thoroughness of his work in general, it seems ludicrously trivial to cite the very few slips I have noted. On page 400, referring to the first four pages of the essay on Dinsmore as now printed in the 1888 edition with their strong plea for a national and naturally rustic literature, he

says, "This early form [1845] does not have" these pages. One might imagine, then, that this literary ideal came very late to Whittier. Actually, however, these important four pages appear in his review entitled "The Poetry of Heart and Home. William H. Burleigh," which appeared in the *National Era* for September 9, 1847; they were later transplanted to the Dinsmore review, but their first appearance in 1847 instead of 1888 makes considerable difference to one who is plotting the curve of Whittier's literary ideals. Throughout his work one must avoid relying only on titles, for he often shifted paragraphs from one essay to another. On page 480 Dr. Currier lists the essay "American Literature Abroad" as being in the *National Era* for August 31, 1847; actually that issue has an instalment of *Margaret Smith's Journal*, and the item mentioned is probably confused with Whittier's comment on an English review of Griswold's anthology which appeared in the *National Era* for August 24. At the top of page 546, in the valuable list of "Biography and Criticism" compiled by Miss Pauline F. Pulsifer of the Haverhill Public Library, the pages of the first item should read 798-816 instead of 798-802. Those who try to find book reviews and criticism in the section devoted to listing Whittier's Prose (pp. 391-438) are in danger of missing certain items if they do not note Dr. Currier's remark (p. 392) that in the prose list "no attempt has been made to cover them exhaustively"; they will be found, however, in the section on newspapers. Occasionally reviews which add to or modify certain studies in important ways might have been noted with profit; such a case is the valuable review by G. W. Allen (*American Literature*, III, 109-111, March, 1931) of J. S. Stevens's monograph on *Whittier's Use of the Bible* (p. 542). In general, needless to say, the work is a marvel of thoroughness and useful arrangement. It should open our eyes to the vast amount that remains to be done in interpreting Whittier.

*University of Wisconsin.*

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

I HEAR AMERICA. . . : *Literature in the United States since 1900*. By Vernon Loggins. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1937. 378 pp. \$2.50.

Mastery of foreshortening is particularly imperative for the historian or critic of contemporary literature. Consequently, the studies which have cast light on the tendencies since 1900 are those that have brought their chaotic material into perspective by a skilful method of measurement, as, for instance, when T. K. Whipple chose ten representative spokesmen for his attempt to answer the questions, posed most urgently by the earlier work of Van Wyck Brooks, of the degree to which our modern writers were expressive of, or adequate to, the needs of a mature

society; or, again, when Granville Hicks applied the more strict principles of Marxist analysis to a comprehensive survey of the whole field. Vernon Loggins has apparently wanted to be more inclusive than Whipple and more flexible than Hicks: his aim has been to "treat forty-four representative authors in their relation to twelve dominating world tendencies." The mechanical sound of that formulation reverberates through the volume. One chief trouble is the arbitrariness of some of Loggins's twelve categories, for although naturalism, Freudian psychology, and social revolution are "world tendencies," the "art of spontaneity" hardly seems one in a comparable sense; nor does its use become clearer when, after grouping under this head only Emily Dickinson and Stephen Crane, Loggins adds parenthetically that this "unpremeditated art" is to be found also in Henry James and Homer. Moreover, even when the category is lucid, as, for example, aestheticism, the wooden result of trying to fit every author into a single groove is manifest from the inclusion here not only of Amy Lowell, Edna Millay, Elinor Wylie, and Thornton Wilder, but also of Maxwell Anderson, Vachel Lindsay, and William Faulkner.

The handling of so many authors also presents another problem which Loggins has not solved. He cannot devote more than eight or ten pages to any individual, and yet has decided to include biography as well as discussion of works. To that end the most fertile suggestion of method has been given by Parrington's condensed intermingling of both materials in his portraits of minds. But Loggins's paragraphs of dates and events are presented without adequate subordination to a critical purpose, and so sprawl over the space that ought to be taken up with detailed analysis. The effect is especially grotesque in the briefer sections, as when the life and entire literary career of Dos Passos are disposed of within three pages.

Loggins has read capacious and with an enthusiastic appreciation that can find some good word for everybody from Ezra Pound to Fanny Hurst. He has amassed a considerable amount of relevant information of the sort that you expect to find in the biographical notes to an anthology. But his judgments can be inordinately generous, as when he states that Robinson's poetry forms "a *comédie humaine* wider in range than Chaucer's" or that O'Neill "is the one American who deserves to rank with Marcel Proust, James Joyce, and Thomas Mann as probers into the deep inner motives of man's behavior." However, such exaggerations of taste are nothing in comparison with the consequences of his determination to embrace as many writers as possible in a single generalization that can become as meaningless as: "Our most rebellious left-wing critics —headed by Mencken and Eliot, and including among others Ludwig

Lewisohn, Isaac Goldberg, Joseph Wood Krutch, Bernard De Voto, Thomas Eeer, Louis Untermeyer, Van Wyck Brooks, Babette Deutsch, Eda Lou Walton, V. F. Calverton, and Granville Hicks—are all dyed-in-the-wool intellectuals, not mere enthusiasts like Wordsworth, Poe, and Whitman." It would be hard to decide who among those would have the best grounds for libel.

*Harvard University.*

F. O. MATTHIESSEN.

**HUMANISM AND IMAGINATION.** By G. R. Elliott. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1938. viii, 253 pp. \$2.50.

It is now ten years since the American Humanists burst from their academic fastnesses to gambol briefly in the world of journalism which they affected to despise. They were bent on saving the world from the dreadful heresy of disagreeing with that version of the past which they had decided was the one true version. It is amusing to list in parallel columns the contributors to *Humanism in America* (1930) and *The Critique of Humanism* (1930) and consider which group has retained the respect and regard of the responsible intelligentsia of the United States. It is not my intention to imply that such a technique in any sense indicates the truth or otherwise of the outlooks of the two groups in general, or of individual members in particular; and certainly I do not intend to state that all members of either group find themselves in essential agreement today just because they were associated a decade ago in a particular enterprise.

*Humanism in America*

Louis Trenchard More  
Irving Babbitt  
Paul Elmer More  
G. R. Elliott  
T. S. Eliot  
Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.  
Alan Reynolds Thompson  
Robert Shafer  
Harry Hayden Clark  
Stanley P. Chase  
Gorham B. Munson  
Bernard Bandler II  
Sherlock Bronson Gass  
Richard Lindley Brown

*The Critique of Humanism*

C. Hartley Grattan  
Edmund Wilson  
Malcolm Cowley  
Henry Hazlitt  
Burton Rascoe  
Allen Tate  
Kenneth Burke  
Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr.  
R. P. Blackmur  
John Chamberlain  
Bernard Bandler II  
Yvor Winters  
Lewis Mumford

It is well known that the professional mortality is much higher among literary journalists than among literary academicians. A teacher can cease writing without ceasing to teach, whereas a literary journalist who ceases to write simply ceases to be. The record of the group associated with *The Critique of Humanism* is, all things considered, very

remarkable. As far as my information runs, but one member has ceased to write, Bernard Bandler II, the single person who also appeared in *Humanism in America*, which is perhaps the explanation of the phenomenon!

Both Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More have died in recent years—it was my rather strange privilege to deliver an obituary discussion of More over the radio from Melbourne, Australia—and without these redoubtable leaders, the vigor of the lesser lights seems to have declined. Or perhaps the true explanation is that they are too busy misleading the young to attempt any further missionary work among the incorrigible heathen of journalism. On occasion some New Yorker of exceptional memory asks me, "Whatever became of the Humanists?" and I am at a loss for a reply. What *has* become of the Humanists?

What has become of one Humanist is shown by the book which inspired these remarks. Professor G. R. Elliott, who always wore his Humanism with a difference, has issued a volume to which he has given a title which joins two incompatibles, *Humanism and Imagination*. On examination it turns out to be a compound of reminiscence, criticism of poetry, vagrom thoughts on theological themes, miscomprehending notes on the current literary scene, flirtings with the Roman Catholic writers, the whole enlivened with an incredibly elephantine facetiousness.

The most illuminating essays in the book—they are really very valuable raw material for the literary historian of tomorrow—are the three dealing with Babbitt, More, and Stuart Sherman respectively. In them he draws upon his personal recollections and makes his subjects credible human beings. Mr. Elliott knew Babbitt intimately and the piece devoted to him gains markedly from that fact. It is not only that he brings Babbitt before us and makes him walk and talk as he did of old, but also that he exhibits Babbitt's deficiencies with a clarity and honesty which do him credit. What, for example, could be more revelatory than these observations:

His personal lack of interest in current imaginative writings was well-nigh complete . . . he had an amazing acquaintance with [contemporary criticism]. He perused it at once for amusement and for refutation. Often he would snatch up from his table some brand new critical book or article, read aloud to me its most wrong-headed passage, and then define the particular brand of romanticism or naturalism represented by the author.

Fun, don't you think? Some people like crossword puzzles. And then again there are those who prefer detective stories. Unfortunately, Mr. Elliott knew More personally only slightly, though he had much correspondence with him. The essay on More is, therefore, less vivid than that on Babbitt and, moreover, moves off into the pseudo-theological realm they both delighted to inhabit. But in a fashion quite different

from the Babbitt essay, that on Stuart Sherman is very enjoyable indeed, for it is sharply written and is a quite devastating analysis of this "traitor" to the Cause.

For the rest Mr. Elliott's book is concerned with advancing the claims of "poetic fact" among the Humanists who, by his account, don't think much of it. He would, I think, find the despised journalists more receptive, were it not for the uncomfortable fact that his poetic truth must in some measure also be religious truth—his religion—to meet with his entire approbation. But as I have said, Mr. Elliott never was an orthodox Humanist. How otherwise account for his great admiration for John Keats?

Yet he is capable of such remarks as the following:

American religion, if it is to become catholic enough for America, must learn a great deal from nature on the one hand and, on the other, from the Middle Ages.

The American moving picture is so often immoral because the American countryside has become for most of our citizens nothing but a moving picture.

The true foundation of natural religion has always been and always will be plain economic toil in forest and in field, closely interfused with the spirit of meditation and worship.

What America needs today is agricultural hermits.

*New York City.*

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN.

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION 1481-1927 WITH SUPPLEMENT EMBRACING THE YEARS 1928-1935. By Bayard Quincy Morgan. Second Edition, Completely Revised and Augmented. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1938. xi, 773 pp. \$10.00.

Professor Morgan's completely reworked bibliography of German literature in English translation marks a new epoch in the study of Anglo-German literary relations. In its field it is easily the most significant publication of the year.

This revised edition was originally planned to terminate with the year 1927. Delay in publication suggested the addition of a supplement for the years 1928-1935. Thus the main list of 10,800 entries was increased by the supplement to 15,000, exclusive of three appended lists, namely: *Anonyma*, 587 items; *Bibliographies*, 50 items; and *Collections of Translations*, 577 items. All in all, the new edition brings some 6,000 new titles beyond the number of the first edition of 1922.

Preface and Introduction, totaling forty-one pages, describe the author's method, indicate the criteria governing his procedure in critically evaluating and marking the thousands of translations examined, and supply

charts and tables to indicate waves of vogue of the German authors; an appendix giving the list of translators, together with cross-referenced numbers, by which identification is easily made in the serially numbered main list, completes this model of bibliographical endeavor.

Aside from the purely utilitarian value as a reference work which this compilation has for the student of Anglo-German cultural relations, the painstaking method and critical acumen of the bibliographer in marking the varying excellence or deficiency of the translations make the book as valuable to the critic as to the literary historian.

By a liberal interpretation of the word "literature," Professor Morgan has chosen to incorporate into the new edition a considerable number of German authors not generally classified as men of letters, but men whose ideas have a distinct and often potent effect on the purely literary tradition. An example is the forty translations listed of various ones of Freud's writings.

Another very valuable addition made in this new edition is that the author has supplied information regarding the contents of the more important of the 577 anthologies or collections of German literature in English translation.

An interesting claim which the author makes for his bibliography is this: "For the first time, I believe, an entire national literature is here seen through the distorting medium of another language; and the resulting picture, as has been clearly recognized by students everywhere, is totally different from that given by the histories of literature or indeed any other critical source." Significant as this feature of Mr. Morgan's book is to the student of German literature, the student of American literature has even greater cause to be grateful to the bibliographer. Indeed, it is not too much to say that this book, together with Professor Lawrence M. Price's several studies of the reciprocal aspect of Anglo-German literary relations and the several bibliographical and critical studies of the vogue of German literature in British and American periodicals (most of them originating in Professor A. R. Hohlfeld's seminar), places this particular department of comparative literature in a decidedly advantageous position as supplying scholarly tools such as perhaps no other province of comparative literature can boast. This fact will come home especially to the student of American literature when he considers the relative scantiness of the bibliographical and critical work dealing with the vogue and influence of other European literatures in America.

*University of Wisconsin.*

HENRY A. POCHMANN.

O. HENRY ALS MYSTIKER. By Dr. Heinz Noack. Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag. 1937. 100 pp. RM 4.50.

Although Dr. Noack contributes no new information on O. Henry, his emphasis on the subjective element in the author's work and his massing of illustrations to sustain the interpretation indicated in the phrase *als Mystiker* make for an essentially new critical contribution. Dr. Noack sees in O. Henry an idealistic humanitarian whose short stories reflect a determinable philosophy of life—a philosophy which, however, is nowhere systematically set forth but rather is given by means of hints and the suggestive remarks of fictional characters. The argument advanced in support of this view is briefly as follows. Evidence of O. Henry's mystical or philosophical bent of mind is found in his strong interest in universal themes; in his desire to treat human nature not provincially but as it might show itself against any background; in his belief in the metamorphic power of love in human affairs; in his treatment of love not biologically or rationally but ideally; in his indirect defense of the brotherhood of man, which in his fiction embraces the criminal, the unfortunate, the social misfit; in his awareness of the mysterious everywhere in human life. Most of all one finds significant evidence in O. Henry's references to the unexplained forces at work when, in a crisis, a human being comes face to face with his innermost self. Finally, there is the matter of O. Henry's emphasis on external nature, with which he was constantly preoccupied. His feeling for nature seems to Dr. Noack to be akin to that of Emerson, and leads to a discussion, in a final chapter, of Emerson as a possible source of influence on him and of the parallels to be found in the thought and emotional reaction of the two authors.

The conception of O. Henry as a mystic is capably presented, and is probably made as convincing as the matter supporting it will allow. The present reviewer feels that much which is discussed as evidence of mysticism is merely the outcropping of O. Henry's sentimentality; but to stress such a divergence of opinion is uncalled-for, since Dr. Noack has already been at pains to make clear that O. Henry is a controversial figure.

*The University of Kansas.*

JOHN HERBERT NELSON.

QUOD GENUS HOC HOMINUM? INKLE AND YARICO ALBUM. Selected and Arranged by Lawrence Marsden Price. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. 171 pp. \$2.50.

"Toward the middle of the seventeenth century there lived an Indian maid named Yarico. She was born on the mainland of North America not far from the coast. She saved a stranded white man from death at the hands of her fellow tribesmen, fled with him to a vessel, sailed with

him to Barbadoes, and was sold by him into slavery" (p. 135). Here is the gist of the once-famous story of Inkle and Yarico. First told in Richard Ligon's *True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (1657), it was repeated with pathetic embellishments by Steele in *Spectator* No. 11. How the rising tide of sentimental primitivism made the subject popular in eighteenth-century English poetry and drama, and how from England it spread to France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, America, the Scandinavian countries and even to Hungary and Russia, has been shown by Professor Price in this handsomely printed and engagingly illustrated little book. Chapters tracing the history of the theme in England, in France, and in Germany and Switzerland are followed by a chronology of the subject, a body of notes, an extensive bibliography arranged by nations, and an index. Three rare English poems on the subject are reprinted.

Except for the fact that the Inkle and Yarico story originated on these shores and later had a few very faint American repercussions, the book does not closely pertain to the special concerns of readers of this journal. But although even from a broader viewpoint one can hardly say that it satisfies any very urgent need of scholarship, the worker in comparative literature will find it interesting as a close study of the growth and spread of a single germ of narrative. Granting the need for such a study, there can be no dispute as to the thoroughness with which it has been performed. To say that George Colman the younger treated the story "in a gay and trivial fashion" (p. 43) slightly underemphasizes the sentimental earnestness which mingles so curiously with the humor of his opera. Professor Price might also observe that the popularity of poems with such titles as *An Epistle from Yarico to Inkle* reflects the influence of Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*.

Here as always, exhaustiveness is an unattainable ideal. I find no mention of Stephen Duck's *Avaro and Amanda*,<sup>1</sup> which tells the tale with no change but that of names, or of William Pattison's fragmentary epistle, *Yarico to Inkle*.<sup>2</sup> But I am not at all disturbed by the omission of the fact that there is a black horse named Yarico in George Eliot's *Felix Holt*.

Columbia University.

HOXIE N. FAIRCHILD.

My COUSIN MARK TWAIN. By Cyril Clemens. With an Introduction by Booth Tarkington. Emmaus, Pa.: Rodale Press. 1939. [xii], 219 pp. \$2.00.

The woman who enjoyed Shakespeare's plays because they were so full of quotations will enjoy this latest biography of Mark Twain—Is it the twelfth since 1900, besides his own records?

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Duck, *Poems on Several Occasions* (4th ed., 1764), pp. 61-75.

<sup>2</sup> William Pattison, *Poetical Works* (1728), I, 53-54.

Mr. Cyril Clemens strings together on a loose chronological cord some two hundred anecdotes gleaned from former biographies, from his own family records, and from contributions to the International Mark Twain Society. Because many life-histories that get themselves published have been assembled in much the same way, Mr. De Voto's recent strictures upon this author's methods display a rather thankless anxiety for the cause of scholarship.

There are two contributions in the book: the frontispiece, a picture of Sam Clemens at twenty-one, just before he went on the River, published here for the first time; and some accounts of Mark Twain in London and Vienna. We see the humorist irritated because a very serious Londoner criticizes his "beastly American accent" and we have a glimpse of him as something of a belle in Vienna, before his friends called him The Belle of New York.

In general, however, Mark Twain's gaiety and charm are lost out of this humorless retelling, though the author has achieved a fairly readable book—not for the penetrating analysis which the careful student desires, but for the kind of gossip about a noted man which pleases the palate of believe-it-or-not readers.

*The University of Missouri.*

M. M. BRASHEAR.

**DAILY MEDITATIONS.** By Philip Pain. Reproduced from the Original Edition of 1668 in the Huntington Library. With an Introduction by Leon Howard. San Marino, California: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. 1936. 36 pp. \$0.75.

The 1668 edition of Pain's *Daily Meditations*, republished under the editorship of Mr. Leon Howard, is chiefly important for being one of the few works of what might be called poetry issued by the press of Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay during the seventeenth century, and for having been for centuries a "lost book," rediscovered only in 1923. American letters would have suffered no great deprivation had the book remained in limbo, for the verse is distinctly inferior to much of the early Puritan writing and pales into insignificance before the poetry of the Reverend Edward Taylor which Mr. Thomas Johnson has recently unearthed. Still, as a memento of the Puritan mind it is not without interest, especially as it indicates the influence upon a young Puritan versifier not only of Quarles—which might be expected—but also of Herbert. That the obscure Philip Pain, about whom Mr. Howard can discover nothing beyond the patent fact of his Puritanism, should show the effects of an assiduous study of Herbert, as also does Taylor, indicates again how much of what we loosely call Puritanism was in truth the prevailing piety of the seventeenth century, common both to Puritanism and to the Puritan poet.

tans and Anglicans, which could be expressed by either in almost identical terms as long as the specific issues of church polity, politics, and theology were not involved.

*Harvard University.*

PERRY MILLER.

A *MARK TWAIN LEXICON*. By Robert L. Ramsay and Frances Guthrie Emberson. *University of Missouri Studies*, XIII, No. 1. Columbia, Mo.: The University of Missouri. 1938. cxix, 278 pp. \$1.25.

The lexicon has the spirit that many have missed in the *Historical Dictionary of American English*. It is a great comfort for them to find that Mark Twain keeps his American flavor even in a dictionary. Professor Ramsay and his students have given us so many valuable studies of the English language in America that a reader of the present volume should not be surprised by its excellence. But still he may confess to unexpected feelings of pleasure, for Mark Twain is always surprising and delightful, and the scholarly apparatus of Professor Ramsay and Dr. Emberson is most eloquent in martialing his language.

The authors are very reasonable in their discussion of Americanisms, and we can agree with the statement, "Wherever he [Mark Twain] speaks consciously, or makes his characters speak, as Americans, his usage is good evidence for the Americanism of his language." This is true even though or because Mark Twain was a creator of Americanisms. The quotations of this lexicon give a total of 4,342 entries for which Mark Twain gives the earliest recorded literary evidence. He knew the "bulliest words in the language," "he exploited three hundred and sixty-five red-hot new eagernesses every year of his life," and he suffered from the "compounding disease," bless him!

More than 2,700 words, combinations, and meanings employed by Mark Twain have hitherto been omitted from all dictionaries—over one-third of this *Mark Twain Lexicon*. Forty per cent of its total are lacking in the *Oxford*, forty-five per cent in the *Standard*, fifty-five per cent in the *Century*. The lexicon has 958 entries wherein Mark Twain provides an earlier quotation than (or one as early as) the earliest quotation given in the *Oxford Dictionary*. Dictionary makers and lovers of Mark Twain cannot do without this book. Fortunately the *D. A. E.* has had the co-operation of Professor Ramsay and his seminar, and we hope that other scholars equally competent will undertake linguistic studies of American authors.

*Barnard College, Columbia University.*

CABELL GREET.

## BRIEF MENTION

PARADISE PLANTERS: *The Story of Brook Farm*. By Katherine Burton. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. x, 336 pp. \$2.50.

Professing in its Foreword to be "fact and not fiction," *Paradise Planters* represents an attempt, in the manner of Van Wyck Brooks, to put the live flesh of human speech and the whimsies of personality on the dry bones of history. The general outline of the story of Brook Farm is correctly traced and the details are frequently enlightening. Occasionally the author seems to be unaware of what she has said on a preceding page, and the minor inaccuracies are legion. For example, "every number" of the *Dial* included the "German philosophers"; Stearns Wheeler is made a "professor" at Harvard; the transcendental "epoch in metaphysical thought" is taken to be a kind of offshoot from Locke; Alcott, in the earliest days of the Symposium, is alleged to have objected to the idea of an impersonal deity; Goethe's remark on the society of literary men is attributed to Kant—all these in the first eleven pages. The bibliography at the end of the book shows only too well that some of the recent scholarly material on Brook Farm and on transcendentalism is unknown to the author.

Less critical readers will probably derive no sense of pain from such inaccuracies—and the student who wants to hear all the "bright" remarks about the community may find a pleasure in having them rehearsed in these pages. Although the opportunity was at hand, the author has in no case distorted her facts to produce a caricature—and, unlike Lindsay Swift, she never seems to be laughing up her sleeve at the foibles of the distinguished phalansterians.

A WHITMAN MANUSCRIPT: *From the Albert M. Bender Collection of Mills College*. [Oakland, Calif.]: The Bibliophile Society of Mills College. 1939. 21 pp.

The poem "Waves in the Vessel's Wake" is reproduced in facsimile and various comments are added, chiefly of a textual nature.

UNION LIST OF SERIALS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION. Compiled by Special Libraries Association, San Francisco Bay Region Chapter. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1939. v, 283 pp. Lithoprinted. \$5.00.

"This list is a compilation of the serial publications in forty libraries of the San Francisco Bay Region whose holdings are not contained in the

'Union List of Serials of the United States and Canada,' edited by Winifred Gregory" (Preface by Anita M. Levy).

**JUDAISM AND THE AMERICAN MIND: *In Theory and Practice*.** By Philip D. Bookstaber. With a Foreword by David Philipson. New York: Bloch Publishing Co. 1939. xxiii, 248 pp. \$2.50.

The author is rather nebulous about the "American Mind" and devotes his attention to expository propaganda.

**HERMAN MELVILLE: *Author and New Yorker, 1844-1851*.** By Luther Stearns Mansfield. Private Edition. Chicago: Distributed by The University of Chicago Libraries. 1938. iii, 19 pp.

A portion of Mr. Mansfield's doctoral dissertation, "Some Aspects of Melville's Reading."

**THE COQUETTE: *Or, The History of Eliza Wharton*.** By Hannah Webster Foster. Reproduced from the Original Edition of 1797 with an Introduction by Herbert Ross Brown. Published for The Facsimile Text Society. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. xix, 262 pp. \$2.60.

Because this early American novel has not been reprinted since 1874, students of American literature will find the present reproduction of great use. The Introduction is, of course, authoritative and thorough.

**LEAVES OF GRASS.** By Walt Whitman. Reproduced from the First Edition (1855), with an Introduction by Clifton Joseph Furness. Published for The Facsimile Text Society. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. xviii, 95 pp. \$2.00.

The Mosher reproduction of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass* is somewhat difficult to procure, and, accordingly, many libraries and collectors will be glad to have the present work, which in appearance is decidedly inferior. The Introduction, however, is much fuller in detail.

**COLLECTED POEMS OF ROBERT FROST.** New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1939. 436 pp. \$5.00.

Mr. Frost's Introduction on "The Figure a Poem Makes" explains the essential elements of his poetical theory.

**A PECULIAR TREASURE.** By Edna Ferber. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1939. 398 pp. \$3.00.

This autobiography has little of interest to offer the student of American literature, other than the presentation of the history and background

of Miss Ferber's own works. The chief exception, if indeed it be an exception, is in the sections devoted to her dramatic ventures and to her early activities as a writer for newspapers. The recollections of life in Middle Western towns of her youth seem to be the most valuable aspects of the social history contained in the volume.

**THE OREGON TRAIL: *The Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean*.** Compiled and Written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration. Sponsored by Oregon Trail Memorial Association, Inc. New York: Hastings House. 1939. xii, 243 pp. \$2.00.

The preliminary historical sketch seems to be unusually thorough. A few corrections of mistakes in Irving's writings on the West appear.

**DEATH VALLEY: *A Guide*.** Written and Compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration of Northern California. Sponsored by The Bret Harte Associates. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1939. xv, 75 pp. \$1.00.

Compared with the work mentioned immediately above, this book is much more attractively printed and illustrated, but the historical elements are reduced to a bare minimum.

**THREE AMERICANISTS:** Henry Harrisse, Bibliographer; George Brinley, Book Collector; Thomas Jefferson, Librarian. By Randolph G. Adams. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1939. 101 pp. \$1.50.

Lectures on the interests and activities of three distinguished American bibliophiles.

C. G.

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), Arthur E. Christy (Columbia University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the November number of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

### I. 1607-1800

[CRÈVECOEUR, M. G. J. DE] Masterson, James R. "The Tale of the Living Fang." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 63-73 (Mar., 1939).

The tall tale of a New Jersey rattlesnake, related in *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), had been told by Captain Walduck in a paper read before the Royal Society, Jan. 7, 1713/4, and is still current in Texas cowboy stories.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Dondore, Dorothy. "Freneau's *The British Prison-Ship* and Historical Accuracy." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 228-230 (Mar., 1939).

A comparison of Freneau's poem with a British report entitled *Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe; With . . . Additional Remarks on the Present State of Those in Great Britain and Ireland* (2d ed.; London, 1791) shows "that the treatment Freneau excoriated was inspired by no malevolence toward rebels; . . . it was a transitory phase of the British penal system, condemned by the humane, which was applied not merely in America, but in the mother-country, to young and old, unfortunate and vicious, entirely without discrimination."

Marsh, Philip M. "Philip Freneau and His Circle." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIII, 37-59 (Jan., 1939).

A detailed biographical sketch, with emphasis on his friendships and business relations. "His real attachments were to men . . . of genuine culture, refinement, and literary tastes."

[MATHER, COTTON] Hornberger, Theodore. "Cotton Mather's Annotations on the First Chapter of Genesis." *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826. *Studies in English*, pp. 112-122 (July 8, 1938).

His annotations were drawn largely from six books of the period between 1677 and 1717 and show "his great interest in Newtonian science."

## II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] Ladu, Arthur I. "A Note on *Childe Harold* and 'Thanatopsis.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 80-81 (Mar., 1939).

A passage in the thirteenth stanza of the third canto of *Childe Harold*, which reveals close similarity to a passage in the final version of "Thanatopsis," indicates "that probably Byron, in company with other English poets, contributed threads of thought and language" to Bryant's poem.

[CLARK, W. G.] Dunlap, Leslie W. (ed.). "The Letters of Willis Gaylord Clark and Lewis Gaylord Clark." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, XLII, 933-958 (Dec., 1938).

Conclusion of a collection of letters addressed to Longfellow, Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, W. H. Seward, R. W. Griswold, Parke Godwin, and others.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Carpenter, Frederic I. "William James and Emerson." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 39-57 (Mar., 1939).

A study of James's annotations in nine volumes by Emerson and in E. W. Emerson's *Emerson in Concord* (1889) shows the complex relationships between Emerson and James.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cooke, Alice Lovelace. "Some Evidences of Hawthorne's Indebtedness to Swift." *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826. *Studies in English*, pp. 140-162 (July 8, 1938).

Hawthorne "made a profound and artistic study of Swift's work, especially of *Gulliver's Travels*. This study gave him the material for at least six narratives."

Hawthorne, Manning. "Maria Louisa Hawthorne." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXV, 103-134 (Apr., 1939).

The tragic irony of Hawthorne's sister's career was her death just as she was to make her permanent home with Nathaniel, "the one person she loved above all others."

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Anderson, Charles. "Melville's English Debut." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 23-38 (Mar., 1939).

Contrary to legend and to the contention of Raymond Weaver in *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic*, the contemporary English reception of Melville's first two books, *Typee* and *Omoo*, was more

favorable than it was in the United States. Only one of the fifteen major reviews was actually unfavorable.

Mabbott, T. O. "A Letter of Herman Melville." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVI, 60 (Jan. 28, 1939).

Reprints a letter of Melville, dated Nov. 27, 1857, "recommending another lecturer to fill an engagement which he felt he could not undertake."

[POE, E. A.] Holsapple, Cortell King. "The Masque of the Red Death and *I Promessi Sposi*." *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826. *Studies in English*, pp. 137-139 (July 8, 1938).

Poe reviewed a translation of Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* for the *Southern Literary Messenger* in May, 1835. There are numerous parallels between the two stories.

Mathews, Joseph Chesley. "Did Poe Read Dante?" *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826. *Studies in English*, pp. 123-136 (July 8, 1938).

Poe had some knowledge of Italian. He probably read considerable parts of the *Inferno* in the original or translation. He probably did not read the *Purgatorio* or the *Paradiso*.

Warfel, Harry R. "Poe's Dr. Percival: A Note on *The Fall of the House of Usher*." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, LIV, 129-131 (Feb., 1939).

Not James Gates Percival, (1795-1856), American poet, but Dr. Thomas Percival (1740-1804), English physician and author.

### III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Kronenberger, Louis. "'The Education of Henry Adams': The Sixth of the 'Books That Changed Our Minds.'" *New Republic*, XCVIII, 155-158 (Mar. 15, 1939).

Adams found luxury, solace, and escape in culture and education.

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Gates, William B. "Mark Twain to His English Publishers." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 78-81 (Mar., 1939).

Four autograph letters from Mark Twain to his English publishers, Messrs. Chatto and Windus, show "the cordial relations between Clemens and this publishing firm."

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Pratt, Lyndon Upson. "A Possible Source for *The Red Badge of Courage*." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 1-10 (Mar., 1939).

In the rout of the 34th New York regiment at Antietam, which Crane probably heard related by General J. B. Van Petten, professor of speech and elocution at the seminary at Claverack, New York, there is "a definite episode basically analogous to the story of Henry Fleming's 304th New York regiment" in *The Red Badge of Courage*.

[FREDERIC, HAROLD] Walcott, Charles Child. "Harold Frederic and American Naturalism." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 11-22 (Mar., 1939).

Harold Frederic's novels, *Seth's Brother's Wife* and *The Damnation of Theron Ware*, are not naturalistic, because the author was unable to "eliminate ethical judgments and motivations in favor of materialistic ones." Each novel, however, begins with a suggestion of a deterministic philosophy.

[JAMES, HENRY] Knights, L. C. "Henry James and the Trapped Spectator." *Southern Rev.*, IV, 600-615 (Jan., 1939).

"From an early period James was interested in persons whose free and normal development . . . is thwarted by the egotism of others. As he grew older that preoccupation was joined (though not entirely superseded) by another—a preoccupation with the plight of the creature trapped not by others . . . but by Fate."

[MITCHELL, S. W.] Richardson, Lyon N. "S. Weir Mitchell at Work." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 58-65 (Mar., 1939).

A comparison of Mitchell's novel *Roland Blake* (1886) with a privately printed working draft, *Roland Blake and Some Other People*, reveals the author's "creative functioning." His aptitude lay "in depicting situation and psychopathic characters . . . and his greatest trouble arose in the handling of plot."

[WHITMAN, WALT] Allen, Gay Wilson. "Walt Whitman's 'Long Journey' Motif." *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 76-95 (Jan., 1939).

Before writing *Leaves of Grass* Whitman planned to write a book "running in idea and description through the whole range of recorded time." Though the poet was forced to abandon this project, Mr. Allen thinks that the intention seriously influenced *Leaves of Grass* and provides the key for understanding Whitman's style and his poetic message.

Rubin, Joseph J. "Whitman on Byron, Scott and Sentiment." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVI, 171 (Mar., 11, 1939).

Reprints from the *Yankee Doodle* (I, 182 [1846-1847]) an article in which the editor pokes fun at an editorial by Whitman in the *Brooklyn Eagle* where Whitman finds fault with some gentlemen of a literary society for "getting together, and 'adoring' and 'doting' on Byron, Scott and 'sentiment.'"

White, William. "Walt Whitman and Sir William Osler." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 73-77 (Mar., 1939).

Cushing's *Life of Sir William Osler* contains passages from an unfinished address on Whitman. Of particular interest in these notes are Osler's impressions on first visiting Whitman and on reading his poetry. The Osler Library at McGill University contains more parts of this planned address, which are not available for publication, because of the provisions of Osler's will.

IV. 1900-1939

[DOS PASSOS] L[atorre], M[ariano]. "John Dos Passos y su última novela." *Atenea* (Santiago de Chile), XV, 216-222 (Feb., 1938).

A short biography of Dos Passos and a résumé and criticism of *The Big Money*.

[FROST, ROBERT] Newdick, Robert S. "Robert Frost Looks at War." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 52-59 (Jan., 1939).

"In his thought on war, as in his thought on birth and death and all between, Frost, like Hardy, neither shrinks from perceiving the hard realities of the world and its society nor flinches from speaking the truth of all things as he sees the truth from mood to mood."

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Adams, J. Donald. "Ernest Hemingway." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 87-94 (Feb., 1939).

Hemingway shows that he "can see and describe with a precision and a vividness unmatched since Kipling," but his attitude toward life is still "basically adolescent."

[LINDERMAN, FRANK B.] Van de Water, Frederick F. "The Work of Frank B. Linderman." *Frontier and Midland*, XIX, 148-152 (Spring, 1939).

"Frank B. Linderman [1869-1938] wrote a dozen books. All of them dealt with the West he had known since boyhood. . . . In his great works . . . [he] made the most important contribution toward comprehension of the spirit and character of the ways of life and ways of thought of the free Plains Indian, the red horse-people of the old West." This entire number of *Frontier and Midland* is devoted to a bibliography of Linderman's periodical poetry, essays, and books, with eulogies and recollections by friends.

[PORTER, W. S.] Gohdes, Clarence. "Some Letters by O. Henry." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 31-39 (Jan., 1939).

Prints a group of nine O. Henry letters written in 1905 and 1909 to St. George Rathborne, Henry W. Lanier, and Harry P. Steger.

[SAROYAN, WILLIAM] Hatcher, Harlan. "William Saroyan." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 169-177 (Mar., 1939).

A critical examination and stock-taking of the six volumes of short stories by Saroyan, the young Armenian-American, shows that his own personality completely dominates his writing. He "seems determined not to be embittered by experience and to let nothing escape until he can note it down in words."

[WILDER, THORNTON] Kohler, Dayton. "Thornton Wilder." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 1-11 (Jan., 1939).

*Our Town*, "an outgrowth of Mr. Wilder's other work and closely related to it, . . . shows his sense of the timeless and universal in hu-

man affairs, his revolt against the hackneyed trappings of the realistic stage, and his beauty of language."

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Bishop, John Peale. "The Sorrows of Thomas Wolfe." *Kenyon Rev.*, I, 7-17 (Winter, 1939).

Wolfe "proved that an art founded solely on the individual . . . cannot be sound."

#### V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Bayard, S. P. "Witchcraft Magic and Spirits on the Border of Pennsylvania and West Virginia." *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, LI, 47-59 (Jan.-Mar., 1938).

The author insists that much more superstitious belief survives than one would suspect, and he cites examples of apparently earnest incantation or formula practices still current.

Berrey, Lester V. "Newly-Wedded Words." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 3-10 (Feb., 1939).

A list of recent examples of the long popular "compounding formula" for coining slang.

Blair, Walter. "Inquisitive Yankee Descendants in Arkansas." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 11-22 (Feb., 1939).

From 1781 to *The Arkansas Traveller*.

Botkin, B. A. "WPA and Folklore Research." *Southern Folklore Quar.*, III, 7-14 (Mar., 1939).

An explanation of the plan and procedure of the Folklore Studies of the Federal Writers' Project.

Brearley, H. C. "Ba-ad Nigger." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 75-81 (Jan., 1939).

In Negro folk literature the "bad" man plays a role hardly secondary to that of the trickster so well exemplified by the Br'er Rabbit of Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus*.

Campbell, Marie. "Survivals of Old Folk Drama in the Kentucky Mountains." *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, LI, 10-24 (Jan.-Mar., 1938).

Texts of a Christmas play, a Plough Monday play, and two play fragments—the only survivals of folk drama in the area, the author believes.

Ericson, Eston Everett. "Observations on New English Syntax." *Anglia*, XLIII, 100-103 (Jan., 1939).

Illustrates and comments on American use (1) of the split infinitive, (2) of *did* to express the conditional subjunctive, and (3) of *was* in transposed clauses.

Haugen, Einar. "Notes on Voiced I in American Speech." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 627-634 (Parts XVI and XVII, 1938).

Hench, Atcheson L., Dobbie, Elliott V. K., Treviño, S. N. "Bibliography [of American English]." *Amer. Speech*, XIII, 297-306 (Dec., 1938); XIV, 53-66 (Feb., 1939).

Bibliography of articles, pamphlets, and books on "Present Day English," "General and Historical Studies," and "Phonetics."

Jackson, George Pullen. "Did Spiritual Folk-Songs Develop First in the Northeast?" *Southern Folklore Quar.*, III, 1-3 (Mar., 1939).

The Baptists were the chief bringers of religious folk-songs to northeast America in the eighteenth century and purveyors thereof to the Southern camp-meeting folk around 1800.

Kurath, Hans. "Progress of the Linguistic Atlas." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 625-626 (Parts XVI and XVII, 1938).

Leacock, Stephen. "Our 'Living Language': a Defense." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, Feb. 26, 1939, pp. 9, 14.

A spirited reply to S. F. Markham's "indictment" of American speech (especially slang). See below.

McDavid, R. I., Jr. "A Citadel Glossary." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 23-32 (Feb., 1939).

An analysis of the cadet vernacular at The Citadel, a military college at Charleston, S. C.

Markham, S. F. "American Speech: an Indictment." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, Feb. 26, 1939, pp. 8, 22.

[We Englishmen do not] "envy you your slang, nor have we the slightest desire to become familiar with it."

Read, A. W. "The Policies of the *Dictionary of American English*." *Dialectic Notes*, VI, 635-642 (Parts XVI and XVII, 1938).

A rejoinder to a review by Miles L. Hanley in *Dialect Notes*, VI, 583-591 (July, 1937).

Stroup, Thomas B. "Another Southern Analogue to the Mak Story." *Southern Folklore Quar.*, III, 5-6 (Mar., 1939).

Thompson, Stith. "American Folklore after Fifty Years." *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, LI, 1-9 (Jan.-Mar., 1938).

Text of the 1937 presidential address of the American Folk-Lore Society. Differentiation of the attitudes of the various groups interested in folklore (anthropologists, collectors, comparative folklorists) and a statement of some of the problems facing students of folklore.

Thornton, R. H. "An American Glossary, Vol. III, Parts XIII-XVI, Spook-Yard." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 644-708 (Parts XVI and XVII, 1938).

A reprinting of parts, published in the December, 1937, issue, with the addition of pages accidentally omitted.

Wilson, Ann Scott. "Pearl Bryan." *Southern Folklore Quar.*, III, 15-19 (Mar., 1939).

The actual facts forming the subject matter of the ballad "Pearl Bryan" and the printing of two versions of the ballad.

## VI. GENERAL

Allen, Frederick Lewis. "Fake Authors." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XIX, 3-4, 13-14 (Mar. 11, 1939).

On the common practice of impersonating successful authors in America, with numerous illustrations.

Amunátegui, Francisco. "Jóvenes autores americanos." *Atenea* (Santiago de Chile), XV, 283-288 (Aug., 1938).

The true American genius of today is to be found in the works of Faulkner, Caldwell, Kroner, and Brody, who wish to destroy the old order and who have as their common theme the misery of mankind.

Angoff, Charles. "Three Notes on American Literature." *North Amer. Rev.*, CCXLVII, 38-41 (Spring, 1939).

Defects of American novelists in creating characters.

Bond, Donald, McDermott, John F., and Tucker, Joseph E. (compilers). "Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies, a Current Bibliography [1938]." *Romanic Rev.*, XXX, 152-186 (Apr., 1939).

The second issue of this annual listing.

Brooks, Van Wyck. "League of American Writers: a Personal Statement." *New Republic*, XCVIII, 65-68 (Feb. 22, 1939).

What American writers can do to fulfill their social and political responsibilities.

Lind, L. Robert. "The Crisis in Literature. I—Literature Today." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 35-62 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

An appraisal of six Continental and six American writers. "Literature, as it has been written in the last thirty years, has exhibited . . . no new and deep currents of thought, whereas it has broken completely with most of the main streams of nineteenth century thinking."

Moore, Ernest R. "Influence of the Modern Mexican Novel on the American Novel." *Revue de littérature comparée*, Jan., 1939, pp. 123-127.

Supports the thesis of the "existence" of the modern Mexican novel by showing that "it has existed for writers beyond the borders of Mexico"—more specifically, that it has influenced Hermann B. Deutsch (in *The Wedge*), Carleton Beals (in *The Stones Awake*), and Heath Bowman and Stirling Dickinson (in *Death Is Incidental*).

Mulder, Arnold. "Authors and Wolverines." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XIX, 3-4, 16 (Mar. 4, 1939).

On Michigan authors—Stewart White, Ring Lardner, Edgar Guest, Will Carleton, Mrs. Julia A. Moore, and others.

Nicholas, H. G. "The Writer and the State." *Contemporary Rev.*, No. 877, 89-94 (Jan., 1939).

An explanation of the *American Guide* books produced by the Federal Writers' Project and an interpretation of their significance to students of American literary culture and to subsequent creative writers.

O'Neill, E. H. "Plans for a Bibliography of American Literature." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 81-83 (Mar., 1939).

A report of the progress and scope of the bibliography of American literature which aims to bring under the name of each author everything that he has written and that has been written about him. The director of the project appeals to specialists in individual fields to contribute individual bibliographies. It is estimated that a staff of fifty W.P.A. members will be working on this project at the University of Pennsylvania for a period of between three and five years.

Page, Eugene R. "Rediscovering American Drama." *Amer. Scholar*, VIII, 250-252 (Spring, 1939).

A report of the unearthing by Barrett H. Clark and assistants of more than two hundred manuscripts of unpublished American plays, which will be published in twenty volumes by the Princeton University Press, as *America's Lost Plays*.

Rahv, Philip. "Proletarian Literature: A Political Autopsy." *Southern Rev.*, IV, 616-628 (Jan., 1939).

Proletarian writing is now in the last stages of dissolution because it was first fathered and later destroyed by the Communist Party.

Smith, Bernard. "Parrington's 'Main Currents': the Fourth Article in the Series 'Books that have Changed Our Minds.'" *New Republic*, XCVIII, 40-43 (Feb. 15, 1939).

On the importance of Parrington's liberal influence.

Steadman, R. W. "A Critique of Proletarian Literature." *North Amer. Rev.*, CCXLVII, 142-152 (Spring, 1939).

This appraisal of recent radical literature in America sets forth Michael Gold's *Jews Without Money* (1928) as "heralding the birth of the entire proletarian movement in the arts."

Strout, A. L. "Culture and Cult: American vs. English Literature." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 96-105 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

A re-examination of and a rejoinder to the arguments of Professor Howard Mumford Jones's "The Orphan Child of the Curriculum" (*Eng. Jour.* [College Ed.], May, 1936) for the inclusion of more American literature in the curriculum.

Townsend, John Wilson. "A History of Kentucky Literature Since 1913." *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XIII, 21-36 (Jan., 1939).

Wright, Lyle H. "A Statistical Survey of American Fiction, 1774-1850." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, II, 309-318 (Apr., 1939).

The tabulations reveal the popularity of forgotten authors and "point to the desirability of broadening the scope of histories of American fiction."

# MARK TWAIN, NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT

WALTER BLAIR

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DURING the five months before he started the journey made famous by his account of it in *Innocents Abroad*, Mark Twain managed to elude the close scrutiny of his biographers. Albert Bigelow Paine and others who have ferreted out details in the humorist's history note that he stayed in New York for a time, that he briefly visited his boyhood home in the Middle West, and that he published his first book.<sup>1</sup> But how he lived, what he did, what his thoughts were, they have not known.

All these details, however, recorded in Clemens's own words at the time, have been waiting since 1867 for some reader to come upon them in the browning files of the San Francisco *Alta California*. Here, in a series of travel letters, written at irregular intervals, is the humorist's personal account of his adventures in New York.<sup>2</sup> Because the well-trained journalist who wrote them worked hard at his job as correspondent, trying to go everywhere, to see everything, they vividly recreate the New York of that day.<sup>3</sup> But they are even more interesting as indications of how the Wild Humorist of the Pacific Slope amused himself in New York and how he told

<sup>1</sup> The most detailed account is found in Paine's *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), I, 308-323.

<sup>2</sup> The series started with seven articles written during the trip to New York, which appeared Jan. 18, Feb. 22, 24, March 15, 16, 17, 23. The letters from New York, seventeen in number, appeared March 28 (dated Feb. 2), March 30 (Feb. 18), April 5 (Feb. 23), April 9 (March 2), May 26 (April 16), June 2 (April 19), June 10 (April 30), June 16 (May 17), June 23 (May 18), June 30 (May 19), July 7 (May 20), July 14 (May 23), July 21 (May 26), July 28 (May 28), Aug. 4 (June 2), Aug. 11 (June 5), Aug. 18 (June 6). Letters from St. Louis appeared in issues of May 13 (March 15) and May 19 (March 25). I am indebted to the Mark Twain Society of Chicago for permission to use photostats of these accounts.

<sup>3</sup> Some notion of the variety of his activity is suggested by his partial summary: "I have seen the horse 'Dexter' trot a race. . . . I went to a billiard tournament. . . . I have . . . heard all the great guns of the New York pulpit preach. . . . I have been through the dens of poverty, crime and degradation . . . in the Five Points; I have been in the Bible House, and also in the Station House. . . . I have gone the rounds of the newspaper offices and the theatres. . . . I have seen Brooklyn, and the ferry-boats and the *Dunderberg*, and the boot-blacks, and Staten Island, and Peter Cooper, and the Fifth Avenue, and the Academy of Design, and Rosa Bonheur's Horse Fair . . . and behold I have tried the Russian bath, and skated while the winter was here . . ." (*Alta California*, Aug. 18, 1867).

of his adventures in a period just before Mrs. Fairbanks and Olivia Langdon shouldered the task of civilizing him, and as practice flights for the travel letters which were shortly to bring world fame. And at least one important happening about which biographers have revealed only vague details shifts from the realm of legend to the realm of fact as he tells in some detail how he went to jail.<sup>4</sup>

## I

Aided by his famous flaming temper, the "Special Travelling Correspondent," recently of Virginia City and San Francisco, started his stay in the city by becoming angry at what he called "the overgrown metropolis." His complaints sound peculiarly modern. The bustle and flurry of the congested traffic made him uneasy; the street numbering system unhinged his reason; he was annoyed by the inhuman attitude of people who lived, as he put it, in "a solitude in the midst of a million."

It was hard to get anywhere. "You cannot ride," he said. "I mean you cannot ride unless you are willing to go in a packed omnibus that labors, and plunges, and struggles along at the rate of three miles in four hours and a half. . . . Or, if you can stomach it, you can ride in a horse-car and stand up for three-quarters of an hour, in the midst of a line of men that extends from the front to the rear (seats all crammed, of course,)—or you can take one of the platforms, if you please, but they are so crowded you will have to hang on by your eye-lashes and your toe-nails."<sup>5</sup>

Prices—even to one who had lived in Nevada in boom times—seemed outrageous. Private board and lodging over on East Sixteenth Street cost Clemens between twenty and thirty dollars a week. Butter cost sixty cents a pound, eggs sixty cents a dozen. A shave, administered by a barber who evidently had sharpened his razor on a curbstone, was twenty cents. "Simple, 'straight' whiskey, gin, and such things," he complained, "are fifteen cents; brandy and mixed beverages, twenty-five, (and they don't know how to mix them—besides their whiskey is bound to make a temperance man of a toper in a year or kill him)." Theater tickets were a dollar and

<sup>4</sup> Paine did not recount the experience in the *Biography*. Bernard DeVoto, in *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, 1932), p. 202, credits his mention of Clemens's "being jailed for drunkenness" to "private but unimpeachable information."

<sup>5</sup> *Alta California*, March 28. Hereinafter dates will refer to issues of this paper.

a half apiece, and the tradesmen and landlords were the most independent people in the world.<sup>6</sup>

The newspapers of the wicked city were full of murders and trials and sensational divorce cases. Streets were dotted with peddlers who were selling to foolish buyers little painted horses, clowns, and balls suspended from India rubber strings. The sole virtue of such a toy

. . . was that when expelled from one's hand, it returned again, provided the end of the string was firmly held. Everybody bought this toy and played with it—men, women, and children—everybody neglected graver pursuits, and revelled in the fierce intoxication of this amusement. The happiness it occasioned was universal. The inventor found himself suddenly famous and as suddenly wealthy.<sup>7</sup>

People in New York were always grumbling, in 1867, because down-state voters ruled the city through the state government.

Finally, feminine fashions at the time were, the visitor implied, particularly distressing. The waterfall hairdress had reached a high state of development. After early stages during which it had looked first like a bladder of Scotch snuff, then like a canvas-covered ham, then like a counterfeit turnip on the back of milady's head, it now stuck straight out and looked like a wire muzzle on a greyhound.

Nestling in the midst of this long stretch of head and hair reposes the little battercake of a bonnet, like a jockey-saddle on a race-horse. You will readily perceive that this looks very unique, and pretty, and coquettish. But the glory of the costume is the robe—the dress. No furbelows, no flounces, no biases, no gores, no flutter-wheels, no hoops to speak of—nothing but a rich, plain, narrow black dress, terminating just below the knees in long saw teeth, (points downward,) and under it a flaming red skirt enough to put your eyes out, that reaches down only to the ankle-bone, and exposes the restless little feet. Charming, fascinating, seductive, bewitching! To see a lovely girl of seventeen, with her saddle on her head, and her muzzle on behind, and her veil just covering the end of her nose, come tripping along in her hoopless, red-bottomed dress, like a churn on fire, is enough to set a man wild.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> April 5. In spite of his dislike for various tradesmen, Clemens had a good word to say for New Yorkers in general.

<sup>7</sup> Aug. 4. The fortunes of the Pig in the Clover puzzle in *The American Claimant* (Hartford, 1892), chap. xxiv, are very similar. This newsletter also mentions a puzzle mania.

<sup>8</sup> March 28.

When Mark went to the "matinee performance" of the famous Bishop Southgate, he noted that the church had attracted whole platoons of titillating females in loose jackets and in short narrow dresses

... terminating well up in long bugle-fringed points over a red under-dress—trimmed with bugles all over, I should rather say—bless me, when the girls filed up the aisles yesterday, rattling their fringes against the pews, you could shut your eyes and imagine you were in a hail-storm. When I see a pretty girl in this charming costume, I want to fall down and worship her. And yet she is bound to look a good deal like a Chinawoman when her back is toward you. This costume would provoke many a smile in San Francisco, where Chinawomen abound.<sup>9</sup>

Clemens, as the last sentence suggests, was still touched somewhat by California provincialism. This was indicated not only by his criticisms but also by frequent puffs for his home state worked into his columns. Coast theatrical folk, he reported more than once, were making good in the East.<sup>10</sup> He dutifully recorded the doings of native sons who had paused in New York or who were living there.<sup>11</sup> One senses a nostalgia for the happy, rip-roaring days at Washoe in his tale of what happened to two fellow visitors from the West, Billy Fall of San Francisco, Marysville, and Carson, and Harry Newton, formerly of Esmeralda. These two gentlemen met on Broad Street one day, got into an argument, then a fist fight, and finally into a gun battle. They wounded nobody "but a telegraph operator, who had nothing to do with the matter, and was both surprised and mortified when he received a bullet in his ribs." The large crowd "took no interest in bombardments, and went away—and all went first, as near as they could come to it." "To fire pistols at people, or even to carry such furniture about the streets," observed the columnist, "is a grave offence in New York; and both these men are in a very unenviable position at present."<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps to show characteristic irreverence, however, the correspondent blasphemed against California weather compared with that in Manhattan. Sometimes, he admitted, New York weather made

<sup>9</sup> March 30. The description of Southgate's church contains humorous diction much like that employed in the description of the Greek chapel in *Innocents Abroad*.

<sup>10</sup> For example, March 28, June 2 and 16.

<sup>11</sup> A number of dispatches ended with reports headed "Gossip" or "Personal," chiefly about Westerners.

<sup>12</sup> June 16. In the issue of June 23, Clemens reported that nobody had appeared against Fall, and he had been released.

him fearfully angry, but on the whole he liked it. It furnished surprises and variety—unlike the eternally fair weather of San Francisco, where a man would put in a great deal of time wistfully waiting for storms which never managed to arrive.<sup>13</sup>

## II

The references to California, though, were, as time passed, increasingly infrequent. Eventually, for the most part, Clemens told of meanderings which took him to a miscellaneous assortment of places. One evening he dropped in at the Century Club, and estimated that the average member probably wore a size 11 hat.<sup>14</sup> Draped in flowing robes, purporting to be the king of some country or other, he went to the Bal d'Opera in the new Academy of Music and had a splendid time.<sup>15</sup> Somehow, he wandered into a Nantucket reunion, and enjoyed the antique New England jokes. He spent long evenings listening to tall tales at the Travellers' Club, where (probably because he drawled some of his own yarns for members) he was given visiting privileges for a month.<sup>16</sup> He made shuddering tours of the slums or loafed in hotel lobbies.<sup>17</sup> Week by week, as complaints about New York grew fewer, it became clear that the Westerner had begun to be fascinated by the varied entertainments offered by the great city. These ranged all the way from church services to exceedingly low entertainments.

Several of his columns were reports of visits to churches. Everybody went to church on Sunday, Clemens explained with some bitterness, because there was nothing else to do. A new excise law having made illegal all public drinking on the Sabbath, practically all places of resort and amusement were closed. He pictured himself on a Sunday wandering glumly through the city, unable to find even a bootblack or a newsboy on the quiet deserted streets.<sup>18</sup> To keep from getting lonesome, he joined the throng of all ages at one or more of the popular churches.

Of course, quite early in his stay, he found it interesting to go across the river to hear the noted Henry Ward Beecher. He thought, when he walked into Beecher's church at ten o'clock, that he was arriving early; but he soon found that one might be too late if one waited until after breakfast. Luckily he captured the last available

<sup>13</sup> June 30.

<sup>14</sup> March 28.

<sup>15</sup> April 9.

<sup>16</sup> June 23.

<sup>17</sup> June 30.

<sup>18</sup> March 30.

seat, a little stool which he managed to jam into an opening about large enough, he noted, for a spittoon. Perched uncomfortably on this, he stared down over hundreds of heads at the famous religionist. Beecher, who was as "homely as a singed cat when he wasn't doing anything" or when he was smugly surveying his huge audience, surprised Mark by becoming remarkably handsome once he had launched into his oration. His sermon, delivered in a rich and resonant voice, "sparkled with felicitous metaphors and similes (it is his strong suite to use the language of the worldly), and might be called a striking mosaic work, wherein poetry, pathos, humor, satire and eloquent declamation were happily blended upon a ground work of earnest exposition. . . ." And whenever Minister Beecher forsook his pile of sermon notes to go marching up and down the stage, waving his arms or halting now and then to stress a point by stamping three times, Clemens felt that if somebody clapped just once the whole house would rock with applause. Mark had, he admitted, a suffocating desire to slap his palms together.<sup>19</sup>

Of course, Clemens was not satisfied with the sort of entertainment furnished by sermons alone. He belonged—at intervals, at least—to the intelligentsia, and one who belonged to that group when he visited New York could show his taste by attending one of the popular lectures—one, say, by Miss Anna Dickinson.

That would be in the Cooper Institute, where twenty-five hundred people would gather to listen. Peter Cooper himself would bring the speaker on the stage, and Horace Greeley would introduce her. Clemens's keen eyes would note her thick straight hair, cut so short it barely touched her collar behind, her plainly cut cherry-colored dress, her deep-set eyes in a youthful face. Her speech, delivered rapidly, without the aid of notes, would be an eloquent plea "that the number of avenues to an honest livelihood that were open to women be increased." Said the *California's* correspondent:

Her vim, her energy, her determined look, her tremendous earnestness, would compel the respect and the attention of an audience, even if she spoke in Chinese—would convince a third of them, too, even though she used arguments that would not stand analysis. She keeps close to her subject, reasons well, and makes every point without fail. Her prose poetry often moves to tears, her satire cuts to the quick. . . . She made a speech worth listening to.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> March 30.

<sup>20</sup> April 15.

## III

If one lecture was enough to satisfy the visitor (it evidently was enough to satisfy Clemens), he could proceed to view some of the architectural sights of the city. If his taste corresponded with Mark Twain's, the visitor would feel that Fifth Avenue was the noblest street in America. "Nothing," said he, "could be more beautiful, more refined, more elegant, than the brown stone used in facing buildings here; and for light, graceful architecture, nothing could be more charming than the rich, cream-colored Portland stone which has lately come into vogue, and which so fascinates the eye of a stranger, as he saunters up the new end of the magnificent avenue."

Clemens was moved to explosive wrath when he saw an atrocity called Stewart's Palace rising to desecrate this fine street. The millionaire builder, he snorted, unsatisfied with good Portland stone, had thought he had to send to Italy "and get some dismal ornamental tombstones, carved at immense expense by those foreigners, and have them brought over here and piled on high in the midst of that cheerful street, to dampen people's spirits, and set them thinking of the grave, and death, and the hereafter."<sup>21</sup>

The correspondent's aesthetic sensibilities suffered fewer shocks when he went to an art show at the Academy of Design. To be sure, more than half the subjects were the fashionable innocuous sort—"the same old party of kittens skylarking with a cotton ball; . . . the same old detachment of cows wading across a branch at sunset; . . . and the same old stupid wenches marked 'Autumn' and 'Summer,' etc., loafing around in the woods or toting flowers, and all of them out of their shirts, in the same old way. . . ." And to be sure, there was an old master of a sort he was beginning to dislike heartily—a picture in which six bewhiskered faces glared out of Egyptian darkness at a naked babe. Clemens felt that the infant was not shaped or colored like any he had ever seen. "I am glad," he said, "that the old masters are all dead, and I only wish they had died sooner."

Of the three hundred or so pictures, however, thirty or forty, in his opinion, were very beautiful. He liked "all the sea views, and the mountain views, and the quiet woodland scenes, with shadow-tinted lakes in the foreground," and he "just revelled in the storms."

<sup>21</sup> July 28.

The picture he liked most was, according to his description, strikingly like the sort of scene typical of a Walt Disney cartoon:

In a little nook in a forest, a splendid gray squirrel, brimful of frisky action, had found a basket-covered brandy flask upset, and was sipping the spilled liquor from the ground. His face told that he was delighted. Close by, a corpulent old fox-squirrel was stretched prone upon his back, and the jolly grin on his two front teeth, and the drunken leer of his half closed eye told that he was happy, and that the anxious solicitude in the face of the black squirrel that was bending over him and feeling his pulse was uncalled for by the circumstances of the case.

On the street once more, Clemens took a horrified glance at the Academy of Design. A little reflection convinced him that it looked like "a preposterous stable, invented by some vulgar sporting man who has grown suddenly rich."<sup>22</sup>

#### IV

Lectures and architecture and art shows, stimulating though they were, interested Clemens less than did the theatrical diversions of the city: to these he devoted many words. His sternest criticism was directed at a show place to which most sight-seers in New York would be likely to hurry, Barnum's Museum. Though its owner's fame, always great, had recently been enhanced by his running for Congress, and though Twain found every floor crowded, he characterized the whole display as dirty, moth-eaten, and tawdry.

He glanced at a plaster of Paris statue of Venus which stood neglected in a corner, and perceived that little stacks of dust had piled up on her nose and eyebrows. When he heard that a freak was missing, the humorist guessed that she had been moved out to make room for another peanut-stand. Everywhere he went in the building, he seemed to bump into a stand or an impudent Negro sweeping up hulls. Thrown together higgledy-piggledy were many attractions which bored him profoundly—bugs impaled on pins, a photograph gallery, an oyster saloon, a shooting gallery, a shop where cheap jewelry was raffled off, and a collection of atrocious waxen images. Outstanding in the waxworks was an effigy of Queen Vic-

<sup>22</sup> July 28. The passage about the old master was, of course, a preliminary exercise for the famous chapter in *Innocents Abroad*. The painting he admired is notable for the humor of "humanized" animals, as are "The Famous Jumping Frog," "Dick Baker's Bluejay Yarn," and several of Clemens's choicest tall tales.

toria, "dressed in faded red velvet and glass jewelry," with "a bloated countenance and a drunken leer in her eye."

The freaks—two giants, two dwarfs, and a speckled Negro—were unexciting. So was the collection of animals misnamed the Happy Family because they were all supposed to live blissfully together—"a poor, spiritless old bear—sixteen monkeys—half a dozen sorrowful raccoons—two mangy puppies—two unhappy rabbits—and two meek Tom cats, that have had half the hair snatched out of them by monkeys." A dictatorial monkey had taken charge of the cage, and was making life miserable for all the other animals. Lately he had nipped the tail from one of his brethren. "It almost moves one to tears," reported Clemens, "to see that bobtailed monkey work his stump and try to grab a beam that is a yard away."

The play being presented on the Museum stage was *The Christian Martyr*, intended to be downright bloodcurdling. But the climactic scene in the last act, which showed a martyr tossed into a cage with a couple of lions, lost some of its appeal because the ferocious animals were asleep, and no amount of punching the martyr could do, and no amount of cursing under his breath, could make them forget that they preferred fresh beef to martyrs.<sup>28</sup> "Why," asked Clemens, "does not some philanthropist burn the Museum again?" Barnum's was out of date: in his opinion, the theaters offered far more thrills.

Thrills of an old-fashioned sort were available at the most popular cheap theater, the Old Bowery. The audience there was no less diverting than the play, for the house was much patronized by the city's urchins. Even before he saw them at the theater, Clemens had been charmed by this "wild, independent lot" who would "make good desperado stuff to stock a mining camp with." He had recorded their tendency to talk profanely about national affairs or to criticize "old Johnson," the current president, and he had watched them pitch pennies.

At the playhouse, he discovered with delight that the newsboys and bootblacks applauded ranting speeches furiously and scornfully howled down sentimental passages. One of them, hearing a woman ask Clemens to buy her a drink in the bar on the fifth tier, beckoned him aside to say (the parenthetical translations are Twain's):

<sup>28</sup> April 9.

"You keep away f'm them women. I've been around here for years, and I know all about 'em. Don't you go no wheres with that curly-headed one, nor t'other one either—they'd go through you for everything you've got. That's their style. You ask any cop (policeman)—they'll tell you. Why, that curly girl's rid in the Black Maria (conveyance for prisoners) oftener'n she's rid in the street cars. And don't touch that liquor in there—don't tell anybody I told you, 'cause they'd hight me out of this, you know—but don't you drink that dern swipes—it's pisen."

And another urchin, with whom the humorist chatted about dramatic art, nominated big-voiced Proctor as the newsboy's favorite. "Oh, geeminy!" he exclaimed. "Why you can hear Proctor f'm here to Central Park when he lays hisself out in *Richard Third*."<sup>24</sup>

In the costlier theaters a newfangled system which made it possible to reserve seats had been worked up to what Clemens characterized as "a rascally perfection." The system made it possible for the theatergoer to buy a ticket as much as a week ahead or to get a place in the parquette as late as ten o'clock at night. The prices were likely to run as high as a dollar and a half, but most presentations, his enthusiastic comments indicated, were worth that much. In such theaters, for example, one could view some of the Pacific Coast entertainers who were doing well in the big city. The columnist cited with pride the San Francisco minstrels, who had leased a hall right on Broadway, had played to packed houses, and had taken in receipts of a hundred ten thousand dollars in a year. He cited also the "colossal sensation" of Maguire's Japanese Jugglers, also from the Coast. And he mentioned that little Miss Lotta Crabtree of the Gold Coast was in New York, as pretty as ever, suffering a little from huskiness but hoping soon to fulfil an engagement in one of the fine playhouses.<sup>25</sup>

Edwin Booth and the legitimate drama drew immense houses, but Clemens thought the signs of the times indicated that the tragedian would "have to make a change by-and-by and peel some women." Nothing else could capture popular taste; the way things were going during that depraved period in American history.<sup>26</sup>

Things, noted Mark, who was to retain to the end of his life certain puritanical attitudes fostered by his churchly mother, were going pretty far. Sallie Hinkley was playing in what was called "a

<sup>24</sup> July 14.

<sup>25</sup> June 16.

<sup>26</sup> March 28.

nude fairy piece." Her assisting chorus was disgusting—"about thirty padded, painted, slab-sided, lantern-jawed old hags . . . so mortal homely that nothing tastes good to them." But large audiences evidently put up with them for the pleasure of seeing Sallie in the last act, when she made a statue of herself and stood aloft, about as naked as she could be.<sup>27</sup>

Even more scandalous, in Clemens's opinion, was *The Black Crook*. This drama, displayed nightly at Niblo's Garden, attracted women with its ingenious scenic effects, but men and boys went to see the seventy beauties "displaying all possible compromises between nakedness and decency." The traveling correspondent was still blushing, he proudly claimed, when he wrote about it. The spectacle, he suggested, might be less immoral if it were less beautiful. "But I warn you," he said, "that when you put beautiful clipper-built girls on the stage in this new fashion, with only just barely enough clothes on to be tantalizing, it is a shrewd invention of the devil."<sup>28</sup>

## v

Harrowing as the spectacles were, however, probably the most vicious spots Clemens described were not the theaters but the night club-like place wherein he spent an evening and the Station House wherein (inadvertently) he spent most of a night.

At Harry Hill's Club House, near Broadway, Clemens and his friends, after being admitted by a mashed-nosed guard, climbed stairs to a room wherein men and women whirled in what he called a "giddy waltz." The high moral tone of the place was manifested by signs which read "People Who Are Drunk Must Leave the Premises" and "All Sociable—No Lovers Allowed." The high spot in the entertainment was furnished by a young man in a Highland costume who danced: he ought, said the journalist, "to have danced modestly, because he had nothing in the wide world on but a short coat and stockings. This was apparent every time he whirled

<sup>27</sup> March 28.

<sup>28</sup> March 28. Clemens evidently ferreted out the most iniquitous displays shortly after arriving in New York, since he was able to write shocked reports in his first newsletter. About a year later (issue of March 3, 1868), after his trip abroad, Clemens reported on the even more shocking *White Fawn*. "The best thing New York can do now, and the other cities and towns of America as well," he suggested, "will be to build—not warehouses and buildings, but houses of ill-fame—let them build thousands and tens of thousands of them, and the Black Crook, the White Fawn and the infernal literature they have bred will stock them all."

around." Clemens reported that he bought one of the girls in the hall some soda water and an orange, but that he refused her request to see her home because he "began to have some suspicions about her."<sup>29</sup>

Mark Twain's report of his stay in the Station House indicated that the whole lamentable affair resulted from a misunderstanding. On their way home one midnight, he and a friend came upon two men fighting:

We interfered like a couple of idiots, and tried to separate them, and a brace of policemen came up and took us all off to the Station House. We offered the policemen two or three prices to let us go, (policemen generally charge \$5 on assault and battery cases, and \$25 for murder in the first degree, I believe,) but there were too many witnesses present, and they actually refused.

The prisoners were put into separate cells, and for an hour or so Clemens peered through the bars at the tramps and dilapidated old women sorrowing and swearing in the stone-paved halls. When this became tiresome, about three in the morning, he went to sleep on his stone bench.

At dawn, Clemens was led to a lockup near the courthouse where he and other prisoners, cheerful but sleepy, sat on wooden benches for four hours, awaiting judgment. His assorted companions included an Indiana storekeeper charged with drunkenness; a college boy and a clerk accused of assault and battery; a seedy battered hobo; a taciturn Negro; a bloated old hag, and two flashy girls of sixteen and seventeen arrested for street walking. "I felt sorry for those two poor girls," the correspondent sniffed for his constituency, "and thought it was a pity that the merciful snow had not frozen them into a peaceful rest and forgetfulness of life. . . ."

He found the old hag most ingratiating. She sat in a corner, he said,

... with a wholesome black eye, a drunken leer in the sound one, and nothing in the world on but a dingy calico dress, a shocking shawl, and a pair of slippers. . . . I went over and started a conversation with her. She was very communicative; said she lived in the Five Points, and must have been particularly drunk to have wandered so far from home; said she used to have a husband, but he had drifted off to somewhere, and so

<sup>29</sup> Aug. 18.

she had taken up with another man; she had a child, also—a little boy, but it took all her time to get drunk, and keep drunk, and so he starved, one winter's night—or froze, she didn't know which, because it snowed in "horrible" through the roof, and he hadn't any bedclothes but a window-shutter. "But it was a d—d good thing for him, anyway," said she, "because he'd have had a miserable rough time of it if he'd a lived;" and then she chuckled a little, and asked me for a chew of tobacco and a cigar. I gave her a cigar and borrowed the tobacco for her, and then she winked a wink of wonderful mystery and drew a flask of gin from under her shawl, and said the police thought they were awful smart when they searched her, but she wasn't born last week. I did not drink with her notwithstanding she invited me. She said she was good for ten days, but she guessed she could stand it, because if she had as many dollars as days she had been in limbo she could buy a gin-mill.

While Clemens sat there, glancing up at new arrivals now and then, his eye happened to wander to a witticism some predecessor had scribbled on the wall. "The trouble," it read, "will begin at eight o'clock!" The last time he had seen that sentence, he recalled, it had appeared in an advertisement for one of his lectures in San Francisco. It had been written by his own hand and published in the *Morning Call*.

The trouble really began at nine, when the prisoners went out one by one to stand before the judge and receive sentences. The judge, after consultation, advised Clemens against contesting this case on the ground of unjust impeachment, and then let him go.

So Twain claimed in 1867.<sup>30</sup> But some decades later, after the ex-traveling correspondent had become rich and famous, William Dean Howells found a bit of table conversation at the Clemens mansion interesting. Somehow the talk drifted to jails and the experience of being locked up in a cell.

"I passed a night in jail once," volunteered Clemens.

Clara Clemens was shocked. "Why, Father," she said, "how in the world did you happen to be in jail?"

He looked at her mildly. "Drunk, I guess," he answered.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The whole story about the visit to the Station House appeared June 23. The letter was dated May 18.

<sup>31</sup> Howells's story is quoted by Paine in *Mark Twain's Notebook*. (New York, 1935), p. 400. "He did not make any excuse," said Howells, "he did not say that it had been a mistake and that he had made it warm for the authorities afterwards."

## THE PUBLICATION AND RECEPTION OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN IN AMERICA

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THE UNUSUAL details attending the publication and reception of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* are not commonly known, and the American critical reaction to the book illuminates the standards of its time.

### I

Of all Clemens's books published up to 1885, *Huckleberry Finn* received the greatest pre- and post-publication notice. While the author possessed a shrewd sense of publicity and was rarely without his own devices for securing attention, in this case most of the advertisement was apparently unsought. As early as February, 1884, the *Dial* announced: "Mark Twain's new book will bear the title 'Huckleberry Finn, A Sequel to Tom Sawyer.'"<sup>1</sup> Yet almost a year later the book was still in the announcement stage.<sup>2</sup> One newspaper, in the autumn of 1884, thus explained the delay:

"Huckleberry Finn," Mark Twain's new book, was completed last March, but owing to complications and differences with his publishers, it has not yet appeared. When the book was finished last month, Mark Twain made a proposition in regard to its publication to the American Publishing Company of this city [Hartford] which published his "Innocents Abroad" and his later works. From then on the company, which hitherto had been but a small concern, achieved a reputation and standing equal to any of the older, established publishing houses of the country. Mark Twain, on his side, obtained royalties amounting in all to over \$400,000. When "Huckleberry Finn," the sequel to "Tom Sawyer" was completed, Twain again made a proposition to his publishers to produce this new work. Negotiations were commenced, but never completed. The parties could not agree on terms. Evidently Mark Twain considered that he had built up the American Publishing Company, while they seemed to think themselves the founders of his fame and fortune. Liberal royalties were offered Twain by the publishing company, but he refused to accept them. The final offer was that the profits should be divided, each of the parties to receive 50 per cent of the pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Dial*, IV, 261 (Feb., 1884).

<sup>2</sup> *Critic*, VI, 35 (Jan. 17, 1885).

ceeds from the sale of the new work. This proposition was not satisfactory to the author who wanted 60 per cent of the profits. This offer the company refused to accept, and he determined on entering a new business—combining that of the publisher with the author.

Mark Twain had a nephew residing in New York in whose business ability he had great confidence. This man, whose name is Charles L. Webster, is engaged in the book-publishing business. . . . [Twain] entered into a partnership with his nephew to produce his new work. . . .<sup>3</sup>

In the long time between the initial notice and the final date of publication,<sup>4</sup> the book received extensive publicity. Portions were printed in the *Century*;<sup>5</sup> the author, on his tour with G. W. Cable, read extracts from it;<sup>6</sup> prospectuses of the story were sent out,<sup>7</sup> and at least two newspapers, the *New York Tribune*<sup>8</sup> and the *Chicago Times*<sup>9</sup> printed generous selections.

One incident, in the autumn of 1884, was particularly instrumen-

<sup>3</sup> *New York World*, Nov. 27, 1884, p. 1. A. B. Paine, however, states that "already, in the spring of 1884, Webster had the new Mark Twain book . . . well in hand" (*Mark Twain: A Biography*, New York, 1912, II, 771). It appears also, from a letter Mark Twain wrote to Webster early in the canvassing campaign, that he was determined to postpone publication until forty thousand subscriptions had been secured (*ibid.*, II, 773).

<sup>4</sup> *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was officially published in America in Dec., 1884, but was not ready for actual delivery until Feb., 1885 (*ibid.*, II, 793).

<sup>5</sup> "An Adventure of Huckleberry Finn: With an account of the Famous Grangerford-Shepherdson Feud," *Century*, XXIX, 268-278 (Dec., 1884); "Jim's Investments, and King Sollermun," *Century*, XXIX, 456-458 (Jan., 1885); "Royalty on the Mississippi," *Century*, XXIX, 544-567 (Feb., 1885).

<sup>6</sup> For example, in the lecture at Keokuk, Iowa (Jan. 15, 1885), it was reported in the *Keokuk Gate City* that "Mark . . . delighted his audience with his amusing description of the discussion between the darky Jim, and Huck Finn, on the relative merits and demerits of 'King Sollermun'"; and the *Davenport Gazette*, reporting Twain's lecture, remarked that Twain read first from *Huckleberry Finn* and delighted his audience immensely (Feb. 1, 1885). Commenting on this, Mr. Fred W. Lorch [from whose article "Mark Twain in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXVII, 523 and 533 (Oct., 1929), respectively—these items are secured] says: "It would be difficult to say which of Twain's reading gave the most pleasure . . . *Huckleberry Finn* received the most newspaper space."

The *Boston Transcript* (Nov. 14, 1884, p. 1) thus reported a reading by Clemens and Cable in that city: "Mr. Cable . . . read selections from his novel, Dr. Sevier . . . Mr. Clemens . . . read selections from his new book, now in press, in which 'Huckleberry Finn' again figures. . . ."

<sup>7</sup> Stated by the *New York World*, Nov. 27, 1884, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *New York Tribune*, Jan. 11, 1885, p. 9. Two full columns were headed: "Mark Twain—Shakespeare and Murder on the Mississippi—A Sketch from Twain's Unpublished Book, 'The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn'—A Wandering Show—A Tragedy of the Street."

<sup>9</sup> *Chicago Times*, Jan. 11, 1885. Captioned: "Two Tramps—A Sketch from an Unpublished Book entitled: 'The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.'" (This reference is supplied me through the courtesy of Mr. George H. Brownell of Chicago.)

tal in focusing public notice on the book. It dealt with an improper alteration made by some unknown in one of the pictures. The amount of newspaper attention accorded this event was surprising. The most complete account was in the *New York World*, which headed its article: "Mark Twain in a Dilema [sic]—A Victim of a Joke He Thinks The Most Unkindest Cut of All." The essential part of the story was as follows:

... In order to properly embellish the book, the services of a leading metropolitan engraver were secured, and from this comes all the trouble into which Hartford's popular author is now plunged. The engravings, after having been cut on the plates, were sent to the electrotyper. One of the plates represented a man with a downcast head, standing in the foreground of a particularly striking illustration. In front of him was a ragged urchin with a look of dismay overspreading his countenance. In the background, and standing behind the boy, was an attractive-looking young girl, whose face was enlivened with a broad grin. Something which the boy or man had said or done evidently amused her highly. The title of the cut was, "In a Dilema; What Shall I Do?"

When the plate was sent to the electrotyper, a wicked spirit must have possessed him. The title was suggestive. A mere stroke of the awl would suffice to give the cut an indecent character never intended by the author or engraver. It would make no difference in the surface of the plate that would be visible to the naked eye, but when printed would add to the engraving a characteristic which would be repudiated not only by the author, but by all the respectable people of the country into whose hands the volume should fall. The work of the engraver was successful. It passed the eye of the inspector and was approved. A proof was taken and submitted. If the alteration of the plate was manifested in the proof it was evidently attributed to a defect in the press and paper, which would be remedied when the volume was sent to the press. Now the work was ready for printing.

In issuing books to be sold by "subscription only" the publishers first strike off a large number of prospectuses, which are to be used by the agents when soliciting subscribers to the work. Some 3,000 of these prospectuses, with the defective cut, were presented and distributed to the different agents throughout the country. The entire work had passed the eyes of the various readers and inspectors, and the glaring indecency of the cut had not been discovered. Throughout the country were hundreds of agents displaying the merits of the work and elaborating on the artistic work of the engravings. It was remarkable that, while the defects were so palpable, none of the other agents noticed it, or if

he did so, he failed to report it to the publishers. Possibly they might have considered the alteration intentional, as the title to the illustration was now doubly suggestive.

At last a letter came from the Chicago agent calling attention to the cut. Then there was consternation in the offices of the publishers. Copies of the prospectus were hauled from the shelf and critically examined. Then for the first time it dawned on the publishers that such an illustration would condemn the work. Immediately all the papers were telegraphed to, and the prospectuses called in. The page containing the cut was torn from the book, a new and perfect illustration being substituted. Agents were supplied with the improved volumes and are now happy in canvassing for a work to which there can be no objection, while they smile at the prospects of heavy commissions. But the story leaked out. Several opposition publishers got hold of copies of the cut, however, and these now adorn their respective offices.<sup>10</sup>

## II

*Huckleberry Finn* seemed destined for trouble from the beginning. A short time after the incident of the tampered engraving, Mark Twain brought suit against the Boston publishing firm of Estes and Lauriat for selling the book at a lower price than that offered by the canvassers. The lawsuit was decided in favor of the defendants, and the main points of the case were thus summarized in the *Boston Advertiser*:

Estes and Lauriat are a firm of booksellers and publishers located in Boston. In their last holiday catalog appeared an advertisement in which a new work, entitled *Huckleberry Finn*, written by the plaintiff under the

<sup>10</sup> *New York World*, Nov. 27, 1884, p. 1. The account was copied by the *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 30, 1884, p. 23, and was reported also in the *New York Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1884, p. 3; and in the *Boston Transcript* Dec. 2, 1884, p. 6. There were some variations in the accounts. For example, the *New York Tribune* reported that Charles L. Webster, while in San Francisco, had his attention called to the improper cut, and telegraphed at once to New York to stop publication. Merle Johnson, in *A Bibliography of Mark Twain* (New York, 1935, p. 48), remarks that thus far no copy of the book has appeared with the damaged plate (known as p. 283). Apparently, too, the cut has never been found. The matter is mysterious, and remembering Twain's talents as a self-publicity agent, it would not be surprising if he engineered the whole thing as an advertising stunt. Mr. Franklin J. Meine, however, tells me that he has strong reasons for believing that there was no hoax in the matter, and that the incident actually happened as reported in the newspapers.

The following articles deal with this problem of the first edition of *Huckleberry Finn*: Irving S. Underhill, "An Inquiry Into *Huckleberry Finn*," *Colophon*, Pt. VI, o.s., 1-10 (1931); Irving S. Underhill, "The Haunted Book: Concerning *Huckleberry Finn*," *Colophon*, I, o.s., 281-292 (Autumn, 1935); Irving S. Underhill, "Two Interesting Letters Pertaining to 'Huckleberry Finn,'" *American Book Collector*, II, 282-289 (Nov., 1932); and Irving S. Underhill, "'Tempest in a Teapot' or 'Notes on *Huckleberry Finn*,'" *American Book Collector*, IV, 153-156 (Sept.-Oct., 1933).

name Mark Twain, was offered for sale at a price reduced from \$2.75 to \$2.25. The book is sold on what is known as the subscription plan, and the regular subscription price is \$2.75. The canvass for the book has been in progress for some months. The advertisement to sell the work for less than the subscription price is working great injury to the regular sales by subscription. The book is not yet published, and will not be before February. On December 3, 1884, the title of the work was deposited with the librarian of Congress to secure a copyright. Charles L. Webster and Co., of New York are the general managers and authorized agents of the plaintiff in the publication and sale of the book. Numerous canvassing agents are appointed in different parts of the country. These agents purchase the books, but bind themselves by contract to sell only to subscribers, and not to the trade, and for the full retail price. Dummies of the book were left for examination. Two of the persons who had called had previously sold Estes and Lauriat other works of the same author. Estes and Lauriat contracted with these persons to take one hundred or more copies of the book, and then inserted in their holiday catalogue about to be published, the advertisement referred to. Up to this time, about thirty orders for the book have been received by them. They had no knowledge of the terms of contract between the plaintiff, or his publishers and their canvassing agents. They say the prior works of the author published by subscription have been freely offered to them at large discounts. As soon as suit was brought, they cut out the page from the catalogue containing the advertisement, and they have not since, and do not propose to distribute any more catalogues containing the advertisement.<sup>11</sup>

The chief event, however, that put *Huckleberry Finn* into the news was its exclusion by the Concord, Massachusetts, Library Committee, on the ground that the book exerted a dangerous moral influence on the young. Newspapers and magazines joined in commenting on the incident, and the book became a *cause célèbre* overnight, with vast advantage to its sales. As the *New*

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by the *Literary World*, XVI, 66 (Feb. 21, 1885). The official court report of the suit was printed in the *Boston Transcript*, Feb. 10, 1885, p. 4. With reference to the prices of *Huckleberry Finn*, it is interesting to read some of the advertisements, and note the dip in price of the book within a few months. The Chicago Brentano's store advertised the book on Feb. 28, 1885, in the *Chicago Tribune* (p. 12) for \$3.00; on March 14, 1885, in the same newspaper (p. 9) the Jansen, McClurg Co. of Chicago printed a price list of "Recent Novels of Note." These were: *Ramona*—\$1.25; *Money-Makers*—\$1.00; *Bread Winners*—\$1.00; *The Shadow of the War*—\$1.25; *The Mystery of the Locks*—\$1.50; *Huckleberry Finn*—\$2.75. Then in May (in the *Chicago Tribune*, May 2, 1885, p. 9) Chas. Gossage & Co. advertised *Huckleberry Finn* for only \$1.95, and quoted its "companion volume," *Tom Sawyer*, at \$1.75. It was this sort of price-cutting that the subscription book companies feared, and that Twain was fighting in his suit.

*York Tribune* expressed it: "The action of the Massachusetts Library in rejecting Mark Twain's 'Huckleberry Finn' will prove an excellent advertisement for the book."<sup>12</sup> Boston publications like the *Transcript*,<sup>13</sup> and the *Literary World*,<sup>14</sup> praised the Committee for suppressing the work; the *Chicago Tribune* took Clemens's side of the argument, and thus interpreted the incident: "Mark Twain's real offense which prompted the Concordians to boot his latest book out of their library was once making fun of Emerson, and it is alleged that he has even spoken disrespectfully of Whittier."<sup>15</sup> Clemens, himself, judging the episode purely in terms of advertisement, enjoyed the hullabaloo attending the morals charge. The *Tribune* in Chicago reported: "Mark Twain thanks the Concord (Mass.) Library Committee for helping the sale of *Huckleberry Finn* by 'praising it with faint damns';"<sup>16</sup> and, in a letter to Charles L. Webster, Clemens wrote:

The Committee of the Public Library of Concord, Mass., have given us a rattling tip-top puff which will go into every paper in the country. They have expelled Huck from their library as "trash and suitable only for the slums." That will sell 25,000 copies for us sure.<sup>17</sup>

The *Boston Advertiser* reprimanded Mark Twain for his flippant attitude, and called his new book a failure. "We say failed," it reiterated, "for we are unwilling to believe that his impudent intimation that a larger sale and larger profits are a satisfactory recompence to him for the unfavorable judgment of honest critics, is a true indication of the standard by which he measures success in literature."<sup>18</sup>

An amusing conclusion to this Concord episode was Clemens's election shortly thereafter as honorary member of the Concord Free-Trade Club. He lost no time in writing a sarcastic acknowledgement, which was printed in newspapers and magazines.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *New York Tribune*, March 22, 1885, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Boston Transcript*, March 19, 1885, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Literary World*, XVI, 106 (March 21, 1885).

<sup>15</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, March 22, 1885, p. 5. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, April 9, 1885, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Albert Bigelow Paine (ed.), *Mark Twain's Letters* (New York, 1917), II, 452-453.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted from the *Boston Advertiser* by the *Boston Transcript*, April 4, 1885, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Said Clemens: "It does look as if Massachusetts were in a fair way to embarrass me with kindnesses this year. In the first place, a Massachusetts judge had just decided in open court that a Boston publisher may sell, not only his own property in a free and unfettered way, but also may freely sell property which does not belong to him but to me . . . property which he has not bought and I have not sold. [Twain is referring to the suit which he lost against the publishing firm of Estes and Lauriat, over their sale

Aided, no doubt, by this wide publicity, the work sold well. When it was placed in canvassers' hands for delivery (February, 1885), orders had already been secured for forty thousand copies, and the demand increased rapidly.<sup>20</sup> "Huck Finn was having a wide success. Webster handled it skillfully, and its sales were large. . . ."<sup>21</sup>

## III

*Huckleberry Finn* received at the time practically no critical attention in America. It was reviewed in the *Century*,<sup>22</sup> and apparently only there. I could find no reviews of it in any other available American magazine,<sup>23</sup> or in any of three newspapers which I investigated—the *New York Tribune*, the *Boston Transcript*, or the *Chicago Tribune*. Some probable reasons for this neglect have already been mentioned. Portions had been printed in the *Century*; extracts had appeared in newspapers; Twain had read from the book on tour. All this might have tended to make the material too familiar to call for much comment when the book itself appeared. The work, in addition, was published by subscription—a type of publication disliked by newspapers because it meant that the volume would take no advertising space.<sup>24</sup> This possibly explains the lack

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of *Huckleberry Finn*]. Under this ruling I am now advertising that the Judge's homestead is for sale, and if I make as good a sum out of it as I expect, I shall go on and sell the rest of his property. In the next place, a committee of the public library of your town have condemned and excommunicated my last book—and doubled its sale . . . and finally, the Free-Trade Club of Concord comes forward and adds to the splendid burden of obligations already conferred upon me by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts an honorary membership, which is worth more than all the rest at this juncture, since it endorses me as worthy to associate with certain gentlemen whom even the moral icebergs of the Concord Library Committee are bound to respect. May the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts endure forever, is the heartfelt prayer of one who, long a recipient of her mere general good-will, is proud to realize that he is at last become her pet" (*Critic*, VI, 180, April 11, 1885). (The letter was printed in part by the *Boston Transcript*, April 4, 1885, p. 7.)

<sup>20</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, II, 793.

<sup>21</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain's Letters*, II, 452.

<sup>22</sup> *Century*, XXX, 171-172 (May, 1885). The review was by T. S. Perry, author, scholar, and educator.

<sup>23</sup> Among the magazines consulted were the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Century*, *Chautauquan*, *Critic*, *Dial*, *Harper's Monthly*, *Independent*, *Lippincott's*, *Literary World*, *Nation*, and *North American Review*.

<sup>24</sup> The attitude of the press is shown by this comment in 1882 of the *Denver Tribune*: "An advance notice of Mark Twain's new book [*Life on the Mississippi*] has been sent to this office, accompanied by a request to publish. Mr. Twain is reputed to be a gentleman of abundant means; by a life of penury and stinginess he has managed to get richer than most people in his line of business; and if he wants newspaper puffing, he should pay for it, just as other business men do" (quoted by the *Chicago Tribune*, July 16, 1882, p. 5). When *The Stolen White Elephant* was published through the regular trade, the *Chicago*

of newspaper criticisms. Perhaps another reason was the controversial nature of the work. Assailed by libraries, dismissed as trash by influential New England magazines and newspapers, the book undoubtedly was eyed askance by critics. It was easy to review something like *The Prince and the Pauper*, which conformed to all the conventional standards, but *Huckleberry Finn* was perplexingly different. Its freedom and range set it apart from other literature of the day. Critics, confronted by its newness, turned away to review books that fitted better into the traditional mold. It is astonishing to read the extensive reviews given now forgotten books, while *Huckleberry Finn* was ignored.

The *Century* review, as has been said, was the only formal criticism of *Huckleberry Finn* located for this study. For this reason its judgment is worth considering. With the exception of some minor strictures, it was highly commendatory, and because of this, as well as its solitary nature, the review is unique. Perry praised the humor for "lend[ing] vividness to every page."<sup>25</sup> He commended the book's descriptive powers. It comprised, he found, "a vivid picture of Western life of forty or fifty years ago."<sup>26</sup> Similarly, he had good things to say for the characterization. Huckleberry was "its immortal hero," and "inimitable" was the "reflection of the whole varied series of adventure in the mind of the young scapegrace of a hero. His undying fertility of invention, his courage, his manliness in every trial, are an incarnation of the better side of the ruffianism that is one result of the independence of Americans. . . ."<sup>27</sup> In discussing the structure of *Huckleberry Finn*, the critic compared the book with its predecessor, *Tom Sawyer*:

This later book, "Huckleberry Finn," has the great advantage of being written in autobiographical form. This secures a unity in the narration that is most valuable; every scene is given, not described. . . . While "Tom Sawyer" is scarcely more than an apparently fortuitous collection of incidents, and its thread is one that has to do with murders, this story

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*Tribune*, discussing Twain's changed plan of publication, spoke reprovingly of his former subscription method, and reflected the widespread dislike of it: "This time he has done as other authors do, and placed his work in the hands of a respectable publisher instead of offering booksellers a premium on dishonesty in order to obtain for their shelves copies of a book 'sold only by subscription!'" (June 10, 1882, p. 9).

<sup>25</sup> *Century*, XXX, 171 (May, 1885).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

has a more intelligible plot. Huckleberry . . . runs away from his worthless father, and floats down the Mississippi on a raft, in company with Jim, a runaway negro. This plot gives great opportunity for varying incidents.<sup>28</sup>

The commentator went on to say that “[where the] truthfulness of the narrative is lacking, and its place taken by ingenious invention, the book suffers.” He spoke favorably of the artistry revealed in the narrative, and particularly praised the Grangerford-Shepherdson episode:

The total absence of morbidness in the book . . . gives it a genuine charm; and it is interesting to notice the art with which this is brought out. The best instance is perhaps to be found in the account of the feud between the Shepherdsons and the Grangerfords, which is described only as it would appear to a semi-civilized boy of fourteen, without the slightest condemnation, or surprise—either of which would be bad art,—and yet nothing more vivid can be imagined. That is the way a story is best told, by telling it, and letting it go to the reader unaccompanied by signposts or directions how he shall understand it and profit by it. Life teaches its lessons by implication, not by didactic preaching; and literature is at its best when it is an imitation of life and not an excuse for instruction.<sup>29</sup>

The reviewer summed up the comparison of *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* with these words: “. . . the reason of its [*Huckleberry Finn's*] great superiority to ‘Tom Sawyer’ is that it is, for the most part, a consistent whole.”<sup>30</sup>

A few other critics sustained Perry's opinion. Thus Joel Chandler Harris, writing a letter to Twain on the latter's fiftieth birthday, commended his depiction of character: “[The book] . . . is life. Here we behold human character stripped of all tiresome details; we see people growing and living; we laugh at their humor, share their griefs. . . ”;<sup>31</sup> and another writer remarked: “[Twain's] descriptive powers are remarkable and indeed unique . . . nobody else can do just such word-painting.”<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* Another episode had previously received high praise from a prominent critic. When the “King Sollermun” chapter appeared in the Jan., 1885, number of the *Century*, Edmund C. Stedman wrote concerning it to Clemens: “To my mind it is not only the most finished and condensed thing you have done, but as dramatic and powerful an episode as I know in modern literature” (Paine, *Biography*, II, 793). <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 172.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted by the *Critic*, VII, 253 (Nov. 28, 1885).

<sup>32</sup> J. C. Hanna, “American Humorists,” *Clubana: A Collection of Essays Read Before the Literary and Social Club of the First Congregational Church* (Columbus, Ohio, 1885),

IV

For the most part, however, the critical reaction to the book followed the course set by the Concord Library. Clemens's species of humor was widely denounced; some critics even predicted that he was finished as a writer. One magazine thus described the situation:

Some time ago the Concord Library purchased Mark Twain's "Huckleberry Finn" and was grieved to find that it was an "irreligious" book. The local newspapers took up the story and passed it around, each adding its embellishment, until at last it was proclaimed that Mark Twain's day as a humorist was over.<sup>33</sup>

Boston newspapers spoke sternly to Clemens. Said the *Advertiser*:

The burlesque of the stage and the burlesque in literature have their common root in that spirit of irreverence, which, as we are often and truly told, is the great fault in American character. In the cultivation of that spirit, Mark Twain has shown talents and industry which, now that his last effort has failed so ignominiously, we trust he will employ in some manner more creditable to himself and more beneficent to his country.<sup>34</sup>

The adverse criticism was based less on artistic grounds than on moral. The Concord Library Committee characterized it as "rough, coarse, and inelegant, dealing with a series of experiences

p. 156. (For the inspection of this book, I am indebted to Mr. Franklin J. Meine.) The silence of W. D. Howells concerning *Huck Finn* deserves some consideration. It is true that Paine tells us Howells was greatly pleased by the proofs he had read for Mark, and in answer to the latter's fervent expressions of gratitude for the proffered proofreading had said: "If I had written half as good a book as *Huck Finn*, I shouldn't ask anything better than to read the proofs . . ." (Paine, *Mark Twain's Letters*, II, 443), and similarly, when Clemens on his tour with Cable in 1884 spoke in Boston, and gave selections from his works, Howells had written: "I thought the bits from *Huck Finn* told the best. . . . That is a mighty good book, and I should like to hear you read it all . . ." (quoted by Clara Clemens in *My Father, Mark Twain*, New York, 1931, p. 51), but beyond this there is no record of his having volunteered any opinion on the book. His silence is particularly conspicuous when one remembers how readily, and for the most part, enthusiastically, he had reviewed Clemens's other books. It is quite possible, of course, that there were perfectly innocuous reasons for his apparent neglect of the work, but on the other hand it is not unlikely that he felt he could not write honestly in favor of his friend's book, and preferred, therefore, to keep silence. A work like *The Prince and the Pauper* had elicited his warmest admiration, but *Huck Finn* was new and different; and like so many of his fellow critics, Howells conceivably was puzzled by just what to say about this latest production of Twain's. Perhaps wayward Huck was too much for even the liberal Howells's ideas of respectability.

<sup>33</sup> *Critic*, VI, 264 (May 30, 1885).

<sup>34</sup> Quoted by the *Boston Transcript*, April 4, 1885, p. 7.

not elevating. . . . It is the veriest trash."<sup>35</sup> The *Boston Transcript* thought the action of the committee "entirely superfluous. The book is so flat, as well as coarse, that nobody wants to read it after a taste of it in the *Century*";<sup>36</sup> and to these comments, the *Literary World* added: "We are glad to see that the commendation given to this sort of literature by its publication in the *Century* has received a check by this action at Concord."<sup>37</sup> Most of the denunciation came from New England, but there were severe comments in the West, too. The *Arkansaw Traveler* said:

Mark Twain's latest book is condemned, American critics say, because it is vulgar and coarse. The days of vulgar humor are over in this country. There was a time when a semi-obscene joke would find admirers, but the reading public is becoming more refined. Exaggerated humor will also pass away. The humorist of the future must be chaste and truthful.<sup>38</sup>

The most emphatic record of disapproval is shown in the assertion of the *Springfield Republican* that Clemens and his writing were dangerous influences, morally and intellectually:

The Concord public library deserves well of the public by their action in banning Mark Twain's new book, "Huckleberry Finn," on the ground that it is trashy and vicious. It is time that this influential pseudonym should cease to carry into homes and libraries unworthy productions. Mr. Clemens is a genuine and powerful humorist, with a bitter vein of satire on the weaknesses of humanity which is sometimes wholesome, sometimes only grotesque, but in certain of his works degenerates into a gross trifling with every fine feeling. The trouble with Mr. Clemens is that he has no reliable sense of propriety. His notorious speech at an Atlantic dinner, marshalling Longfellow and Emerson and Whittier in vulgar parodies in a Western miner's cabin, illustrates this, but not in much more relief than the "Adventures of Tom Sawyer" did, or these Huckleberry Finn stories do. . . . They are no better in tone than the dime novels which flood the blood-and-thunder reading population. Mr. Clemens has made them smarter, for he has an inexhaustible fund of "quips and cranks and wanton wiles," and his literary skill is, of course,

<sup>35</sup> Quoted by the *Chicago Tribune*, March 23, 1885, p. 5.

<sup>36</sup> *Boston Transcript*, March 19, 1885, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> *Literary World*, XVI, 106 (March 21, 1885).

<sup>38</sup> *Arkansaw Traveler*, April 25, 1885, p. 1. Similarly, a superintendent of public schools in the West complained about the *Century's* publishing the *Huckleberry Finn* episodes. He called Twain's writings "hardly worth a place in the columns of the average county newspaper . . ." (Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain's America*, Boston, 1932, pp. 212-213).

superior; but their moral level is low, and their perusal can not be anything less than harmful.<sup>39</sup>

In these indignant comments, it is, of course, easy to identify the genteel tradition. Critics who used such words as "vulgar," "coarse," "inelegant," in condemning the book, indicated by implication the qualities they deemed necessary in literature—"refinement," "delicacy," and "elegance."

That the critical denunciation was widespread and powerful is shown by the reluctance of anyone to venture a defense. When Joel Chandler Harris offered a few words in praise of the book, he apologized—"I know that some of the professional critics will not agree with me . . ."—before saying: ". . . there is not in our fictive literature a more wholesome book than 'Huckleberry Finn. . . .' We are taught [by it] the lesson of honesty, justice, and mercy."<sup>40</sup>

At least one critic, however, was not afraid to defend Clemens against his detractors. This was J. C. Hanna, of Columbus, Ohio. Concerning the banning of *Huckleberry Finn* he observed:

The authorities of a public library in a certain town in Massachusetts lately decided to exclude from their shelves "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," by Mark Twain, thereby giving the publishers of that interesting volume a free advertisement at least equal to that furnished by the reading tour of Cable and Twain. Their charge that it is flippant and irreverent must have been made after listening to a lecture on "The Whenceness of the Which," in that astonishing learned village. . . .<sup>41</sup>

Hanna then went on to make some comments about Clemens's writing:

The humor of Mark Twain has delightfully entertained thousands of readers, has upset several rusty and decrepit old Juggernauts, before which people in polite society had been accustomed to prostrate themselves, has punctured and let the gas out of several hollow frauds, has laid many conventional ghosts, has ridiculed and taken the mask from much cant, hypocrisy, sham, bigotry, and artificiality, has revealed and interpreted human nature in the most honest spirit.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Quoted by the *Critic*, VI, 155 (March 28, 1885), from the *Springfield Republican*.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted by the *Critic*, VII, 253 (Nov. 28, 1885). Clemens deeply appreciated Harris's comment. He wrote the latter in Nov., 1885, and thanked him "for the good word about Huck, that abused child of mine, who has had so much mud flung at him . . ." (quoted by Edward Wagenknecht in his *Mark Twain: The Man and His Work*, New Haven, 1935, p. 66).

<sup>41</sup> Hanna, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Such expressions of approbation, however, were the exception, and it seems clear that most critics received the book unfavorably, and for reasons unconnected with its artistic aspects. Few seemed aware of the great character painting in the book, its magnificent passages of description, its vigor of style, and the appropriateness of the picaresque structure to the material. Least of all did they recognize the significant Americanism in *Huckleberry Finn*, or if they did sense this quality, it was only to revile it as coarse and vulgar. The book offended the proprieties of many critics, and they translated disapproval into wholesale condemnation.

# JOSEPH KIRKLAND, PIONEER REALIST

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**I**N THE AUTUMN of 1887 two men met in a house in Rush Street, Chicago, to discuss books. One was a young lecturer and reviewer fresh from Boston who was returning for a visit to his boyhood home in the Middle West. The other was a man in his late fifties, a soldier, lawyer, journalist. Hamlin Garland, the visitor, was then on the threshold of his career, as yet a little uncertain as to what direction it would take, desirous of using his prairie experience but distrustful of his ability to write fiction. Joseph Kirkland, the host, had already tried his hand at various occupations and had recently published a Western novel which had attracted considerable attention because of its authenticity. Hours of talk consumed the evening, but when Garland left the Rush Street house he was filled with a new determination. He would chronicle the lives of the pioneers he had known; he would do for Wisconsin and Iowa what Joseph Kirkland had tried to do for Illinois. "You can go far if you'll only work," Kirkland had said to him. "I began too late."<sup>1</sup>

The effect of this incident on Garland is common knowledge. The long list of Middle Border books is mute witness to the stimulation he derived from the interview. But less is known about Kirkland, a writer whose biography remains to be penned. In the following pages an attempt is made to outline his life and to suggest his position in American letters.

## I. BIOGRAPHY

If literary ability is ever transmissible it can be said that part of Joseph Kirkland's success as a writer was due to heredity. For both his father and his mother were bookish people, and his mother especially achieved fame as one of the first chroniclers of the frontier. William Kirkland was a student of the classics and a writer of sufficient reputation to be included among Poe's literati. A graduate of Hamilton College and a student for two years at Göt-

<sup>1</sup> Hamlin Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border* (New York, 1923), p. 355. For additional details of the interview, see Garland's *Roadside Meetings* (New York and London, 1931), pp. 110-112.

tingen, he taught Latin at Hamilton and later established a school for girls at Geneva, New York. In 1823 he married Caroline Matilda Stansbury, a descendant of a famous Tory family. The Kirklands remained in Geneva until 1835, when they removed to Detroit and opened a female academy. Detroit was their residence for a period of about two years. Then for five years they lived in the little settlement of Pinckney among the Michigan oak openings, a town which they founded and which is sharply delineated in Caroline Kirkland's famous *A New Home—Who'll Follow?* The frontier sojourn was followed by a departure in 1843 for New York, where the Kirklands again opened a school for girls and where William Kirkland was associated with Dr. H. W. Bellows in establishing the Unitarian *Christian Enquirer*. This partnership, however, was cut short by the sudden death of William Kirkland in 1846, his widow being left with four small children to provide for. But Mrs. Kirkland was a woman of courage and ability. Fredrika Bremer, who visited her in New York in 1850, particularly praised her character. "She is one of those natures in which the feminine and the manly attributes are harmoniously blended, and which, therefore, is well balanced, and is capable of taking the lead of those around her."<sup>2</sup> Left to her own resources, Mrs. Kirkland began to utilize her Western experiences for the purposes of fiction, and her books about the Michigan frontier were almost immediately recognized as unusually faithful pictures. For a time she was editor of the *Union Magazine* and later co-editor, with John S. Hart, of *Sartain's Magazine*. But she wrote constantly, and when she had exhausted her Michigan material she drew copiously on her experiences during several European trips. Her death came in 1864, the result of overexertion at the opening of the New York Sanitary Fair.<sup>3</sup>

Joseph Kirkland, the second child and the first son, was born in Geneva, New York, January 7, 1830. He was only five when his parents removed to Michigan and sixteen when his father died. Thus he spent his boyhood years on the frontier and early became inured to hardship and discomfort. There, too, he had the chance

<sup>2</sup> Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America* (New York, 1853), I, 246.

<sup>3</sup> V. C. Sanborn, "The Kirkland or Kirtland Family," *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XLVIII, 7-8 (Jan., 1894); Rufus Wilmot Griswold, *The Prose Writers of America* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 463; Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1856), II, 562-563.

to observe very early in life the customs and speech of people living under rather primitive conditions. In two youthful letters to his older sister Elizabeth written from Pinckney, the boy revealed both the simple life of the community (a wood bee and a shortage of hay were matters of paramount importance) and his sensitivity to frontier idiom.<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly the authenticity of *Zury* (1887) derives in large part from the boy's associations in central Michigan. His schooling was obviously desultory, but many of the gaps in his formal training were filled at home under the tutelage of a well-schooled father and a brilliant mother. Furthermore, experiences such as riding as mail carrier the twelve miles from Dexter to Pinckney when he was not yet thirteen developed in him qualities which a formal education was unlikely to cultivate.

Details about Kirkland's life for the decade between 1846 and 1856 are lacking. He spent about a year at sea and returned measurably improved. In 1852 he was acting as a clerk in the office of *Putnam's Monthly*. Then, in 1856, he removed to Chicago; and the rest of his life is connected with Illinois. The reason for his departure from New York is unknown, but shortly after his arrival in Chicago he found employment in the auditing department of the Illinois Central Railroad, and subsequently he engaged in the coal mining business in Vermilion County, near Danville, Illinois. The mines he was interested in lay south of the Big Vermilion River, within easy access of the Toledo, Wabash and Western Railroad.<sup>5</sup>

The Civil War definitely interrupted his business activities.<sup>6</sup> Leaving his coal interests almost at the first call for volunteers, Kirkland enlisted for three months as a private in the Twelfth Illinois Infantry and was almost immediately elected by his fellow recruits second lieutenant of Company C.<sup>7</sup> Later he acted as aide-de-camp to General George B. McClellan and served in the West Virginia campaign, including the battles of Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill. Promoted to a captaincy, he served in the reorganized Army of the Potomac and was present at the attack on Richmond

<sup>4</sup> The letters are dated Nov., 1842, and Feb. 24, 1843, and are in the possession of Joseph Kirkland's daughter, Mrs. V. C. Sanborn, of Lake Forest, Ill.

<sup>5</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1933), X, 432.

<sup>6</sup> Autobiographical sketch in Joseph Kirkland and Caroline Kirkland, *The Story of Chicago* (Chicago, 1892-94), II, 415.

<sup>7</sup> Note that in Kirkland's novel, *The Captain of Company K*, William Fargeon likewise enlists in Chicago as a private, but is quickly elected captain of the company.

and the Battle of Williamsburg. Then he requested a transfer and was consequently attached to the staff of General Fitz-John Porter. As a major in Porter's corps he participated in the action at Hanover Courthouse, Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill, and Malvern Hill. An attack of jaundice prostrated him while the army was in camp at Harrison's Landing, but he recovered in time to rejoin his unit before Antietam. Kirkland also served under Porter's successor, General Butterfield, and had a horse killed under him during the slaughter at Fredericksburg. When Porter retired from the army, Kirkland, who had always been a staunch supporter of the general, resigned his commission.

During his service with the Army of the Potomac Kirkland was stationed for a time in Washington and there saw something of Lincoln's secretaries, Hay and Nicolay. Long afterwards he told an anecdote about his residence in the capital which characterizes Lincoln admirably. At the time Kirkland was in the White House in the office of his friends, and the three young men were laughing and telling stories.

Presently a door at the side of the room opened slowly, and behold there, away up near the top peered the dear old worn sad face of Father Abraham. Said he in his peculiar tone: "Boys, I heard ye laughing pretty loud, and I thought I'd like to come in and laugh too!" So we had to go over the campaign tales again—well enough pleased if we even won a single smile from the care-worn and anxious Chief Magistrate.<sup>8</sup>

It was during his Washington residence also that Kirkland met the young lady who soon became his wife, Theodosia Burr Wilkinson, of Syracuse, New York. After a brief courtship they were married in Syracuse in 1863, and removed immediately to Tilton, Illinois, where Kirkland resumed his coal business. For a time things prospered, and in 1867 the Kirklands even went to Europe, hoping to interest Belgian coal miners in emigrating to work the Illinois fields. The next year the young couple moved to Chicago, where Kirkland established an office. But the fire of 1871 not only razed the family home but had such disastrous effects on all business activity that Kirkland became insolvent in 1874. As a result, he entered the Internal Revenue Service the following year and served under

<sup>8</sup> Quoted from an address by Kirkland on April 23, 1880, before the George H. Thomas Post of the G. A. R. (*Chicago Herald*, May 1, 1880).

his old friend, General Joseph D. Webster, collector of the district. Meanwhile Kirkland had begun the study of law, and in 1880, when he was almost fifty years of age, he was admitted to the Illinois bar. Retiring from the revenue service, he immediately formed a partnership with Mark Bangs, a former judge of the Illinois Circuit Court, which lasted until 1890.<sup>9</sup>

Kirkland's closing years were crowded with activity. As his daughter Caroline wrote of him, "He always had the *joie de vivre*, the hope and courage of youth. This vigor came from his moderation in living, for he was temperate in everything except work."<sup>10</sup> He had always been interested in writing, and towards the end of his life he devoted himself more and more to that work. His three novels appeared within three years, notwithstanding the fact that during this same period he wrote various articles and reviews and continued his legal practice. In 1891 he served as special correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* and was a member of the party of engineers and businessmen who investigated the possibility of a trans-isthmus canal in Nicaragua.

On March 14 the ship *Aguan* left New York for Kingston, Jamaica, with a party headed by Warner Miller. En route from Kingston to Greytown the ship ran aground on Roncador Reef and was wrecked, but without loss of life. The passengers sought refuge on a small coral island near the reef and managed to convey water and provisions safely ashore. There the refugees spent a dismal Easter, but eventually help arrived and they were ferried to the mainland. Kirkland's dispatches are vivid and detailed, excellent journalism. His sketch of the despondent passengers, crowding together on the small island with only land crabs and gulls for company, is both vivacious and realistic.

After landing safely in Greytown on April 2, the travelers continued their tour of inspection. Pursuing the route followed by the gold-hungry adventurers to California, the party went up the San Juan River, across Lake Nicaragua, and overland to the proposed Pacific terminus of the canal. Chronicling each step carefully and with journalistic impersonality, Kirkland wrote voluminous dispatches to the *Tribune*, giving his Chicago readers an account not only of the engineering obstacles but of the people, food, customs,

<sup>9</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 432.

<sup>10</sup> *The Story of Chicago*, II, 417.

and architecture of Nicaragua. His last letter was sent from San Juan del Sur on May 10 as the correspondent waited for the Pacific mail boat to take him down the coast to Panama.<sup>11</sup>

As one of Chicago's earliest literary men, Kirkland was connected with various clubs which sprang up in the post-fire era. He was long associated with the Chicago Literary Club and between the years 1875 and 1893 appeared on its program no less than fifteen times.<sup>12</sup> He was one of the founders of the Twentieth Century Club; with William Morton Payne, then editor of the *Dial*, he drew up the bylaws in 1889; and he was elected the first president, November 26, 1889.<sup>13</sup> He was also a valued member of the Chicago Historical Society, read various papers at its meetings, and wrote three volumes dealing with the early history of the city. He died of heart disease at his home, 161 Rush Street, on April 29, 1894, and was buried at Graceland Cemetery.

## II. LITERARY WORK

The bulk of Kirkland's literary work was produced relatively late in life. Of his earlier writings only scraps remain, scraps which reveal, despite their immaturity, a certain fluency and grace. A diary which Kirkland kept during his year at sea and which he wrote in French to prevent his fellow sailors from reading it was lost in the Chicago fire. Contributions to the *Prairie Chicken*, a periodical which he and his sister Elizabeth composed and edited at Tilton during the Civil War, have perished with the periodical. One suspects incidentally that the best thing about the magazine was the explanation of the title: "prairie" because it was published on an Illinois prairie, and "chicken" because its life was limited to one year and no one would want a paper that had become a prairie hen. Today it is possible to separate Kirkland's work into three groups: fugitive pieces and contributions to the magazines; historical work relating chiefly to Chicago; and fiction. The last group is by far the most valuable.

The author's periodical contributions reveal if nothing else an astonishing versatility. To the *Dial* and the *Chicago Tribune*, of

<sup>11</sup> See Kirkland's dispatches in the *Chicago Tribune*, April 5, 8, 19, 24, 29, May 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, and June 7, 1891.

<sup>12</sup> F. W. Gookin, *The Chicago Literary Club* (Chicago, 1926), pp. 24, 266-267.

<sup>13</sup> For this and subsequent details about Kirkland's life I am indebted to a manuscript paper written by Winifred Wilson which is now in the possession of Mrs. V. C. Sanborn.

which he was literary editor from 1889 to 1891, he contributed special articles and book reviews. In *Scribner's* he published a long article on the slum-dwellers of Chicago in which he evinced a lively humanitarian sympathy and considerable knowledge of the city's tenements.<sup>14</sup> He wrote an account of the Chicago fire for another magazine,<sup>15</sup> and in 1883 he penned a verse burlesque of Frank Stockton's famous story, "The Lady, or the Tiger?"<sup>16</sup> One of his most interesting articles, entitled "An Experiment in Play Writing," had to do with a venture in dramatics.<sup>17</sup> A friend, James B. Runnion, had induced him to try his hand at playwriting, and after considerable trouble Kirkland produced a five-act dramatization of Daudet's novel *Sidonie*. The play was produced, with the subtitle *The Married Flirt*, at McVicker's Theater in Chicago and ran for a fortnight in December, 1877; but the net return to the author was infinitesimal.<sup>18</sup> Kirkland gave an amusing account of his struggles while whipping the play into shape and at the same time expressed his sympathy for the trials of stock company actors. The drama was never published.

The second group of his writings includes three essays in the history of Chicago, which retain a certain regional interest but have long been superseded as history. *The Story of Chicago*, a rather journalistic venture filled with the usual portraits and laudations of the pioneers, appeared in 1892; a second volume of this work was completed by Caroline Kirkland in 1894. *The Chicago Massacre of 1812*, published in 1893, presents a not very readable accumulation of all the evidence relevant to the massacre at Fort Dearborn and traces the early settling of the city which Kirkland came to regard as home. The two-volume *History of Chicago*, in which Kirkland

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Kirkland, "Among the Poor of Chicago," *Scribner's Magazine*, XII, 3-27 (July, 1892). Cf. a letter in the *Critic*, XXIII, 333 (Nov. 25, 1893), in which Kirkland gave his impressions of the Chicago World's Fair: "At the Fair one met, at every turn, some form of bodily disability or deformity. Men and women tottering with age, babies encumbering poor parents, invalids sustained by patient friends, a blind man having on either arm a woman talking volubly, deaf-mutes with their quick glances and speaking gestures, even one girl (Helen Keller) blind, deaf and dumb, attended by her wingless guardian angel—these were all in evidence." He was obviously less impressed by the magnificence of the exhibition than by the suffering humanity who visited it.

<sup>15</sup> *New England Magazine*, VI, 727 (Aug., 1892).

<sup>16</sup> *Century Magazine*, XXVI, 318-319 (June, 1883).

<sup>17</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XLIV, 149-155 (Aug., 1879).

<sup>18</sup> For a review of the play, see *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1877. *Sidonie* was the name given the American translation of *Fromont jeune et Risler ainé*, which appeared in 1874.

collaborated with John Moses, was published in 1895, the year following Kirkland's death. None of this work is important.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, there are a handful of short stories and the three novels which have kept Kirkland's name alive.<sup>20</sup> In 1887 Houghton Mifflin published *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County*. The book was not an instantaneous success, its sales never being sufficient to warrant a second edition, but it did attract the attention of several critics, among them Hamlin Garland and William Dean Howells. In his preface Kirkland admitted his obligations to Thomas Hardy and declared that he had tried to treat the pioneers of central Illinois as his master had treated the Wessex peasants. Using the material that he had gathered during his coal mining experiences around Danville, Kirkland drew a genre picture of which even Taine might have been proud. The protagonist, Zury himself, is based on the character of a Fountain County farmer, Usual H. Meeker, nicknamed Zury in actual life, who had come to the county a poor youth and by unusual thrift had acquired a fortune of about two hundred thousand dollars as well as a family of eight children. His neighbors respected him but considered him so remarkably frugal as to be eccentric. Around Zury, Kirkland built up the atmosphere of early Illinois, taking great pains to be accurate in every detail. His success is obvious.

In 1888 appeared the sequel to *Zury*, with the title *The McVeys*. But curiously enough, the sequel covered some of the ground already traversed in the earlier novel. For *The McVeys* deals with the children of Anne Sparrow McVey, and yet the denouement of the book is chronologically earlier than the ending of *Zury*. In addition, the chief interest is shifted from farming to railroading and much of the action takes place in Chicago and Galena. But despite the gratuitous introduction of historical figures like Lincoln, Douglas, Grant, and David Davis, not to speak of the famous old locomotive the "Pioneer," there is the same fidelity to rustic people and speech.

Kirkland's third and last novel, *The Captain of Company K*,

<sup>19</sup> As further evidence of Kirkland's historical interests, see his preface to Howard Louis Conard's "Uncle Dick" Wootton: *The Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region* (Chicago, 1890).

<sup>20</sup> One of his short stories, "Was Its Best Fencer," a realistic sketch of army life, appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1894. "Zury's Soft Spot," supposedly published in the *Contributor's Magazine* for Feb. 24, 1893, I have been unable to find.

was published as the result of a fiction contest sponsored by the *Detroit Free Press* in 1888. In September, 1889, the winners were announced and Kirkland's book was awarded the first prize of sixteen hundred dollars. The novel was serialized in the *Free Press* and was published in book form by the Dibble Publishing Company of Chicago in 1891. In *The Captain of Company K* Kirkland treated the Civil War, or at least that part of it which included the siege of Fort Donelson and the Battle of Shiloh, from the viewpoint of the private soldier. The novel was dedicated

To the surviving men of the firing line,  
the men who could see the enemy in front  
of them with the naked eye while they  
would have needed a field-glass to see  
the history-makers behind them.

A large part of the book is no doubt autobiographical, the transformation of citizen-soldiers into veterans, the suppressing of incipient insubordination by raw officers, the gradual hardening process by which one became accustomed to the life of the camp, the first flush of fear as one entered battle and for the first time heard the whine and thud of the bullets. To his unheroic picture of war Kirkland linked a sentimental story, told in a rather crude and spasmodic way. But at least he had the courage to make the hero of his tale a war-harassed veteran with a wooden leg.

### III. CRITICISM

Although *Zury* was not a startling success on its appearance in 1887, it did receive several perceptive and sympathetic reviews. Hamlin Garland recognized immediately the authentic flavor of the West from Kirkland's racy style to his account of the deprivations and struggles of the farmers.<sup>21</sup> To the young Iowa farm hand turned critic, *Zury* seemed absolutely unconventional, both a surprise and a stimulus. Garland compared the novel to Tolstoy's graphic representations of Russia. William Dean Howells, too, discussed the book, praised certain passages in it, and observed the remarkable fidelity of the author's characterization. None "of the people in his fresh and native story are weakly conceived," Howells remarked; "on the

<sup>21</sup> *Boston Transcript*, May 16, 1887, p. 3.

contrary, they all have the air of life, and they are racy of their time and place."<sup>22</sup>

But these and later critics were not blind to the salient faults of Kirkland's novels. Both his exposition and his narrative are occasionally weak. There are inartistic shifts of character and tone. In *Zury*, for example, the harsh frontier realism of the early chapters gives way to the sentimental reconciliation of Zury and Anne Sparrow McVey, and the "soft spot" in the protagonist is hardly an adequate motive to explain his change toward the woman whom he afterward married. Moreover, Kirkland never overcame a tendency to moralize or a fondness for writing his love scenes in a stilted and sentimentalized style. Probably worst of all in this respect is his last novel, *The Captain of Company K*. Another defect, because of their frequent lack of harmony with the context, is the sprinkling of puns with which he garnished his prose, quibbles as needless as those in the love passages between Romeo and Juliet. But Kirkland could on occasion tell a story with forthrightness and vigor, and he seldom minced words. His description of the Prouder mansion illustrates his bluntness: it was "a fine example of the Early Vandal or Aboriginal Prairie architecture; large, high, square, white, and hideously ugly."<sup>23</sup> It is unfortunate that a man with his obvious literary gifts lacked the necessary discipline in writing.

Joseph Kirkland could do two things remarkably well. He knew how to draw character, and he caught to perfection the nuances and tones of ordinary speech. It would have been easy, for example, to caricature Zury, to distort him and to leave him without a redeeming trait. But Kirkland carefully impressed upon his readers the general respect in which Zury was held. Parsimonious to a fault he was, and he invariably drove a hard bargain, but he was fundamentally honest. As the meanest man himself remarked, "Fustly, I would n't be noth'n' else, nohaow; seck'ndly, I kin' 'fford t' be, seein' 's haow it takes a full bag t' stand alone; thirdly, I can't 'fford t' be noth'n' else, coz honesty's th' best policy." And Anne, the New England schoolteacher who is the mother of Zury's children before she becomes his wife, is equally well limned; more refined, much

<sup>22</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, LXXVII, 152-153 (June, 1888). For other contemporary reviews, see the *Dial*, IX, 161 (Nov., 1888); the *New York Tribune*, Sept. 30, 1888, p. 10; and *Harper's Magazine*, LXXVIII, 986 (May, 1889).

<sup>23</sup> *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County* (Boston and New York, 1887), p. 135.

better educated than Zury, she yet yields to his unparalleled aggressiveness. These two are conspicuous, but Captain Fargeon, Lieutenant "Mac," and numerous farmers, privates, storekeepers, and farm wives round out the novelist's portrait gallery.

Best of all is Kirkland's use of dialogue. His characters do not make speeches at each other. Trained as a boy in the peculiarities of Western idiom, he had no difficulty in phonetic photography, with the result that his characters speak naturally a primitive, clipped, solecistic language which seems almost aboriginal. Among American writers only Lowell and Eggleston preceded him in his mastery of the vernacular. Kirkland even appended a glossary to *Zury* lest his readers find the prairie argot unintelligible, and this glossary preserves locutions and definitions which are of great value to the philologist. As a whole, his novels are extraordinary for the reality and earthy tang of their dialogue.

As Kirkland's work takes on perspective, it is a little harder to forgive the artistic flaws, but a little easier to recognize the historic value. Kirkland left no single masterpiece, although *Zury* is by all odds his best novel, but his work as a whole assumes the importance of a landmark. This merit recent writers have been quick to point out.<sup>24</sup>

In general his novels cover the forty years ending with the Battle of Shiloh. In them one finds a wealth of incident and many facets of Western life: the struggles of the farmers to wrest a living from the prairie loam, social life on the frontier, town and school board meetings, early railroading, political campaigning, the admixture of races in the crude young towns, the impingement of the slavery question, and finally the Civil War. *Zury* and *The McVeys* are inseparably connected, of course, but there is also a superficial link between these novels and *The Captain of Company K*. The last novel is chronologically later than the other two and in one sense their conclusion. Three of the earlier characters reappear in it: Zury and Anne Prouder and Dr. Strafford, the unfortunate suitor of Anne, who later becomes an army surgeon. Finally, Kirkland's

<sup>24</sup> For representative views, see A. H. Quinn, *American Fiction* (New York and London, 1936), pp. 453-454; F. L. Pattee, *A History of American Literature since 1870* (New York, 1915), p. 374; Dorothy Dondore, *The Prairie and the Making of Middle America* (Cedar Rapids, 1926), pp. 325-326; and B. M. Fullerton, *Selective Bibliography of American Literature* (New York, 1932), p. 172. Of these critics the remarks of Miss Dondore seem the fairest and the most acute.

stylistic mannerisms remain obvious in *The Captain of Company K*: puns, obtrusive moralizing and sentimentality, and a convincing command of the illiterate but often picturesque idiom of the common man.

As one of the pioneer American realists, Kirkland's position is unquestionably secure. Almost the earliest Chicago man of letters, he was one of the first to choose the farming communities of the Middle West as fictional material, and his pictures of Illinois rural life anticipate all the Gopher Prairies, Winesburgs, and Spoon Rivers which have signalized the twentieth-century revolt from the village. For Joseph Kirkland was too honest and too shrewd a chronicler of the rural American to be forgotten by the readers of another age.

# WILBUR F. HINMAN'S CORPORAL SI KLEGG AND STEPHEN CRANE'S THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE

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IN 1887, Wilbur F. Hinman, late lieutenant colonel of the 65th regiment, Ohio volunteer infantry, published a volume of Civil War reminiscences entitled *Corporal Si Klegg and His "Pard."* *Corporal Si Klegg* is written in a manner which is often engaging, and evidently it enjoyed a fair popularity, for the second edition of 1890 carried it through twenty-six thousand copies and another was forthcoming in 1898. Probably the sale was largely confined to Civil War veterans. In his preface Colonel Hinman has the following to say of the nature of his book:

There is no end of histories—of campaigns and battles and regiments—and lives of prominent generals; but these do not portray the everyday life of the soldier. To do this, and this only, has been the aim of the author in *Corporal Si Klegg and his "Pard."*

This volume is not a history, nor is it a "story," in the usual acceptation of the word. "Si Klegg" and "Shorty," his "Pard," are imaginary characters—though their prototypes were in every regiment—and Company Q, 200th Indiana, to which they belonged, is of course, fictitious. Their haps and mishaps while undergoing the process of transformation that made them soldiers . . . were those that entered directly into the daily life or observation of all the soldiers. . . . The author has made no attempt at literary embroidery, but has rather chosen the "free and easy" form of language that marked the intercourse of the soldiers, and therefore seemed most appropriate to the theme.

Colonel Hinman's seven-hundred-odd pages of text were supplemented by the pencil of George Y. Coffin, who gave the book one hundred and ninety-three illustrations which are not without a grotesque realism.

Unless chance violates probability, Stephen Crane was much more intimately indebted to both the text and illustrations of *Corporal Si Klegg for his Red Badge of Courage* than he was to *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* or to the conversations with

veterans such as General Petten.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Crane's extreme youth at the time he wrote *The Red Badge of Courage* supports the belief that there is a single written source to which the work is mainly indebted; for youth does not have a multitude of impressions to fuse together. The following pages, then, attempt to demonstrate that nearly everything that makes up *The Red Badge of Courage* exists at least in germ in *Corporal Si Klegg*.

Colonel Hinman's preface alone very pointedly suggests two familiar ingredients of *The Red Badge of Courage*: the hero who has his "prototype in every regiment," and the extensive use of American dialect. And if we recognize a general coincidence of aim in the separate works, their parallelism of general imaginative conception is even more striking. Each story tells of the development of a raw recruit into an experienced soldier, constantly emphasizing the thesis and investing it with a quasi-philosophical significance. It is impossible to read very far in either text without becoming aware of this basic similarity in the interpretation of the characters and their adventures. The protagonists who embody the "development" theme, Hinman's Si Klegg and Crane's Henry Fleming, are both farm boys much given to self-dramatization. Moved by patriotism and romantic imaginings of military glory, they enlist in the Union army against the wishes of their parents,<sup>2</sup> and each boy comes home to a touching domestic scene. There is some description in both books of the kit that the mother gives to the departing soldier. After joining his regiment, each boy goes through a period of training and delay which very largely dispels his romantic notions of war. When the first battle finally impends, Si and Henry each lies awake at night and doubts his courage,<sup>3</sup> but each later distinguishes himself in the conflict, seizing the flag from the falling standard bearer to lead a charge,<sup>4</sup> and learning from hearsay afterwards that he has been noticed and praised by the colonel.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lyndon Upson Pratt suggests this possibility in *American Literature*, XI, 1-10 (March, 1939).

<sup>2</sup> Wilbur F. Hinman, *Corporal Si Klegg and His "Pard"* (Cleveland: N. G. Hamilton and Co., 1890), pp. 4, 15. This edition is not listed in the Library of Congress catalogue, but two other editions are, one printed by the Williams Publishing Company, Cleveland, 1887, and the other issued by N. G. Hamilton and Company, 1898. *The Red Badge of Courage*, ed. Max J. Herzberg (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1926), pp. 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 394-395. *The Red Badge of Courage*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>4</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 483-484; also illustration facing p. 484. *The Red Badge of Courage*, p. 182.

<sup>5</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 494-495. *The Red Badge of Courage*, pp. 206-207.

In addition, it should be remarked that both Stephen Crane and Colonel Hinman tend to see their characters symbolically in the moment of battle. On Hinman's part, this symbolism is quite explicit. Si Klegg "pictured what it was that conquered the great rebellion. See in those flashing eyes and firmly-set lips the spirit of courage, of unyielding determination, and of patriotic devotion, even to the supreme sacrifice if need be, of life itself."<sup>6</sup> That is the way Colonel Hinman is likely to put things in moments of fervor, which are fortunately rare. Stephen Crane, on the other hand, lets the reader guess for himself what Henry Fleming represents, but the task is not difficult, though the description is less formal and stylized. Henry Fleming, like Si Klegg before him, loads and fires his musket with a blind intensity, but his lips instead of being "firmly set" are contorted into a "cur-like snarl," and when the enemy seemed to give way, "he went instantly forward, like a dog who, seeing his foes lagging, turns and insists on being pursued."<sup>7</sup> Pretty clearly, Henry here symbolizes the spirit of conflict, and a slightly Kiplingesque reversion to the latent savagery in civilized man.

In addition to these parallels of imaginative conception, many details confirm the impression that Stephen Crane had *Corporal Si Klegg* in mind when he wrote *The Red Badge of Courage*. When Henry Fleming comes home after enlisting, he finds his mother "milking the brindle cow."<sup>8</sup> It is Si's sister, not his mother, who is milking. She drops the pail in surprise at seeing Si in uniform and Si himself takes over the chore patting the cow and calling her "old Brindle."<sup>9</sup> Henry Fleming is given eight pairs of socks and some blackberry jam when he leaves for the army;<sup>10</sup> for Si Klegg, the jam is cranberry; the socks number only three pairs!<sup>11</sup> When Henry and Si join their regiments, they each meet a tall soldier of considerable sang-froid: Jim Conklin in *The Red Badge of Courage*, and Si's "pard," Shorty, in the Hinman book. A good deal is made of the way Si gets rid of his superfluous kit during the first long march.<sup>12</sup> Henry Fleming and his companions simply throw their knapsacks away completely in the same circumstances.<sup>13</sup> When, in his first battle, Si feels "a smart rap on his

<sup>6</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, p. 407.

<sup>7</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, pp. 164, 167.

<sup>8</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>10</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>11</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>12</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 156-161.

<sup>13</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, p. 33.

head," and says to his pard: "Did ye bump me with yer gun, Shorty?"<sup>14</sup> he finds that he has been grazed by a bullet. It will be remembered that during his panic Henry Fleming is hit over the head by the gun of another fleeing soldier, and is thus enabled to tell his comrades that he has been shot during the battle. "Yeh've been grazed by a ball. It's raised a queer lump jest as if some feller had lammed yeh on the head with a club,"<sup>15</sup> says the companion who examines him. Incidentally, a procession of wounded like that which Henry Fleming joins during his flight<sup>16</sup> is seen by Si as he goes into action, and is also represented for the reader by Coffin's pencil.<sup>17</sup>

It is possible to cite other incidents of this sort which these two books have in common, but those already mentioned are the least open to question, and perhaps they are sufficient. They illustrate the fact that Stephen Crane frequently parallels details which are found in *Corporal Si Klegg*. There are, in addition, some passages which are remarkably similar in content. Four examples of these are here cited:

1. From *Corporal Si Klegg*:

As we have seen in the experience of the 200th Indiana, full regiments on taking the field were rapidly decimated by the ravages of disease and bullets. Scarcely more than half of the men enlisted proved to be physically able to "stand the service," and battles fast thinned the ranks. New organizations were constantly going to the front, but a "veteran" regiment having three hundred men was a large one. . . .<sup>18</sup>

From *The Red Badge of Courage*:

But the regiment was not yet veteranlike in appearance. Veteran regiments in the army were likely to be very small aggregations of men. Once, when the command had first come to the field, some perambulating veterans, noting the length of their column, had accosted them thus: "Hey, fellers, what brigade is that?" And when the men had replied that they formed a regiment and not a brigade, the older soldiers had laughed, and said, "O Gawd!"<sup>19</sup>

2. From *Corporal Si Klegg*:

The single hour's experience on the road had served to remove the scales from the eyes of a goodly number of the members of Company Q. They began to foresee the inevitable, and at the first halt

<sup>14</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, p. 410.

<sup>15</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, p. 133.

<sup>16</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, p. 85.

<sup>17</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, p. 402.

<sup>18</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, p. 696.

<sup>19</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, pp. 33-34.

they made a small beginning in the labor of getting themselves down to light marching orders—a process of sacrifice which a year later had accomplished its perfect work, when each man took nothing in the way of baggage save what he could roll up in a blanket and toss over his shoulder.<sup>20</sup>

From *The Red Badge of Courage*:

The men had begun to count the miles upon their fingers, and they grew tired. "Sore feet an' damned short rations, that's all," said the loud soldier. There was perspiration and grumblings. After a time they began to shed their knapsacks. Some tossed them unconcernedly down; others hid them carefully, asserting their plans to return for them at some convenient time. Men extricated themselves from thick shirts. Presently few carried anything but their necessary clothing, blankets, haversacks, canteens, and arms and ammunition. . . .<sup>21</sup>

3. From *Corporal Si Klegg*:

The officers had ordered the men to lie down, that they might be less exposed to the enemy's fire. But Si will not lie down. . . . This feeling was common to new troops in their first fight. In their minds there was an odium connected with the idea of seeking cover. It was too much like showing the white feather. But in the fullness of time they all got over this foolish notion.<sup>22</sup>

From *The Red Badge of Courage*:

During this halt many men in the regiment began erecting tiny hills in front of them. . . . This procedure caused a discussion among the men. Some wished to fight like duelists, believing it to be correct to stand erect and be, from their feet to their foreheads, a mark. They said they scorned the devices of the cautious. But the others scoffed in reply, and pointed to the veterans on the flanks who were digging at the ground like terriers.<sup>23</sup>

4. From *Corporal Si Klegg*:

Pretty soon he struck a veteran regiment from Illinois, the members of which were sitting and lying in all the picturesque and indescribable attitudes which the old soldiers found gave them the greatest comfort during a "rest." Then the fun commenced. . . .

"What rijiment is this?" asked Si, timidly.

"Same old rijiment!" was the answer from half a dozen at once. A single glance told the swarthy veterans that the fresh-looking youth who asked this conundrum belonged to one of the new regiments, and they immediately opened their batteries upon him:

<sup>20</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, p. 158.

<sup>21</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, p. 409.

<sup>22</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, p. 41.

"Left—Left—Left!" . . .

"Ye'd better shed that knapsack, or it'll be the death of ye!"

"I say, there, how's all the folks to home?"

"How d'ye like it's fur's ye've got, anyway?"

Si had never been under so hot a fire before. He stood it as long as he could, and then stopped.

"Halt!" shouted a chorus of voices. "Shoulder—Arms! Order—Arms!"

By this time Si's wrath was at the boiling point. Casting around him a look of defiance, he exclaimed:

"Ye cowardly blaggards. I kin jest lick any two of ye, an' I'll dare ye to come on. Ef the 200th Injiani was here we'd clean out the hull pack of ye quicker'n ye kin say scat!"<sup>24</sup>

From *The Red Badge of Courage*:

As they approached their own lines there was some sarcasm exhibited on the part of a gaunt and bronzed regiment that lay resting in the shade of trees. Questions were wafted to them.

"Where th' hell yeh been?"

"What yeh comin' back fer?"

"Why didn't yeh stay there?"

"Was it warm out there, sonny?"

"Goin' home now, boys?"

One shouted in taunting mimicry: "Oh, mother, come quick an' look at th' sojers!"

There was no reply from the bruised and battered regiment, save that one man made broadcast challenges to fist fights. . . .<sup>25</sup>

The writer believes that the repetition of matter and essential situation in the preceding passages establishes beyond serious doubt that Stephen Crane drew extensively from *Corporal Si Klegg* for his own war novel. This belief raises the question of the precise use he made of his source. Clearly Crane's narrative style is quite unaffected by that of Hinman. This, one would take for granted. Three of the parallel passages, moreover, occur in totally different contexts, though in the passages where the new recruits show reluctance to shelter themselves from the bullets, the context is the same in each text. This juxtaposition of material is characteristic of the way in which Crane handles his source. While most of the detail in *The Red Badge of Courage* can be paralleled in *Corporal Si Klegg*, little of it is given exactly the same application. The much

<sup>24</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 192-193.

<sup>25</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, p. 200.

withered condition of example four as it appears in *The Red Badge of Courage* is interesting and illustrative. Hinman revels in incident and authorial comment for its own sake. In no sense an imitator of Dickens, he nevertheless gives the impression that he knew his Dickens intimately, and that he almost intuitively followed the rambling Dickensian pattern in his war book. Crane, on the other hand, subordinates detail to the whole of his conception, and passages which cover pages in *Corporal Si Klegg* offer merely a minor suggestion to the author of *The Red Badge of Courage*. Thus, for example, Henry Fleming's conversation with a Confederate picket<sup>26</sup> recalls to the present writer a much longer passage of the sort in the Hinman book,<sup>27</sup> while the veteran's comment to Henry on the conversation suggests several similar remarks in *Corporal Si Klegg*.<sup>28</sup> The only material which Crane duplicates and greatly expands is the theme of the hero's fright before and during battle. Si Klegg runs away in momentary panic several times in his career, but these incidents are brief and comic. For the most part Hinman keeps his hero hyperconventionally heroic.

In conclusion, it seems appropriate to attempt a summary of what Stephen Crane does and does not owe to Colonel Hinman, if the likelihood of the debt is accepted by the reader. It should be emphasized at once that the total effects of the two books are dissimilar, in spite of their many common details. Hinman's book is much longer than *The Red Badge of Courage*, and a substantial part of the difference in length is taken up with comic incident and comment. The author, indeed, has a flair for drollery, while in passages of purported seriousness he is likely to pull out all the stops on the organ of Victorian rhetoric with results which have already been illustrated. Thus *Corporal Si Klegg* by the intention and talent of its creator, remains a comic book. *The Red Badge of Courage* is hardly that. But evidently, Crane got his conception of a commonplace, unromantic hero from Hinman, together with the theme of this raw recruit's development into the capable veteran. The development theme is much emphasized in both stories, and if Crane looked into a copy of *Corporal Si Klegg*, he could hardly have remained unaware of its existence there, for Coffin's pencil assists the reader with a double frontispiece delineating how Si went away

<sup>26</sup> *The Red Badge of Courage*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>27</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 466-469.

<sup>28</sup> *Corporal Si Klegg*, p. 133.

to war, and how he came back. In addition to this, Crane apparently adapted a good deal of the essential structure of his narrative from Hinman, as well as many incidents and details of army life.

It is difficult to say how far Crane may have been influenced by Hinman in his use of dialect. Very probably, the influence is slight. The flavor of the speech is noticeably different, and certainly indicates an attempt on the part of each author to capture the regionalisms familiar to him.<sup>29</sup> Hinman's dialect has a certain raciness which hardly belongs in the scope of Crane's book, and it is set in a less mannered narrative style which gives it a certain advantage as far as naturalness is concerned, but Crane impresses the present writer as being the more accurate transcriber of actual speech. It would seem plausible to believe that Hinman was the source of Crane's army slang, but the correspondence between the expressions actually used is not great. One then gets the impression that Crane was relying mainly on his ear in his reproduction of the soldiers' speech, for certainly army slang and dialect were available to him from many sources.

Crane's narrative style and his descriptive passages are, of course, not suggested by Hinman, and his psychologizing is developed from his model's barest hints. To be sure, Si Klegg, like Henry Fleming, is endowed with a considerable degree of self-consciousness, and a tendency to self-dramatization, but what he thinks and

<sup>29</sup> Perhaps examples will be of interest here. The writer submits for comparison two dialect passages of similar content:

*The Red Badge of Courage*, pp. 206-207:

"Yeh jest oughta hear!" repeated the other, and he arranged himself to tell his tidings. The others made an excited circle. "Well, sir, th' colonel met your lieutenant right by us—it was the damnedest thing I ever heard—an' he ses: 'Ahem! ahem!' he ses. 'Mr. Hasbrouck!' he ses, 'by th' way, who was that lad what carried th' flag?' he ses, an' th' lieutenant, he speaks up right away: 'That's Flemin', an' he's a jimbickey,' he ses, right away. What? I say he did. 'A jimbickey,' he ses—those'r his words. He did, too. I say he did. If you kin tell this story better than I kin, go ahead an' tell it. Well, then, keep yer mouth shut. Th' lieutenant, he ses: 'He's a jimbickey,' an' th' colonel, he ses: 'Ahem! ahem! he is, indeed, a very good man t' have, ahem! He kep' th' flag 'way t' th' front. I saw 'im. He's a good un,' ses th' colonel. . . ."

*Corporal Si Klegg*, pp. 494-495:

"I axed the cap'n 'f I mout hunt ye up, 'n' he said he didn't have no 'bjections pervidin' the colonel was willin'. I made bold to ax him 'cause I knowed he allus had a warm side fer ye, 'n' I didn't b'lieve he'd think any less on ye fer carryin' the flag o' the old 200th Injinny up to the top o' that blazin' ridge. Jest' soon' I told him what I wanted he said right away, the colonel did: 'Certingly, my man, 'n' when ye git back' says he, come straight ter my tent 'n' tell me how badly Corp'ral Klegg's wounded. He's a brave fellow, is Klegg.' . . ."

feels is entirely conventional and obvious. Hinman shows no desire to deal with more than the externals of army life. He mitigates the serious and seamy side of war with bursts of Victorian rhetoric, on the one hand, and comedy on the other. Thus, Crane is entirely original when he reconciles meanness and self-sacrifice, panic and heroism in *Henry Fleming and his comrades*.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF "THE HAUNTED SHIP"

PETE KYLE McCARTER  
*University of Mississippi*

IN *American Literature*, January, 1934, Mr. Nelson F. Adkins reprinted from *Friendship's Offering: A Christmas, New Year and Birthday Present for MDCCCXLIX* a tale called "The Haunted Ship" by "The Author of 'The Sketch-Book.'"<sup>1</sup> A year later were printed in the same journal Mr. Ralph Thompson's opinion that Irving's authorship of the tale remains to be proved,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Aubrey Starke's note pointing out that since the tale had been published as early as January 9, 1836, by the *New York Mirror*, which had taken it from an unidentified English annual, the date of its original publication was not yet established.<sup>3</sup> In the exhaustive bibliography of Irving by Mr. Williams and Miss Edge the tale is listed as having appeared in 1836 in an English annual, *Heath's Book of Beauty*, edited by the Countess of Blessington;<sup>4</sup> but Mr. Thompson's doubt concerning the authorship and Mr. Starke's question concerning the date of the tale seem still unanswered.

Doubtless the following letter, found in *The Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington*, will both settle the date and establish the authorship of the story:

NEWHALL, May 2d, 1835.

MY DEAR SIR,—I inclose a nautical anecdote, written down pretty much as I heard it related a few years since by one of my seafaring countrymen.<sup>5</sup> I hope it may be acceptable to Lady Blessington for her "Annual," and only regret that I had nothing at hand more likely to be to her taste. However, in miscellaneous publications of the kind, every humor has

<sup>1</sup> Nelson F. Adkins, "An Uncollected Tale by Washington Irving," *American Literature*, V, 364-367 (Jan., 1934).

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Thompson, "Irving's 'Haunted Ship,'" *ibid.*, VI, 443-444 (Jan., 1935).

<sup>3</sup> Aubrey Starke, "Irving's Haunted Ship—a Correction," *ibid.*, VI, 444-445 (Jan., 1935).

<sup>4</sup> Stanley T. Williams and Mary Allen Edge, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Washington Irving: A Check List* (New York, 1936), p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Compare in the tale itself: "I once . . . heard a story of the kind from . . . a worthy captain of the sea; a native either of Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard, I forget which; at any rate, of a place noted for its breed of hardy mariners. I met with him in the ancient city of Seville . . ." (Adkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-365).

to be consulted, and a tarpaulin story may present an acceptable contrast to others more sentimental and refined.

I beg you to present my kindest remembrances to Lady Blessington, and believe me, my dear sir, with high interest and regard, very faithfully yours,

WASHINGTON IRVING.<sup>6</sup>

This letter, with which Irving evidently submitted the manuscript of "The Haunted Ship" for publication in *Heath's Book of Beauty*, removes all doubt as to his authorship of the tale, and further shows that it was written as early as 1835 and that the date 1836, as given in the Williams and Edge *Bibliography*, must be that of its first publication.

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A REPLY TO PROFESSOR CLARK

THOMAS FRANKLIN CURRIER

*Harvard College Library*

WHILE appreciating to the full the very pleasant statements made by Mr. Harry Hayden Clark in his review of my Whittier bibliography, printed in the May issue of *American Literature*, it is only fair to Mr. George T. Goodspeed, of Boston, who contributed to the bibliography, for me to call attention to serious errors on the part of Mr. Clark, in his review. As stated in the footnote on page 475 of my Whittier bibliography, Mr. Goodspeed very kindly checked for me Whittier's contributions to the *National Era*. Mr. Clark, in his review, implies that Mr. Goodspeed has recorded a nonexistent contribution by Whittier as in the *Era* of August 31, 1848, with the title "American Literature Abroad," and, furthermore, imagines that Mr. Goodspeed has become confused with the comment on a review of Griswold's *Prose Writers* in the preceding issue of the *Era*, Mr. Clark claiming that this comment was written by Whittier. The truth is, the *Era* for August 31, 1848 (Mr. Clark incorrectly writes it 1847), does, as stated in my bibliography, contain a signed contribution by Whittier with the title "American Literature Abroad" and there is no confusion with the comment on Griswold, which was not included in my bibliography because it is not signed and cannot be attributed to Whittier without definite proof, which Mr. Clark does not produce.

<sup>6</sup> R. R. Madden, *The Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington* (New York, 1860), II, 382.

It is a pleasure also to exonerate another helper, Miss Pulsifer, of Haverhill. Mr. Clark calls attention to the fact that the Whittier bibliography and notes, in his own book, *Major American Poets*, cover his pages 798 to 816, and not pages 798 to 802 as incorrectly printed on page 546 of my bibliography. This error is not, however, Miss Pulsifer's but presumably my own, the entry having been added by me at the last moment, to the page proofs, from some source which I cannot now trace.

The present opportunity may well be seized to call attention to the fact that the editor of the 1888 edition of the collected writings of Whittier was not, as Mr. Clark says, Pickard but Horace E. Scudder, and that the early portion of the Dinsmore essay, not printed in *The Stranger in Lowell* (1845), did not wait until 1888 before seeing light, but is contained in Whittier's *Old Portraits and Modern Sketches* (1850). Mr. Clark is, however, to be congratulated for his discovery that a portion of this introductory matter (about a quarter of it, to be exact, and not all "four pages") originally formed a part of Whittier's appreciation of Burleigh's poems, contained in the *National Era* of September 9, 1847, this fact having (alas! but not unnaturally) escaped my notice, although the Burleigh review was duly recorded.

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#### A REPLY TO MISS BRASHEAR

CYRIL CLEMENS  
*Webster Groves, Missouri*

IN HER review of *My Cousin Mark Twain* Miss Minnie M. Brashear states "there are two contributions in the book, the frontispiece . . . and some accounts of Mark Twain in London and Vienna." This is an incredible statement for a scholar to make, for the whole book presents facts about Mark Twain not known before. To begin with, I give original interviews with such personal friends of Clemens as Laura Hawkins, Bill Gillis, Mrs. Tingley Lawrence, Mrs. Robert Howland, and James Marvin, who is identified for the *first* time as the prototype of the Connecticut Yankee. Although all the facts that the above told me were not new, they certainly round out the picture of the humorist that previous books have presented.

Again, my book is full of such intimate details as the remark Twain made to my father when the latter mentioned Bret Harte,

"Dr. Jim, I don't want you ever to mention that name again in my presence." Of course, it was known that the two authors had a falling out, but it was not known that Twain retained such a strong feeling against his early friend.

What other book gives the verbatim reports of the five San Francisco papers of Clemens's first lecture of October 2, 1866? All other commentators have taken what Paine said about this lecture without going to the original sources. One would expect a scholar to see the significance of this. Is Mr. Paine infallible?

On pages 81-82 I give an original account of Twain's wedding that appeared in the *Alta California* for February 14, 1870. I was not aware this had appeared in any previous book.

Another important contribution is the *verification* and *correct* telling of many famous anecdotes such as meeting the Kaiser, making Mrs. Cleveland sign the note, and sending the collar and tie to Mrs. Stowe. Paine and others had mistold these incidents. I took the trouble (an effort usually commended by scholars) to get in touch with Mrs. Frances Cleveland Preston, ex-Emperor William in Germany, and the descendants of Mrs. Stowe, and so presented my facts correctly.

When Paine was writing his biography he failed to get in touch with Dan Beard, but I did, and discovered that in his original illustrations for the *Connecticut Yankee*, he cartooned famous living people such as the German Kaiser, Edward the Seventh, and so forth.

The late Stuart Sherman and many others (not excluding Paine) garble the account of Twain's most famous saying about the report of his death being "exaggerated." I am the first to give the strictly accurate account because my father, James Ross Clemens, was the cause of the famous saying as the rumor resulted from his (i.e., my father's) illness. Is it not also a contribution to Mark Twainiana to point out that his second best known saying was not said by Twain at all, but by his neighbor Charles Dudley Warner in a *Hartford Courant* editorial, "We all complain about the weather but do nothing"?

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#### ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized, through the year 1940, a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for

*PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of two dollars a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

The Literary Life of John Quincy Adams. Donald M. Goodfellow (Harvard).

George Hooker Colton and the *American Review*. Cullen B. Colton (New York).

Basic Assumptions of Emerson's Philosophy. John Paul Abbott (Iowa).

Emerson and Catholicism. Charles C. Charvat (Iowa).

Emerson and Economic Reform. John C. Gerber (Chicago).

Sarah J. Hale. Isabelle Entrikin (Pennsylvania).

A Study of the Relationship between Hawthorne and Henry James. I. W. Finch (Harvard).

The Mind and Art of Lafcadio Hearn. Felix Morrison (Wisconsin).

James Russell Lowell: His Career and Critical Reception in Great Britain. William White (Southern California).

Herman Melville's *Clarel*. Walter E. Bezanson (Yale).

O. Henry: A Biographical Study. E. Hudson Long (Pennsylvania).

Josephine Preston Peabody: A Biographical and Critical Study. Mary Dodge Ten Eyck (New York).

Lizette Woodworth Reese: A Critical Biography. Mrs. L. Ruth Murray Klein (Pennsylvania).

A Critical Study of the Life and Works of Thomas Wolfe. William Hugh Jansen (Indiana).

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

The American Traveler in England, 1835-1865. Fred Krutzke (Pennsylvania).

The American Traveler in Italy, to 1860. William C. Powell (Pennsylvania).

The Growth of Nationalism in American Literature, 1800-1815. James Harold Coberly (George Washington).

Hostile Nature and American Literary Naturalism. Carlton F. Cuhmsee (Iowa).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

The Beginnings of Literary Nationalism in America, 1775-1800. Charles William Cole (George Washington).

An Edition of the Prose Works of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Hjalmar O. Lockensgard (Minnesota).

Emerson and the Idea of Progress. Mildred Silver (Iowa, 1938).

The Literature of the American Friends from the First Settlements to 1825. Robert H. Morgan (Harvard).

The Mind and Art of John Adams. Howard Fielding (Wisconsin).

The Social and Political Ideas of Mark Twain. Paul J. Carter, Jr. (Cincinnati).

Social Criticism in the Novels of David Graham Phillips. John C. McCloskey (Stanford).

A Life of Charles Warren Stoddard. Carl G. Stroven (Duke).

Thomas Bailey Aldrich's Editorship of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Donald R. Tuttle (Western Reserve).

Thoreau and Stoicism. Mary E. Cochnower (Iowa).

Trends in American Primitivism. Frank Buckley (Minnesota).

#### IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

Edward Eggleston. Harlan Logan (Columbia).

Edmund Clarence Stedman. Marius Blesi (Virginia).

The Development of the Local Color Short Story and Novel in Georgia. Annie May Christie (Chicago).

French Influences upon Poe. Cullen B. Colton (New York).

Nicholas Vachel Lindsay. Horace J. Kelly (Pennsylvania).

Richard Watson Gilder. Walter Henneberg and Charles R. Boothby (Pennsylvania).

The Realistic Background of the Tall Tale. Mrs. Esther Shepard (Washington).

The Significance of the Authorized Lives of American Men of Letters in the History and Development of Biography. Isabelle Entrikin (Pennsylvania).

#### V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Charles Bragin (1525 West 12 St., Brooklyn) offers to furnish without charge his *Bibliography on Dime Novels* to collectors and to students of Americana.

David H. Clift (Library, Columbia University) is preparing a bibliography of novels laid in Kentucky.

William P. Fidler of the University of Alabama is writing a biography of Augusta Evans Wilson.

Eugene D. Finch (Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.) is engaged in a study of the life of Thomas A. Digges, the author of *The Adventures of Alonso*, and would appreciate hearing of any material in private hands.

L. A. Rose (Michigan College of Mining and Technology) is working on "A History of Economic, Political, and Sociological Writings in the United States, 1865-1917."

Irving C. Story (Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon) reports that he has in progress a study of the *Leaves of Grass* from the 1855 edition to the 1881 edition.

Lawrance Thompson has abandoned his projected bibliography of Longfellow.

*University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

GREGORY PAINE, *Bibliographer.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE LETTERS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Edited by Ralph L. Rusk. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Six Volumes. lxvi, 458; 471; 462; 541; 546; 633 pp. \$30.00.

*The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* contains in its six volumes more than two thousand letters or drafts of letters which have hitherto remained in manuscript and several hundred more which have been only partially published. Such as have already been printed entirely or almost entirely are listed in their proper chronological places, with comments on textual or other errors when the manuscripts or other sources have revealed such errors to Professor Rusk; and more than a thousand others which are known to have been written by Emerson are similarly calendared. Because the editor has been allowed to use the vast body of correspondence written by or to Emerson now owned by the Emerson "Memorial Association," the extent and value of the work have been considerably enhanced. For example, the notes attached to various of Emerson's letters frequently offer the other side of the correspondence and include new letters, printed in their entirety, by Lowell, Holmes, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, Ripley, Parker, Whittier, Greeley, Thoreau, Howells, Whitman, Sumner, John Muir, Clough, Arnold, Patmore, and others. And, of course, quotations or information from a horde of others are used to elucidate matters in Emerson's own text. Portions of the typescript journals and other hitherto unavailable or unknown sources of information by or about Emerson are also to be found sprinkled in Professor Rusk's notes. In appendices are two early poems, several undated prose fragments, and a list of letters and packets from Emerson's accounts with the stage drivers to whom he entrusted his mail from 1837 to 1842. The Index, a scholar's delight, covers almost three hundred pages and not only includes with admirable precision the material of the six volumes, text, calendar, and notes alike, but also lists under the writers' names, with dates, most of the letters addressed to Emerson now owned by the "Memorial Association" and not specifically referred to in the edition.

The method evolved by Professor Rusk in combining a calendar with the text of so many new letters is marked by editorial procedures so ingenious and valuable that students of scholarly technique, no matter what their fields may be, will do well to study it. Every effort has been expended to establish a reliable text, and the labor put forth in verifying dates or in conjecturing them is positively enormous. A check on at

least one item has been offered the present reviewer through the recent acquisition of a manuscript letter by Emerson which Professor Rusk had not seen. This letter is dated at Concord, January 9, 1866, and is addressed to a Mr. Phillips. On turning to the fifth volume, page 448, of the edition one finds calendared a letter to William F. Phillips dated "January? 10?, 1866?" If the manuscript recently acquired is that of the letter whose date Professor Rusk has evolved without knowing of its existence, and it seems to be, then there is an error in the conjectural date of only one day! New pieces of Emerson's correspondence will doubtless appear as the years go on, but most of them will be found listed in the present work. So far as the calendar of those previously printed is concerned, only one omission has struck this reviewer's attention; and that is an unimportant note written to Tennyson on January 21, 1872, to be found in Hallam Tennyson's memoir of his father.

The same thoroughness and accuracy which mark the effort to establish texts and dates are to be seen in the explanatory footnotes, which frequently add as much as the letters themselves to the knowledge of Emerson's interests and activities. Names are tracked down, quotations are identified, places of residence are added from local directories, moot points are argued, previous students are corrected or their findings are enlarged upon. A vast store of new detail, some of it of the greatest importance, is offered for the use of specialists—and the more obvious matters which needed to be cleared up for the more general reader are handled smoothly and easily, with frequent cross-references to the letters themselves. The footnoting is elaborate but not overdone.

The newly published letters range in date from 1814 to 1881, and in quality from the most insignificant notes which even an autograph fiend would hesitate to buy, to formal utterances of a stylistic beauty equal to the best of the samples excerpted by Cabot for his biography of Emerson. Many of the better letters were used by Cabot, but there are *more* in these six volumes which never came before his eyes. Especially noteworthy are long series of communications to William Emerson, to Abel Adams, friend and business adviser, and to Margaret Fuller. Strikingly absent are letters to Emerson's first wife, which are lost. (It is regrettable that Professor Rusk was not allowed to use her letters to Emerson.)

In turning to the contents of the newly published material one must perform repeat certain ideas presented in the Introduction, in which the editor suggests the general picture of Emerson that emerges and in which he, incidentally, gives as valuable a short analysis of Emerson's reading as is now available. From the time when the young Ralph Waldo was the family rimester and humorist to the period of his pain-

fully scrawling a note doctored by his daughter Ellen, these volumes offer a flood of information about his family concerns, financial and otherwise, and provide a ready index to the development of his literary interests, an index which, so far as style alone is concerned, points to a remarkable fillip toward maturity in the months following his graduation from Harvard. Then, too, the extent and nature of his lecturing are here presented for the first time with full force, and the notes (they cannot be set aside) again and again supply the full details as to topics, places, and reactions of audiences. In addition to Emerson as loyal son, brother, and father, as developing man of letters, and as lecturer, perhaps Emerson as friend of a brilliant group of people looms up among the more general impressions formed by all this new material.

More interesting beyond a doubt are numerous less general impressions received from the reading of these letters. A few selections may illustrate.

I found in town yesterday a precious piece of gossip from London; That "Bells & Pomegranates" is engaged to "Seraphine" or Miss Barrett; who is, you know, the *divine bed-rid*, to whom Miss Martineau's "Invalid" Book was dedicated [November 7, 1846].

Not a drop of rain. Our people have been hanging hopes on the horns of the moon, which changes today; but the fickle heavenly cow shakes off the hopes & hooks the people—or, as Eddy might say, hooks the corn [August 31, 1854].

Have you seen the strange Whitman's poems? Many weeks ago I thought to send them to you, but they seemed presently to become more known & you have probably found them. He seems a Mirabeau of a man, with such insight & equal expression, but hurt by hard life & too animal experience [September 26, 1855].

So many new details are supplied in the letters or in the footnotes on almost every aspect of Emerson's life or interests that one despairs of doing more than merely suggesting—and the following illustrations may be taken as mere samples of what struck the consciousness of one reviewer. The youthful letters to Aunt Mary extend the picture of Emerson's gropings for a doctrinal footing, so to speak; his success as a pastor and his relations with his congregation are made much clearer than Mr. McGiffert has recently exhibited them. An early dislike for Wordsworth is now more explicitly brought to attention; the dates and nature of his earliest Oriental readings are revealed; his indebtedness to Cousin is fully corroborated. New light is shed upon the conduct of the *Dial* and the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, in connection with which his relations with people like Margaret Fuller, Hedge, and Ripley now seem more reasonable than Cabot was able to suggest. The fact that Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa speech of 1837 was a stopgap made necessary by the resignation of a previously selected speaker is for the first time revealed. The letter of the Divinity School students asking for the address of 1838 is here first printed, signed by H. G. O. Blake and others.

Arrangements with publishers at home and abroad are given the reader, as well as new material on Emerson's interest in the Swedenborgians, the Quakers, Brook Farm, the Saturday Club, and his Harvard classmates. A paucity of reference to Dr. Channing is relieved by the important revelation that Emerson suggested him as one who might draft a "Declaration" for the *Dial*. The letter to Margaret Fuller rebuffing her for her attempts to penetrate too far in their personal relations as published by Cabot has always presented a vexing problem. A number of letters to her and to Caroline Sturgis now fully illumine the problem of the man's "aloofness." More often Emerson appears as quite the opposite of a retired genius, and his devotion to the interests of Charles Newcomb, Delia Bacon, and Emma Lazarus indicates a willingness to oblige that was as wholehearted as his better-known patronage of Thoreau and Carlyle. His translation of Dante's *Vita Nuova* is brought out of obscurity. Bret Harte is pictured by him as "an easy, kindly, well-behaved man," Howells notwithstanding. British interest in the Concord writer is more fully elaborated than ever before. More detail is offered on his disastrous lecture in Virginia. And so on.

The inclusiveness of the notes and the Index make *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* a valuable reference work for the student of English and American literature during the nineteenth century. A model of scholarship and industry, it is the most significant contribution made to the study of our greatest man of letters since the publication of the *Journals*. The reader of it will be very glad to know that Professor Rusk is now engaged upon a biography of Emerson.

Duke University.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

HELEN HUNT JACKSON (H. H.). By Ruth Odell. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1939. xv, 326 pp. \$3.00.

Professor Odell has written an accurate, sound, factual biography of Helen Hunt Jackson. In this endeavor she has enjoyed the co-operation of relatives of Mrs. Jackson and has spared no effort in investigating sources.

Some minor materials have escaped the attention of the biographer. For instance, she has apparently been unaware of at least thirty-three letters written by Mrs. Jackson to Thomas Bailey Aldrich while he was editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*; these letters are now in the Aldrich Memorial at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. But lacunae of this sort are inevitable, and all scholars in the field of American letters are indebted to Miss Odell for the carefulness of her work, and for preparing not only a documented narrative of Mrs. Jackson's life but also an excellent bibliography comprising a list of Mrs. Jackson's thirty-four books, a thirty-page

list of magazine and newspaper pieces numbering approximately seven hundred items, and a thirteen-page list of manuscripts and letters. Mrs. Jackson has long deserved a careful biography; the reader will remember her as the author of fifteen Saxe Holm stories (collected in two series in 1874 and 1878 respectively), *Mercy Philbrick's Choice* (1876), *Hetty's Strange History* (1877), *A Century of Dishonor* (1881), *Ramona* (1884), and other stories for adults and children, as well as volumes of poems, many travel articles, and strong polemics in support of the rights of the American Indian.

As biographer, Professor Odell has chosen to say little about the substance of Mrs. Jackson's writings. Many readers will wish that she had attempted a thorough exposition and analysis of the contents of Mrs. Jackson's works in an effort to attain a deeper understanding of her mind.

Happily, Miss Odell has, however, been unmoved by unsupported data and legends which have grown around Mrs. Jackson's life. She definitely rejects the theory advanced by Josephine Pollitt and Genevieve Taggard that Mercy Philbrick is Emily Dickinson, and is certain that Mercy is in many respects Helen herself. She remains entirely skeptical of the story current in California that Mrs. Ezra Slocum Carr wrote parts of *Ramona*, though she believes that Mrs. Carr probably supplied many details; and she insists that Ramona in her fulness never existed as a single person, though many have claimed the honor of being the prototype. Throughout the book, the reader will be continually grateful for the painstaking care used by Miss Odell in treating her materials.

*Western Reserve University.*

LYON N. RICHARDSON.

SIX NEW LETTERS OF THOMAS PAIN: *Being Pieces on the Five Per Cent Duty Addressed to the Citizens of Rhode Island. Here First Reprinted from The Providence Gazette and Country Journal of 1782 and 1783.* With an Introduction and Notes by Harry H. Clark. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1939. xxxii, 63 pp. \$2.50.

Supplementing Conway's standard edition of Thomas Paine's writings, Professor Clark has made available for literary history this little-known group of newspaper letters in which, cogently but without success, Paine urged Rhode Island to fall into line with the other states and support the national credit and the national revolution. The Introduction, entitled "Thomas Paine the Conservative," describes in first-hand exhaustive detail the controversy over the five per cent impost and assails the popular conception of Paine as an inveterate "radical" burning with a permanent fever of revolt. Professor Clark does not define his terms, but in general he applies "radical" to the agrarian class and

"conservative" to the mercantile class and finds both interests variously represented by Paine. For evidences of Paine's "conservative" aspect he points to such matters as Paine's emphasis on self-interest as a basic motive, his economic argument in *Common Sense*, his assertion of Federal authority in *Public Good*, his period of friendly relations with John Adams, Robert Morris, and Gouverneur Morris, his appeals for strong national union, his faith in written constitutions.

The materials behind these items have been long familiar to Paine students. Even the nationalistic letter written by Paine to Robert Morris in 1782, which Professor Clark presents as an out-of-the-way document found only in an auctioneer's catalogue, is available in the *New York Historical Collections* (New York, 1879), V, 484-487; the auctioneer has merely read November 28 instead of November 20. Professor Clark's interpretation is open to fundamental question. In their historical context the citations themselves do not seem necessarily "conservative." Professor Clark has utilized them on what seems to me a gratuitous premise, that the conflict between the farmers and the merchants had already during the Revolution achieved in national politics the constitutional forms which can be recognized from 1783 to 1789. He might have made out a stronger case for Paine's "conservatism" by examining in more detail Paine's activities in 1785 and 1786, particularly his newspaper letters (less known, by the way, than the Rhode Island series and equally deserving republication), where he talks like a Federalist against paper money and provincialism. But even if these pieces were considered, would Paine then appear, as Professor Clark suggests, alternately "radical" and "conservative," inconsistent, or, worse yet, opportunistic? It is a strange opportunist who is kicked into the gutter in Philadelphia, hustled out of England one step ahead of the police, thrown into prison in France during the Reign of Terror, vilified by the pious and powerful the world over. And the whole attempt to split Paine between the agrarian and mercantile classes fails to reckon historically with the democratic idealism that unified all progressive mankind in revolutionary struggle against the kings and nobles. "The merchant and the farmer are persons alike to me," says Letter VI republished here. Paine is most intelligible, I think, as a consistent equalitarian, an embattled *philosophe* in the cause of humanity and against all privilege whether of the few or the many. However, though Professor Clark's interpretation may be disputed, he deserves unstinted gratitude for salvaging these letters by a major spokesman of modern democracy.

*The George Washington University.*

FRANK SMITH.

THE MEANING OF *Moby-Dick*. By William S. Gleim. New York: The Brick Row Book Shop. 1938. 149 pp. \$2.00.

Mr. Gleim's book is an expansion of his paper, "A Theory of *Moby-Dick*," which appeared in the *New England Quarterly*, II, 402-419 (July, 1929). Although he develops the eighteen pages of his earlier statement of his views upon Melville's novel into 149 pages in his little volume, I fear that he does not make his conclusions more convincing to me now, in book form, than they were when first brought forward in his comparatively short article.

It is not that Mr. Gleim can be declared altogether wrong in what he says of *Moby-Dick*. Few interpretations of this puzzling book can be, in fact, summarily dismissed, without at least some more or less respectful consideration; and Mr. Gleim's study is among the majority which merit examination. Indeed, certain of his points are well taken; and his suggestion that the novel may be a "gigantic hoax" (p. 3) is not merely original, but is well worth turning over in one's mind, even though one finally dismisses it as an unlikely explanation of the book.

No one can safely deny that *Moby-Dick* is, as Mr. Gleim says, "really two stories: an ostensible story that treats of material things and another story, hidden in parables, allegories, and symbolism, which treats of abstract things. And these two stories are parallel and analogous to each other" (p. 2). "The whaling voyage," asserts Mr. Gleim, perhaps too emphatically, "is merely the carrier of a hidden collection of mystical types" (p. 8). Possibly the novel may even be called a parable (p. 15), if we accept Mr. Gleim's definition of the term. Whether or not Melville meant to symbolize Fate by the White Whale, as Mr. Gleim would have it (pp. 39 ff.), it seems clear that in *Moby-Dick*, as in *Pierre*, Fate plays a large part. One is almost tempted to approve the identification of Captain Ahab's three mates as representatives, Starbuck, of Platonism; Stubb, of Epicureanism; and Flask, of Stoicism (pp. 53 ff.).

This, however, is as far as I can venture, even somewhat doubtfully, to accompany Mr. Gleim. The further details of his interpretation of *Moby-Dick* may be correct, but he has not proved his case (if it could be proved) to my satisfaction. I cannot accept the three harpooners, Queequeg, Tashtego, and Daggoo, as symbolizing, respectively, Religion, Sin, and Ignorance (pp. 57 ff.), although I am willing to agree that each individual has more than a touch of these qualities about him. I doubt, to put it mildly, whether Ishmael is intended to personify the "Spiritual and Rational Man." If he were, would he not have a more important part in the story than that of a mere reporter? Mr. Gleim's other identifications of characters in the novel as portraying various qualities

are, to me, equally unconvincing. I cannot think that every being in *Moby-Dick* personifies some abstraction.

The symbolical basis of Melville's book is probably a simple one. From it, no doubt, there stem off here and there what may be called allegorical episodes. But that every action in the novel was intended by its author to convey some hidden lesson is a theory which seems improbable. To me, it is more likely that, as in *Mardi*, Melville was often simply swept along by his inventive powers and his tendency toward rhapsodical prose into the composition of passages over which the modern student may puzzle himself but in which there really is little that is hidden.

The fact is, I think, that Mr. Gleim has let his enthusiasm for literary detection carry him away. He has found symbolism, or allegory or parable in *Moby-Dick* where I cannot believe that Melville had a cryptic meaning; and he has found one or another of these everywhere in the book. It is very improbable to me that the artist who, as Mr. Charles R. Anderson, in his excellent *Melville in the South Seas* has demonstrated, could combine experience, reading, and invention so cleverly as to produce an almost perfect illusion of autobiographical reality, could indulge, even in a curiously constructed work like *Moby-Dick*, in such a formless tangle of allegory as Mr. Gleim would have us think he does.

In discussing *Moby-Dick*, Mr. Anderson remarks, in his above-cited study, that Melville left no chart for his readers and conjectures that each finds in it what he has taken to it. Mr. Gleim has brought a great many ideas to *Moby-Dick* and has found as many in it, but they actually are his own contributions. I do not conceive them to be Melville's. I applaud the fertility of his mind and marvel at his ingenuity, but I feel that he has detected much that the author of *Moby-Dick* did not write into his novel. To a considerable degree, he has regrettably abused his ingenuity, and his mental fertility has not been really productive.

*The Meaning of Moby-Dick* is a handsomely made little book, uniform with Mr. Minnegerode's *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville*, which was produced by the same publisher. Unfortunately Mr. Gleim's book has no index and is only very sketchily documented. He who uses it will have to know his *Moby-Dick* thoroughly or else spend hours hunting the passages to which Mr. Gleim refers. There are some misprints which mar the text. Among these are "Twy Pots" for "Try Pots" (p. 23); "agle" for "angle" (p. 51); "deulson" for "delusion" (p. 52); "Khyyam" for "Khayyam" (p. 78); "Zorpaster" for "Zoroaster" (p. 113); and "Douglass" for "Douglas" (p. 141). I question, also, whether, on p. 52, Mr. Gleim had in mind actually so geometrical a word as "parabolically."

HOLMES OF THE BREAKFAST-TABLE. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. x, 172 pp. \$2.50.

A biographer is rarely guilty of underestimating or understating the importance of his subject. When the subject's reputation is partially eclipsed, as Oliver Wendell Holmes's is today, convention permits a fanfare in renewing its claims to attention. But, instead of trumpets, Mr. Howe opens his study with a frank admission that Holmes has not maintained, and probably will never recover, the high place he once occupied in American letters. Nevertheless, adds Mr. Howe, Holmes is historically important in our literature, and a residuum of his prolific writing deserves to endure.

With so temperate a claim even Mr. Bernard DeVoto could scarcely disagree. When to this judicious attitude the book adds unfamiliar portraits and fresh documents in unusual number for so brief a study, the reader quite naturally expects something like the definitive short biography of the Autocrat. And that is precisely what Mr. Howe has failed to give us.

The trouble seems to be with Mr. Howe's point of view. He saw and heard Holmes in the flesh at the 250th anniversary of the founding of Harvard; he began his long professional career in Boston at the moment when Holmes's position as the grand old man of American letters was at its highest. He has watched that once impressive figure recede and dwindle, but he is still looking down the same vista that he—and Boston—looked down a half century ago. Holmes the wit, Holmes the professional diner-out and florist in verse, Holmes of the Saturday Club and the Class of 1829—this is the sprightly little gentleman whose literary career Mr. Howe traces with orderly steps. All is pleasant, decorous, and as faded as the red velvet picture frames of 1880.

The fact is that to make the Class of 1939 understand the meaning and importance of Holmes the biographer needs to use fewer lines, and bolder ones. Certain traits, ideas, and writings need to be high-lighted; the rest should be left in shadow. Holmes the fighter, Holmes the scientist, and Holmes the essayist have not today their full due, and though giving them their due entails also admitting their limitations, the resultant portrait will be a far more dynamic figure than Mr. Howe's faded Victorian.

Thus Mr. Howe devotes to Holmes's chief medical writings only five pages, which carry a faint aroma of boredom with battles long ago. That in his attacks upon the traditional pharmacopœia, whether directly or in connection with denunciations of homeopathy, and still more in the great essay "On the Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever," Holmes was from fifty to one hundred and fifty years ahead of his time, Mr.

Howe realizes only vaguely, if at all. (My second figure is not extravagance; it is merely optimism. It was in 1861 that Holmes, reprinting his essay, added that "The whole question I consider to be now transferred from the domain of medical inquiry to the consideration of Life Insurance agencies and Grand Juries." Women still die of childbed infections, but the day which Holmes anticipated, when a murder charge would lie against the physician attendant at such a death, has yet to dawn.) The Holmes who mentioned, in a parenthetical half-sentence, "all that maddening narcotics have driven through the brains of men, or smothered passion nursed in the fancies of women," had taken in his stride the essentials of the modern psychiatry we are so serious about. Thus far Holmes's scientific importance is absolute. To restore perspective, and see him as after all a man of his century, we need only add to these pioneering utterances the recollection that one of his novels is based on an old wives' concept of prenatal influence, and another on a ludicrously inadequate explanation of the origin of a profound psychological derangement.

Holmes's theological opinions are today much harder for the average reader to get interested in than his scientific work is. We need to have the dust and heat of pre-Civil War heresy-hunts revitalized for us by something more than two or three quotations from the religious press's reviews of *The Autocrat* and *The Professor*. Again it was the fighting Holmes, not the punster of the Saturday Club, who was to the fore, and because to the modern reader the issues of the fight are obscure, help is needed to re-create them.

To the originality of *The Autocrat* Mr. Howe pays deserved tribute, yet even here I think he understates his case. The book is Holmes's masterpiece; it is the cream of twenty-five years of witty conversation. But it is also the only American work of the nineteenth century which takes its rightful place on the shelves beside Hazlitt and Lamb and even Montaigne. When Holmes wrote those papers he was still writing for fun; the succeeding volumes were written because he had a monthly stint of copy to provide. Nor is the lower level of the later volumes surprising. Few men have in them the making of more than one *Autocrat*, or *Moby-Dick*, or *Huckleberry Finn*.

A reappraisal of Holmes, as of most of the other Boston Victorians, is overdue. Unfortunately Mr. Howe has not given it to us. His subject is still Holmes of the breakfast-table. That figure needs to be supported by Holmes of the lay-pulpit, Holmes of the arena, and Holmes of the dissecting-room.

Western Reserve University.

DeLANCEY FERGUSON.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN SOCIAL COMEDY FROM 1787 TO 1936. By John Geoffrey Hartman. Philadelphia. 1939. v, 151 pp.

Dr. Hartman's study of American social comedy, a dissertation written at the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Professor A. H. Quinn, surveys a relatively neglected aspect of our drama. To be sure, the subject has been touched upon in other books, particularly Perley Isaac Reed's *The Realistic Presentation of American Characters in Native American Plays Prior to Eighteen Seventy*, 1918 (not 1894, as Mr. Hartman has it in his bibliography), and Léonie Villard's *Le Théâtre américain*, 1929; but so far as I know, this is the first investigation of any length to be devoted wholly to the theme.

The general thesis of the volume is fairly summed up in the sentence: "American social comedy is in most instances an excellent picture of social life as it has changed throughout the different periods." To establish his contention, Mr. Hartman presents, in a long introductory chapter, a sketch of the rise and development of American comedy of manners and its relation to the contemporaneous social conditions (in which, incidentally, it is not quite clear whether he is writing a history of social comedy or of American society). Chapter II considers seven "phases" of this body of drama: "the international contrast," "the social scene of the past," "the conflict between society and the individual," "the conflict between the generations," "society and the institutions of marriage and divorce," "the interrelations between society and business and public life," and "the conflict between society and love." Chapter III describes some of the principal types of characters that are developed in these plays, such as the gentleman, the gentlewoman, the adventuress, the snob, and the social climber; and Chapter IV consists of a very short summarizing conclusion.

The main weakness of the book is suggested by the foregoing synopsis. To cover a hundred and fifty years of the connection between social and dramatic history in a hundred and fifty pages is almost inevitably to be superficial and to resort to unsubstantiated generalities. For example, Dr. Hartman writes:

Thus during a period [Jackson's administration] when stress was laid upon the working man, social comedy very likely did not have wide popular appeal.

To go to the theatre in his [Clyde Fitch's] day was regarded more strictly as a social event than it is today. Consequently, social comedy appealed to a larger element in the audience.

Apparently, there was a perfect epidemic of bankrupts or we should hardly find it reflected in the drama so frequently in so short a period [from 1845 on].

Another defect, probably arising from undue haste, is the surprising prevalence of grammatical errors. No doctoral dissertation, especially in

English, should be marred by such solecisms as these: "Mr. and Mrs. Belfort, whom Mrs. Campbell thinks have declined her dinner invitation . . .," "Pollie Ann Maria Stearine, whom he hopes will be able to acquire a title . . .," "neither can ever actually understand the other due to the difference in their fundamental viewpoints . . .," "A Mrs. Lopp and her daughter, Carrie, pause near Jinny Austin for a few moments, the following conversation took place . . .," "Lissa Terry lives in an imaginative world of her own . . .," "The different reactions on the part of the four parents discloses their real natures . . ."

But despite obvious shortcomings, Dr. Hartman's book is a useful contribution to the scrutiny of American drama, offering as it does a comprehensive view of an important but largely overlooked phase of the field. It should serve as a helpful guide to other students, who may be led thereby to examine a fascinating subject more intensively and with fuller documentation. In the author's modest words, "It is therefore hoped that this survey may afford a basis for future study."

*New Jersey College for Women.*

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

THE EARLY THEATER IN EASTERN IOWA: *Cultural Beginnings and the Rise of the Theater in Davenport and Eastern Iowa, 1836-1863*. By Joseph S. Schick. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. ix, 384 pp. \$3.00.

Professor Schick's doctoral dissertation, prepared and published at the University of Chicago, is an interesting and useful venture into the hitherto almost neglected field of the amusements. It concerns itself primarily with the cultural development of Davenport, long a center for the arts in Iowa and later, home of Arthur D. Ficke, George Cram Cook, Floyd Dell, and Susan Glaspell.

On the banks of the Mississippi, greatest of the river highways, the first settlement on the west shore to be linked with the east by a bridge and a railroad, home of the first college and publishing house in Iowa, center of a large German population, Davenport was a happy choice for such a study. Dr. Schick has made effective use of local newspaper files, theater programs, travelers' accounts, and later works, his dissertation being carefully annotated, and containing two valuable appendices: (1) a chronological list of all known theatrical performances, public entertainments, circuses, lectures, concerts, and events of public interest such as the beginning of a steam ferry, organization of a temperance society, opening up of a private school, arrival of celebrated visitors, foreign immigrants, etc.; (2) an alphabetical list of all known dramatic performances and circus spectacles of a dramatic type in Davenport from the beginning of the theater there to 1863; with names of authors, location of texts, and

publishing data when known, names of performing companies, and dates of performance.

Among the items important for social history are the German merrymakings on the Sabbath and the disapproval these aroused among conservative neighbors; the inviting of celebrated lecturers like Horace Greeley in the hope they would arouse Eastern interest in the community; the reflection of the civil conflict in the lectures from 1857 on; the fact that the list of newspapers and foreign periodicals in the local lending library of 1854 was far superior to that of the present Davenport tax-supported institution; the success of the German theater; the high license fee; and the variety of entertainments. In 1924 this reviewer urged local studies of this sort which are points of contact for both history and literature in the Mississippi Valley, and she is glad to see them being creditably carried out.

On the other hand, there are various blemishes in this book to which attention should be called. The lack of an index will handicap students. The title is a misnomer, for the almost exclusive concentration on Davenport prevents the book from being an adequate survey of eastern Iowa. The wealth amassed by the lead mines at Dubuque and the importance of the river traffic at Keokuk make these towns as well as Muscatine, Clinton, Burlington, Fort Madison, and the patronage of the surrounding country, desiderata in anything that purports to be a study of the eastern portion of the state. The plan of the book is rather unfortunate, too, in that a chapter on Schools, Bookstores, and Library Associations is tacked on at the end, whereas it might more appropriately form a general background and introduction; in particular it seems it should precede that on Lecture and Debating Societies.

Even more serious faults occur in the author's loose use of the term *frontier* and his overemphasis on Professor Rusk's work, entirely ignoring as he does Rusk's predecessor W. H. Venable, whose *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (1891) forms a very substantial and neglected basis for Rusk.

This loose application of the term *frontier* to a rapidly growing Western city of several thousand is responsible for the misleading and unsound generalizations with which the book opens. The frontier, as defined by Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, its chief exponent, is the meeting place between barbarism and the advance guard of civilization; it is the place of struggle between red men and white, the ferment of two races that results in the displacement of the Indian first by the white hunter, then by the white farmer, tradesman, and capitalist. With the advent of these latter the frontier vanishes, usually farther westward.

As was specifically pointed out by Professor Turner, one of the

distinctive characteristics of the American frontier was the rapidity of its advance. A site might be untutored wilderness one decade, a bustling metropolis the next. In the latter it had ceased to be a frontier.

The states east of the Mississippi for a longer time than those immediately bordering the river on the west preserved their frontier characteristics. By the time the Indians had been thrust beyond the Mississippi, their power had been rather effectually broken save for the wandering plainsmen. The discovery of gold in California and the Oregon trek pushed the frontier to the Pacific in Brobdingnagian bounds, and the river towns became purveyors of luxuries and necessities to those further west. The mere opening of the territories for settlement by Congress indicated that the epic life of the Indian, the trapper, the explorer, the frontier trader was past. By no stretch of the imagination can a community be called a frontier which boasts several churches, hotels, a newspaper, a jewelry store, a millinery shop, a carriage shop, a nursery, a drug store, a reading room, a fire department, a seminary for young ladies, all items chronicled for the first five years of this study.

It has been recognized by all students of the cultural as well as historical aspects of the frontier—Professor Turner, Porter Butts (*Art in Wisconsin*), Moses Coit Tyler, this reviewer among others—that from the earliest days of the Virginia settlement or the French and Spanish exploration, there have been gifted men who have pursued their artistic avocations as did Sandys his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or Audubon his bird drawings in spite of all obstacles. There have also been men and women who in the line of their duty have written astonishingly vivid or moving factual narratives. That does not mean, however, that the frontier *per se* was conducive to artistic creation or that the characteristic frontiersman was an actor, painter, or novelist. He remains rather in his higher attributes a creation like Leatherstocking, or in his earthier aspects one of the Bushes portrayed in *The Prairie* by the same master romancer—hunters coarsened, made lawless by their absence from the refinements and restrictions of civilization. It means, too, that the astounding development of our country, the transformation in a few decades that serious scientists foretold would take centuries, was due to the very facts indirectly brought out by Dr. Schick though not stressed by him—that men and women brought up in relatively civilized communities followed in the wake of the fleeing Indian and the trapper and hunting farmer, and in their new homes in the West tried to reproduce the life they had known and the amusements that had been theirs in an Eastern or European clime.

To ignore these facts is to destroy the frontier concept and to make studies and generalizations as to it meaningless.

William Woods College.

DOROTHY DONDORF.

ROMANTICISM AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL. By Agnes Addison. New York: Richard R. Smith. 1938. viii, 187 pp. \$2.50.

This monograph has a praiseworthy purpose; namely, to study romantic architecture in its relations with romantic literature. Most of us believe that, to prevent the barrenness of overspecialization, such combinations between studies of the several humane arts should be encouraged; but to prevent works like the above from being the normal products of such unions, I suggest that a protracted engagement be required before the marriage takes place. On the architectural side, this seems to be a satisfactory though uninspiring performance. The sixth chapter, on the Gothic revival in the United States, should be of especial interest to readers of this journal.

Dr. Addison's attempt to correlate the romantic literature of England, France, and Germany, with the architecture of those lands seems to me a failure because her knowledge of the literature is superficial. Her summaries of the literary movements in those countries are no better than one would expect to find in an average college-student's final examination paper. Her work is jejune in comparison with B. Sprague Allen's *Tides in English Taste* and Warren H. Smith's *Architecture in English Fiction*.

The quality of Dr. Addison's literary scholarship and judgment may be gauged by considering the following quotations from her book:

In England the Gothic Revival was not dependent on the literature of the Romantic Movement to any great extent, for none of the greatest of the School, except Walter Scott, were [sic] interested in the Middle Ages. (p. 148.)

Washington Irving, . . . one of the few American writers of the Romantic School. (p. 133.)

In the literature of the United States there is nothing comparable to the Romantic Movements in Europe.

In subsequent pages Dr. Addison presents facts which disprove that assertion, but she seems unaware of the inconsistency.

*University of Illinois.*

ERNEST BERNBAUM.

THE LITERATURE OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN WEST, 1803-1903. Selected and Edited by Levette Jay Davidson and Prudence Bostwick. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1939. 449 pp. \$5.00.

*The Literature of the Rocky Mountain West* [to quote from its preface] has been prepared in order to meet the apparent need for an introductory volume and for a representative collection of selections from the outstanding works published in the one hundred years following the Louisiana Purchase. The inclusion of generous passages from over sixty books and the addition of a descriptive bibliography of over one hundred other volumes that treat the Rocky Mountain region should reveal the richness of this little-worked field. The introductions preceding the excerpts from each author, if taken together, might be considered as essays towards a critical history of the literary activity inspired by the development of the Rocky Mountain West.

The geographical region as defined includes Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, and northern New Mexico. The compilers are to be congratulated at being able to stay within their self-assigned limits without stepping across now and then to pluck a flower of Oregon or Texas.

As an older professor of English once remarked to me about anthologies, "It is difficult to appreciate architecture by looking at specimen bricks." The present collection obviously suffers from this generic fault, but since the anthology is a recognized genre of our period, the compilers can certainly not be held responsible.

Even with these limitations the volume fills a real need. No comparable one is in existence, for Coleman's *Western Prose and Poetry* spreads much more thinly over a far greater geographical and chronological range. The editors have done their work carefully, and have on the whole selected well. The ordinary reader may fail to appreciate fully the amount of scholarly effort which must have been expended to compile the information for the prefaces which introduce each excerpt. Biographical and background information upon these many obscure writers and books is remarkably difficult to come by, and more is made available in this volume that can be found in any other scholarly work. Unfortunately the sources of this information are not always given.

The compilers have made a very successful split between well-known and obscure writers. Thus we have, on the one hand, Irving, Parkman, Greeley, Whitman, and Twain, and on the other, Stenhouse, Emerson Bennett, and Ann Bowman.

As to the selections themselves, there is of course infinite room for argument. Is the vivid passage from Stansbury's *Survey* at all representative of that weighty and pedestrian volume? Could not Coyner, or Winthrop, or Theodore Roosevelt be substituted for some of the others?

But these are arguments of personal taste. Only in two respects does the present reviewer feel that the compilers may perhaps be legitimately taken to task as regards selection. One of these is their almost complete omission of the covered-wagon literature. The Oregon and California trails trisected this region; the establishment of these trails and the travel over them was one of the most characteristic and colorful phases of Western history; its literature is rich and varied (e.g., Thornton, Bryant, Manly, Delano, Steele, Mrs. Royce). Yet except for extracts from Parkman and Ferris, neither of which is much to the point, the emigration is neglected.

The other doubtful feature is the omission of verse, except for one longish poem and another of two stanzas. The instinct is undoubtedly right, for the West as a whole has been much better expressed in its

prose than in its verse. But the Rocky Mountain region is, we hope, not so badly off as to be reduced to Lawrence N. Greenleaf and Cy Warman. Surely Frémont's *On Re-crossing the Rocky Mountains* should not be allowed to slip into oblivion. Longfellow derived "The Cross of Snow" from a Western mountain, and in one of the best passages in *Evangeline* he describes the West—

a desert land, where the mountains  
Lift through perpetual snows, their lofty and luminous summits.

Finally, there is Whitman's "Spirit That Formed This Scene" (mentioned in one of the prefaces, but not quoted), which is good enough to appear in some anthologies which have no concern with the West.

Any anthology, however, must be judged more by what it offers than by what it omits. By this standard the present volume ranks so high that no self-respecting library nor any scholar interested in American regional literature should be without it. By its biographical, literary-historical, and bibliographical sections it also becomes a valuable work of reference.

*University of California.*

GEORGE R. STEWART.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. By Mary Angela Bennett. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1939. vii, 172 pp. \$2.00.

FRANK R. STOCKTON: *A Critical Biography*. By Martin I. J. Griffin. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1939. vii, 178 pp. \$2.00.

HENRY BLAKE FULLER: *A Critical Biography*. By Constance M. Griffin. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1939. vii, 117 pp. \$1.50.

Not long ago university English faculties would allow for advanced degree dissertations no author or theme not hoary with age. Particularly taboo were American authors. Happily all this is changing. Everywhere now American writers and writings, even those of minor import, are open for research by graduate students. In a single publishing season the University of Pennsylvania issues three volumes prepared by students under faculty supervision, all three dealing with fairly contemporary authors of minor rank. Highly is this to be commended. Though one cannot expect mature criticism and definitive results from such immature literary workers, their findings nevertheless are highly valuable. Under the lashings of the research mania inculcated by instructors in charge, the eager young workers grub up an enormous amount of usable

material. They locate and read every scrap their author has ever published and they compile bibliographies surprising in their comprehensiveness. For instance, the mere list of Miss Phelps's books and articles and poems with dates and publishers fills nineteen closely printed pages. Moreover, the greater number of these pieces are described in the text of the biographer's volume or briefly outlined as to content. First aid unquestionably this must be for future literary historians or biographers. When one considers that practically all of the American minor writers are being subjected now to this research process by eager workers with plenty of time to pursue their explorations to the utter limits, one can realize how richly the future historian is to be equipped with materials.

The three writers investigated by the University of Pennsylvania students have never before been the subjects of formal biographies. Though the present studies are brief—150 pages each on the average—and though few letters or journal entries or illustrative extracts from typical writings are given, in the case of two of the authors treated it may be ruled that no further biography will ever be needed. Better critics must assign to the authors their final standings, but all needed biographical material has been presented.

One is in a moralizing mood as one finishes the three little volumes. These three writers were of importance in their generation. They were the authors, each of them, of sensational best sellers. Miss Phelps with her *The Gates Ajar* brought waves of emotion to the whole nation. The book was issued in England in enormous editions, was translated into many foreign languages, and gave its name to a cigar, a collar, a funeral piece, and many other things. Nearly every year during three decades she furnished a literary sensation, and yet her biographer begins her study with the statement, "Tremendously popular at one time, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, is scarcely known to the present-day reader even by name." And she has been dead only twenty-seven years. With the biographer's reasons for this neglect I agree in full: "She was not gifted with great creative imagination"; she lacked humor; she was perpetually a propagandist; "She simply could not conceive of life or literature without a moral purpose"; and like most of the women of her generation, she was over-emotional.

Frank Stockton's literary fate has been greatly similar. Everybody during the generation that ruled the three decades after 1870 knew *Rudder Grange*, "The Lady, or the Tiger?", *The Casting Away of Mrs. Leeks and Mrs. Aleshine*, and all the others. They were sensations in their day, and Stockton seemed as sure of literary immortality as was the English author of *Alice in Wonderland* with whom many compared him. But who reads Stockton today? "The Lady, or the Tiger?"

is still known to many, but it has little vitality as a permanent classic. As an elaborated conundrum with a clever surprise ending, it amused its day. Stockton we see now was an entertainer of the columnist variety intent only on furnishing amusement for the moment. He reflected not at all the America of his time and he left no followers whom he had influenced. He was a passing literary fashion like the balloon sleeves of the eighteen-eighties.

Henry B. Fuller, who was twenty-three years younger than Stockton and thirteen years younger than Miss Phelps, is near enough to our own times to be still appreciated. He was a pioneer in a literary movement that perhaps not yet has reached its culmination. As such he deserves another biography, a larger study by a more mature critic. The present student worker has prepared the way for such a biography with his comprehensive bibliography of all the man's voluminous writings. He has also discovered rare materials held by the family connections of Fuller, and these he has drawn upon to clear up areas of his subject's life and writings heretofore vague. Moreover, he has published in full an hitherto unknown drama by Fuller, "The Red Carpet," and also a prose piece entitled "Carl Carlson's Progress." But a writer as problematical and as important as is Fuller is no subject for a college student to handle even under the very competent guidance of Dr. Quinn. Fuller during his brief day played two major instruments, now one and now the other. A Mid-West Henry James, gifted as James was not with poetry in his soul, he interpreted Italy, the love for which was to him a veritable religion. But he was also a native of Chicago, the antithesis of his Italy, and this he also loved and sought to portray. Did this duality of work and worship prevent him from realizing to the full the powers that were his? Should he have thrown aside his Italian violin and have concentrated his art upon concerts with his Chicago saxophone? Or vice versa? Some more mature critic and biographer must wrestle with that problem. The biography of Fuller is yet to be written.

*Rollins College.*

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

THEY WORKED FOR A BETTER WORLD. By Allan Seager. Illustrated by Theodore Haupt. "The People's Library." New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. iv, 123, 1 pp. \$0.60.

As an introduction to the tradition of American liberalism, Mr. Seager's essays on Williams, Paine, Emerson, Mrs. Stanton, and Bellamy will be useful only to the desultory reader. Their scale and content are approximately those of a college lecture, and many a teacher could profitably emulate the charm of their style. The impression that they leave, however, is of an author relatively unconcerned with the past,

yet constrained to argue that "if it comes to a fight again, the knowledge of how these people went to work will come in handy." What this means is not entirely clear.

Mr. Seager asserts, to be sure, that we should all help in the endless battle for the right of people—all people, black or white, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant—to "live together with decency, freedom, and dignity." History, he says, shows that this is the good fight, to be fought without regard for self.

The trouble is that none of Mr. Seager's examples displayed their best strategy on such a broad front. Reading of their lives suggests that for social progress the formula is to catch an idea and hang on, come hell or high water. One has a feeling, therefore, that Earl Browder and Roger Baldwin are more likely to fight the good fight, and to persuade the people to help them, than is a committee of the American Association for Adult Education, for whom Mr. Seager wrote this book. Although he does not say so, one suspects that Mr. Seager has this feeling too.

Quite possibly there are concepts floating around today which are good enough to catch and hang on to, in the hope that, after the struggle is over, humanity will be somewhat the better for someone's having fought. If so, Mr. Seager does not tell us what they are. To reiterate the necessity for constantly and jealously guarding democratic principles in general, and civil liberties in particular, is wholly admirable. But Williams, Paine, Emerson, Mrs. Stanton, and Bellamy were remarkable for carrying the fight to the enemy, not for digging in and repulsing attacks. They worked for a better world, not to save the world they had.

*The University of Texas.*

THEODORE HORNBERGER.

AMERICAN SHAKESPEAREAN CRITICISM, 1607-1865. By Alfred Van Rensselaer Westfall. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1939. xii, 305 pp.

A study of the indigenous criticism of Shakespeare would furnish an important chapter in the cultural history of any nation. For America, and for the period from the first presidency down to the Civil War, it has special pertinence; for it is a significant part of the slow progress in the refashioning of our strained cultural relations with England.

Almost half of Dr. Westfall's volume is an analytical bibliography of the sixty-odd American editions of Shakespeare before Richard Grant White's. At the very outset it must be said that the record of the work of the earliest American publishers and editors cannot be made inspiring, not merely because it is affected by the cultural lag of a young nation preoccupied with its politics and its economics, but because critical scholar-

ship presupposes interest, training, facilities, and continuity that were not then to be found in the United States. On this point it may suffice to note that probably no American editor of Shakespeare before Peabody, in 1836, had access to a copy of the First Folio.

This bibliographic material has been worked over with great assiduity, but it is the record, in the main, of a scholarship generally dependent upon England, and in most instances frankly second-hand. Since there was no protection for English copyrights, our publishers and editors picked over industriously the resources of Johnson, Steevens, and Reed; but it is difficult to place that sort of scholarly discretion above the level of intelligent opportunism. From time to time, however, a forceful and original interest in questions of text or interpretation resulted in an edition of undoubted critical merit. In the examination and judgment of the work of Dennie, Peabody, Verplanck, Hudson, and most importantly, of course, White, Dr. Westfall succeeds in raising effective contrast between various types of capacity and acumen and merely commercial and pedestrian editorship.

His treatment of criticism on its more immediately human side seems less informing, less thorough perhaps, and certainly less well organized. That may be due in part to a poverty of matter that defies the most earnest intention; for in the domain of "literary" criticism the period is even more arid than in literal scholarship. Lowell's "Shakespeare Once More," probably the first substantial and well-focused aesthetic judgment of Shakespeare written in the United States, appeared three years after the close of the period under consideration. The want of a single deliberate pronouncement upon Shakespeare in Poe's published criticism, the all but utter neglect of him in Holmes's *Autocrat* and *Professor*, would seem to bear out the author's citation of De Quincey's remark in 1850 that Shakespeare was "not popular" on this side of the Atlantic. Emerson's lecture in *Representative Men*, in 1848, may bespeak the contrary, and we have his son's evidence that Emerson once defined the cultivated man as "one who can tell you something new and true about Shakespeare"; but the spread of Emerson's literary interests far exceeded his countrymen's. That general dearth of significant and ponderable criticism within the period has tempted Dr. Westfall into consideration of allusion and chit-chat from writers without great importance. So largely negative a conclusion scarcely needs exhaustive evidence to support it, and so far as the findings are affirmative, they measure little more than a vague critical good will.

The form and presentation of this latter portion of the book seem to reflect its academic origin (it is a revised dissertation of some nine years ago). An artificial topical treatment tends to upset the proportions of

the important and the unimportant, and the surplusage and formality of conscientious doctoral labor are not trimmed and ordered drastically enough for the purposes of publication. The chapter on "Our Presidents as Shakespearean Critics," for example, is open to objection on both scores. The volume remains, nevertheless, a really important repository of bibliographical data, and a reliable record of an interesting passage in our cultural history.

*Columbia University.*

H. R. STEEVES.

FINLEY PETER DUNNE: *Mr. Dooley at His Best*. Edited by Elmer Ellis, with Foreword by Franklin P. Adams. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. xxvi, 291 pp. \$2.50.

The range of Mr. Dooley's ponderings on a score or so of subjects is well represented in this collection of his monologues. Here, in his rich Irish brogue, he speaks out his mind not only on American politics and foreign affairs but also on athletics, literature, women, education, and many other perplexing topics. Properly, his comments on the Spanish-American War, the remarks which did most to make him famous, are given more pages than any other subject he treats. And since the editor has drawn the choicest passages from a number of books about Dooley, naturally the collection is better than any volume put together by the Irishman's creator, Finley Peter Dunne.

Mr. Adams in his Foreword, though he is somewhat uncritically appreciative, is illuminatingly reminiscent concerning the reactions of readers to the pieces when they first appeared. Dunne's account of the creation of his comic hero, also in the introductory pages, is of value. Professor Ellis supplies notations which help clarify numerous topical allusions. Consequently, this volume will serve well as an introduction to the witty commentator whom so many of his contemporaries recall with great affection.

*University of Chicago.*

WALTER BLAIR.

THE RAMPAGING FRONTIER: *Manners and Humors of Pioneer Days in the South and the Middle West*. By Thomas D. Clark. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Publishers. [1939.] xiv, 350 pp. \$3.00.

Believing that the historian treating the frontier of 1775 to 1850 "too long . . . has neglected the earthy elements of humanity which went into the making of the West," Professor Clark in this book, subtitled "Manners and Humors of Pioneer Days," attempted to remedy the neglect. His method was to utilize, in addition to such conventional sources

as diaries, memoirs, travel books and legislative records, such unconventional ones as humorous stories of frontier life published in newspapers and the *Spirit of the Times*. He brought together his findings in a fashion which he thus explains:

The predominant features of social development in the old West have governed the organization of my study. I have fitted my parts into a whole, presenting what I hope is a well-rounded picture of the life of the common man. The frontier is the central theme, and hence the thread which holds it together. I have selected my stories, first because they are good stories; second because they amplify the body of my narrative.

The treatment has the range the author claims for it, vivifying people of many sorts—strumpets, liars, and rascals as well as ladies, lawyers, and preachers. It shows members of this heterogeneous populace milling around the square on court days, loosening their tongues at barbecues, shooting varmints in the forests, producing red ears at husking bees, getting religion at camp meetings, or otherwise carrying on characteristic activities. The result is one of the most vivid, the most lively and the most entertaining pictures of the period and the section.

Chiefly the book has these qualities because so many phases of Western life entered the humor, because Dr. Clark has a good ear for a fine story, and because he believes that, as he says, "There is no richer source for the study of human activities on the frontier than its thousands of humorous stories." He dots pages with brief tales and ends most chapters with one or more *apropos* longer narratives, largely drawn from the *Spirit*. One result, an important though incidental value of this book, is that it adds to the findings of such recent delvers into Porter's magazine as Messrs. Meine, DeVoto, and Hudson new and delightful discoveries.

No one, after reading this volume, will disagree with the claim that these unconventional materials have extraordinary historical value. Concerning the nature of their greatest usefulness, however, there may be a question. A study of humorous narratives and even of diaries and travelers' accounts will show that they are all, to greater or lesser degrees, colored and shaped by their authors' imaginations. All of them, therefore—some more, some less—modify reality. The Kentucky editorialist (quoted on p. 225 of this book), who remarked the belief of non-Kentuckians that "horse jockeying and tippling is [our] chief employment" was really complaining about one such modification. For just as *raconteurs* today have perpetuated the untenable notion that all Scotchmen are stingy and all Englishmen humorless, so in those days authors repeated stock characterizations and stock incidents which did not square with reality.

In this book, the reader comes upon numerous similar literary formulae, serious or humorous, widespread in the period. Here, to cite a few

examples, are the inquisitive native (pp. 28, 57), the frontier boaster (pp. 69-70, 88, 89, 101, 115), the type Westerner (p. 20), the crowded settler who could not bear neighbors "closer than one hundred miles" (p. 94), the prodigious frontier drinker (p. 110), and "The Arkansaw Traveler" formula (p. 70). These examples, as well as others of different kinds which might be cited, may serve to suggest that the narratives have been touched up by artistic invention. The point is not, of course, that stories using literary formulae or other imaginative devices have no elements of fact in them; it is that they contain fictitious matter as well. Since this is true, the question arises, how is the historian to take account of this fictional adulteration? Dr. Clark solves the problem chiefly by emphasizing the fact that he is reprinting comic stories and by assuming that no informed reader will expect literal truth in such tales. For the scholar, therefore, who knows how to discount heightened or invented passages, this will be a useful study; but the less critical reader may get from it a rather distorted conception of pioneer life.

It seems possible, therefore, that the author and other historians who hereafter work the rich field here exploited may find safer and more profitable two other procedures which Professor Clark employs sporadically—studying the narratives as imaginative creations which reveal the way their creators thought and felt (as in the chapter on "Liars"), or carefully winnowing away the fiction before utilizing the many grains of fact these writings contain. Either method, it is quite conceivable, will yield some future harvests even richer than the one here gathered.

*University of Chicago.*

WALTER BLAIR.

THE MODERN MOVEMENT IN AMERICAN THEOLOGY: *Sketches in the History of American Protestant Thought from the Civil War to the World War.* By Frank Hugh Foster. New York, London, and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company. [1939.] 219 pp. \$1.75.

Students of American history are indebted to Dr. John Gardner Greene for making possible the publication of this careful and intimate review of a critical period in American thought and religion. The volume might well be called *The Education of F. H. Foster*, for the author writes throughout of a movement in which he participated. The story begins with the new spirit among Congregational ministers, typified by Horace Bushnell, Washington Gladden, and Henry Ward Beecher, a spirit that marks the collapse of New England Calvinism, and then it tells by what painful and cautious steps theologians gradually constructed a system of doctrine in which the evolutionary science and idealistic philosophy of the time found a *modus vivendi* with Christianity. The culmination of this enterprise came at the turn of the century in

the works of William N. Clarke, George A. Gordon, and Newman Smyth. Viewed in this perspective, the nineties were an exceptionally creative decade.

Professor Foster was not content with a mere exposition; he was an acute and competent critic. His criticism was internal to the movement and is doubly valuable, because, being antiquated, it could be written only by one for whom the movement, now largely forgotten by a more "modern" generation, still possessed a personal appeal. His chief criticism is that this liberal theology cared too little for history, with the exception of the new Andover Movement, to which he objected because of its ecclesiasticism. The leaders obviously found their inspiration in the moral idealism of the time but pretended to have found it in the Gospels. Evolution, universalism, personalism, and empiricism were each in turn translated into the gospel of Jesus, with religious sincerity, but with little regard for the growing critical history, and with little sense of the evolution of religion itself. Foster, being converted to evolutionism and being also a conscientious historian, insisted on a more radical reconstruction than the majority of his liberal friends thought necessary. It is not too early to see the justice of Foster's critique, for with a more adequate history and a sobered geneticism liberalism has already become something quite different from this movement which gave it birth. And this is true even within the limits of strictly theological controversy, to which Foster's account is confined, to say nothing of the "social gospel" which has eclipsed these controversies. What Foster's account suggests to the reader, though he apparently did not see it, is that a gospel must first of all be a living gospel, and if it happens to be unhistorical, so much the worse for history.

*Columbia University.*

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER.

RICHARD ALSOP: "*A Hartford Wit.*" By Karl P. Harrington. Middletown, Conn.: Mattabesett Press. 1939. Edition Limited to 300 Copies. viii, 142 pp. \$1.75.

Heretofore we have known very little about the subject of this monograph, and so far as accuracy is concerned we have apparently known even less than we thought. It seems that Richard Alsop was never a millionaire, nor anything like it, though his family was relatively prosperous; that he never attended Yale or any other college, though for a time he received instruction from a Yale tutor; and that he died in Flatbush, Long Island, and was buried there. In his native Middletown (Connecticut) Alsop is almost forgotten. Mr. Harrington, Professor Emeritus of Latin in Wesleyan University, in the same city, confesses

honestly in the Preface to his volume that he himself had never heard of Richard Alsop the poet until his attention was "accidentally drawn to his career by investigating his activities as a 'printer.'" "I dare say," continues the author, "that ninety-nine out of every one hundred of those living in Middletown today never even heard of him."

The reviewer not only is positive that this statement is correct, but he suspects strongly that practically the same condition obtained in Middletown about forty years ago. As a student for eight years, in high school and college, in Alsop's home town, beginning in 1897, he does not remember ever having heard of Richard Alsop, though occasionally a hazy reference was made to some "Alsop House." Only much later, in studying the cultural relations between America and Scandinavia, did he stumble on this writer, whose intellectual curiosity and literary interests included the Scandinavian. It is high time that we have more information about him and Professor Harrington has made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of Alsop.

The author's task has been greater than the size of his volume might indicate. Much of his research must have yielded but negative results. Alsop's publications are exceedingly scarce; the whereabouts of several of his manuscripts is unknown; bibliophiles and antiquarians can furnish but little aid; and the poet's fondness for anonymity and collaboration has made identification of writings difficult. On the other hand, Professor Harrington has interviewed or corresponded with all surviving members of the Alsop family that he could find; he has examined many manuscripts in their possession; and he has studied rare Alsop items in several libraries. Also, many letters have been discovered which are now published for the first time. Moreover, he has with convincing meticulousness examined the probate records of the City of Middletown to determine the magnitude of the Alsop wealth, and has for all time exploded the tradition of the millionaire.

The book before us is a factual biography, written in a simple, unpretentious style. It contains numerous representative selections from Alsop's works—in the field of satire, the lyric, history, travel, biography, translation, and romance—with here and there an interpretative comment or characterization. The volume is certainly not intended to be an intensive or complete analysis of Alsop's literary genius. This task still remains to be done. Much attention is paid to the dates and circumstances of the poet's publications, and his extraordinary versatility is properly emphasized. Alsop was not only the leading creative spirit in his group at a time when Hartford rather than Boston was the literary hub of New England, but he was probably the foremost American language student of his generation (1761-1815), and he was a naturalist,

printing patron, hunter, and taxidermist. Some of the birds that he stuffed may still be seen. Business, it seems, was only a second love.

Harrington's investigation not only corrects several inaccuracies of biographical data that have been current for a century or more, but supplies much new information about periods in Alsop's life concerning which we formerly knew almost nothing. It is adorned with a frontispiece portrait of Alsop "according to Sharples." The volume, divided into ten chapters, contains a "Partial Bibliography," but unfortunately no index. Incidentally, the kind reference to the reviewer's modest article on Alsop (p. vii) should read, in full, "Scandinavian Influences in the Works of William Dunlap and Richard Alsop," and the name of the journal in which it was published should be *Scandinavian Studies* (not *Review*). Also, the date 1845 on page 42 should be 1804-5, an obvious misprint. But these are minor matters. Students of Alsop will need Professor Harrington's book.

*Yale University.*

ADOLPH B. BENSON.

## BRIEF MENTION

THEODORE DREISER PRESENTS THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF THOREAU. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. 162 pp. \$1.00.

Following a brief introduction, Mr. Dreiser attempts in this slender volume an integration of Thoreau's scattered observations upon some fifteen general topics such as Pantheism, Morals, Social and Religious Institutions, Friendship, and Death. In a scientific age, preoccupied with the *how*, and incapable of answering *why*, Thoreau has appealed to the editor as a highly original thinker, most "illuminative" as to the "implications of scientific results." Thoreau was, he thinks, after a lifetime of observation of Nature at close range, committed to the concept of life held more recently by Loeb and Einstein, as "directed," but "only by immutable law." Because designed for the popular reader, the volume contains no indications of dates or specific sources for materials quoted.

*The State University of Iowa.* BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD.

ANTHONY PHILIP HEINRICH: *A Nineteenth-Century Composer in America.* By William Treat Upton. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. xiv, 337 pp. \$4.50.

A biography based largely upon the scrapbook of a violinist and composer of numerous patriotic and other works who lived for a while in Pennsylvania and Kentucky but whose chief connections were with the musical coteries of London, Boston, and New York. The student of the history of music in the United States will profit greatly by a perusal of this work, and literary bibliographers ought to note in it letters written by Washington Irving (p. 162) and John Howard Payne (pp. 176-177). C. G.

AMERICAN JAZZ. By Wilder Hobson. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. [1939.] 230 pp. \$2.50.

A combination of exposition and history, the chief permanent value of the book may lie in its elucidation of a large number of words and expressions peculiar to the devotees of the sounding brass. C. G.

THE FIRST MAGAZINE: *A History of The Gentleman's Magazine. With an Account of Dr. Johnson's Editorial Activity and of the Notice Given America in the Magazine.* By C. Lennart Carlson. Providence, R. I.: Brown University. 1938. ix, 281 pp. \$3.00.

Chapter VII deals with "The Magazine and America." Oglethorpe's settlement attracted the most attention until the fear of the French cen-

tered interest upon the Northern colonies. The poetry of certain Colonials like Richard Lewis, John Seccombe, and "J. Dumbleton" was printed, but writers on economics, politics, and science were much more abundant.

C. G.

THE OTHER HALF OF OLD NEW ORLEANS: *Sketches of Characters and Incidents from the Recorder's Court of New Orleans in the Eighteen Forties as Reported in the "Picayune."* By E. Merton Coulter. University, La.: Louisiana State University Press. [1939.] 108 pp. \$2.00.

Other than the local color presented, the chief interest lies in the reproductions of Irish dialect.

C. G.

OUR AMERICAN MUSIC: *Three Hundred Years of It.* By John Tasker Howard. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. Revised Edition. [1939.] xxiii, 743 pp. \$3.50.

Two supplementary chapters are added to bring the history more nearly up to date.

C. G.

THE BEST SHORT STORIES 1939: *And the Yearbook of the American Short Story.* Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1939. xv, 464 pp. \$2.75.

C. G.

A HENRY DAVID THOREAU BIBLIOGRAPHY 1908-1937. By William White. Boston: F. W. Faxon Company. 1939. 51 pp. \$0.75.

Reprinted from the *Bulletin of Bibliography.*

C. G.

THE BOOK IN AMERICA: *A History of the Making, the Selling, and the Collecting of Books in the United States.* By Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, in Collaboration with Ruth Shepard Granniss and Lawrence C. Wroth. New York: R. R. Bowker Company. 1939. xiii, 453 pp. A revision of the edition first published in German in 1937.

C. G.

THE SOUTHERN HARMONY SONGBOOK. Reproduced, with an Introduction, by the Federal Writers' Project of Kentucky, W.P.A. American Guide Series. New York: Hastings House. 1939. xxxii, 336 pp.

Introductory material describes the history of the "Big Singing" at Benton, Kentucky. The text reproduced is that of the 1854 edition of "Singin' Billy" Walker's collection of hymns and songs.

C. G.

THE OATH OF A FREE-MAN. With a Historical Study by Lawrence C. Wroth and a Note on the Stephen Daye Press by Melbert B. Cary, Jr. New York: Press of the Woolly Whale. 1939. No pagination.

The first work done by a press within the confines of what is now the United States is here printed in a fashion supposed to resemble that

of the lost original edition. The explanatory and historical matter is of interest to students of printing.

C. G.

MARK TWAIN'S [DATE, 1601] *Conversation as It Was by the Social Fireside in the Time of the Tudors*. Embellished with an Illuminating Introduction, Facetious Footnotes and a Bibliography by Franklin J. Meine. Privately Printed for The Mark Twain Society of Chicago. 1939. 80 pp. \$6.00.

Texts of the first two printings are reproduced with full commentary. The work is distributed by Argus Books, Chicago.

C. G.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES: *Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes*. By S. I. Hayakawa and Howard Mumford Jones. "American Writers Series." New York, etc.: American Book Company. [1939.] cxxix, 472 pp.

The Introduction to this volume is one of the best in a very useful series. Holmes is considered from the point of view of the present day, and the final estimate of his work is sounder than that of Mr. M. A. De Wolfe Howe, whose recent book is reviewed elsewhere in this number. Here one finds an adequate discussion of Holmes's relation to science, for, as the editors state, "The only thing that saved Holmes's social philosophy from being thoroughly commonplace was the profound effect that medical knowledge and experience had upon his thinking." The selections are well chosen, and they include materials from Holmes's less technical prose upon medical subjects. There are, however, no selections from his poems on medical topics.

FROM ANOTHER WORLD: *The Autobiography of Louis Untermeyer*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1939.] 394 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Untermeyer's autobiography deals primarily with his own intellectual development and with his contacts with leading twentieth-century poets. The earlier chapters throw new light upon the *Masses* and the *Seven Arts* and the men and women who wrote for them. Mr. Untermeyer has known the American poets of recent times better than almost any other man, and he has included notable portraits of Vachel Lindsay, Robert Frost, D. H. Lawrence, Amy Lowell, Elinor Wylie, Sara Teasdale, and others. These chapters are enriched with a number of letters and pieces of hitherto unpublished verse. While the greater portion of the book is given over to the poets, there are excellent sketches of Mencken, Rockwell Kent, Isadora Duncan, and of less known men and women. *From Another World* is a book that the student of contemporary poetry cannot do without. The outbreak of the war in Europe has given new emphasis to an eloquent passage which con-

cludes: "This America, so casual-careless, so unafraid, may be the last outpost of uninhibited creation. In a world of censored whispers and dictated lies, this may be the one sanctuary of the freely printed word, the final safeguard of civilization" (p. 318).

**BRIDGING THE YEARS.** By Cale Young Rice. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. 269 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Rice's autobiography, although he gives us interesting glimpses of William James, Madison Cawein, Robert Frost, Amy Lowell, Edith Wharton, Joyce Kilmer, and George Meredith, is concerned primarily with his estimate of the ideas and literary movements of his lifetime. "Once," he says, "it was thought a new generation comes along about every twenty-five years. That is all changed. A new generation now comes every five years—or at most ten—and no more than gets accustomed to feeling that the future is in its hands than a newer pushes in to relegate it to the past" (p. 164). Mr. Rice's point of view is an interesting one. Beginning in the nineties to write romantic verse and poetic plays, he had to adjust himself to the growing vogue of realism. Finding much that was good in the newer movements, he refused completely to break with the past, for there is genuine as well as false romance. He refused also to leave Louisville for New York, and he declined to limit himself, like so many of his contemporaries, to the contemporary American scene. In consequence, he has been able to view movements in contemporary literature with some critical detachment. Of his own poems and plays, better known perhaps in England than America, he has much that is enlightening to say. The last section of the book—"Poetry's Genii," first published in *Poet Lore*—is a notable piece of poetic criticism, an attempt to analyze poetry of the most magical and "inexplicable" kind.

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY WITH LETTERS.** By William Lyon Phelps. New York, London, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1939. xxiii, 986 pp. \$3.75.

Professor Phelps's autobiography has been already so widely reviewed that here it is unnecessary to do more than to call attention to the book's importance to teachers and students who are interested in the teaching of literature as a profession, for Professor Phelps was one of the earliest and most successful teachers of contemporary literature. He has also been more fortunate than most of the guild in knowing nearly all the leading authors of his time. He has much that is interesting to say of Mark Twain, Clyde Fitch, George Santayana, Thomas Hardy, William Dean Howells, Gerhart Hauptmann, Henry James, J. M. Barrie, Dorothy

Canfield, Vachel Lindsay, George Moore, and many others. The book is made more valuable by the numerous letters now first published, some of which are of considerable importance.

**HOLLYWOOD SAGA.** By William C. deMille. With a Foreword by John Erskine. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. [1939.] 319 pp. \$3.50.

"In the days of my youth," says the author, "I left Broadway and went to Hollywood for three months. I stayed twenty years." The book records some of the interesting experiences which in Hollywood befell the author of *The Warrens of Virginia* and other plays as he wrote and produced plays for the screen. This is one of the most interesting and informative books dealing with the art of the motion picture.

**AMERICAN SAGA: *The History and Literature of the American Dream of a Better Life.*** By Marjorie Barstow Greenbie. New York and London: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. [1939.] 682 pp. \$4.00.

In *American Saga* Mrs. Greenbie has attempted "to collect in one volume the records of our long struggle for better living, beginning with the first colonists at all the main centers on the Eastern coast, and continuing across the country to the Pacific, and down the line of history to the present." She has sought her materials in old newspapers, letters, oral traditions, and in popular literature. She has avoided everything that one might call "official opinion"—the kind of thing that gets printed in the *Congressional Record*. Her book might be described as a sort of autobiography of America; but by using the materials that Mrs. Greenbie has discarded or overlooked, one could compile another American record that would be one of the most depressing books ever written. Her book is American history as seen from a single point of view. The value and the limitations of this point of view are both suggested in a passage on the Puritan Fathers:

They were personages. Their literary output was enormous. They gave intellectual dignity and a certain austere beauty to New England life. Usually they get a good deal of attention from scholars. But I doubt if they contributed one real idea to the average New Englander's very definite conception of a good life. This was determined by his occupation, which was seafaring. Careless people get drowned at sea. So he was careful. Untidy people die of disease at sea. So he learned to be neat and clean. . . . By the time the New Englanders had been here for two generations, they were impressing everybody with their neat, secure, comfortable way of life, their keenness, industry, and thrift. These admiring descriptions of what they were doing and why they were doing it seem to me worth much more than expressions of theological opinion, even very beautiful ones, like some of Jonathan Edwards' (pp. 2-3).

TAKE YOUR BIBLE IN ONE HAND: *The Life of William Henry Thomes.*

By George R. Stewart. San Francisco: The Colt Press. 1939. 67 pp.  
[Limited Edition.]

While preparing a sketch of Thomes for the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Professor Stewart collected with considerable labor more material than he could possibly use; this book is the result. His emphasis is upon Thomes's various California experiences and upon the widely popular sub-literary novels which he published. Few major American authors figure in biographies as well written as this.

## ONE AFTERNOON WITH MARK TWAIN. By George Ade. The Mark Twain Society of Chicago. 1939. 15 pp.

Mr. Ade's sketch, written from memory, of an interview that occurred as long ago as 1902, is interesting but somewhat lacking in details. Mr. George Hiram Brownell has added some explanatory notes, and the Mark Twain Society has published for the first time a letter which Mark Twain wrote to Howells in 1908 in praise of an Ade story.

MAIN CURRENTS IN AMERICAN THOUGHT: *An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920.* By Vernon Louis Parrington.

New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1939.] xviii, 413; xxii, 493; xl, 429 pp. Trade edition, \$3.45; text edition, \$2.75.

By putting into a single book Parrington's three memorable volumes, the publishers have made it possible for even the proverbially penniless graduate student to own them.

THE STORY OF OUR LITERATURE: *An Interpretation of the American Spirit.*

By John Louis Haney. Revised and Enlarged Edition. New York, etc.: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1939.] xvi, 437 pp. \$1.50.

Of this new edition of a widely used high-school text, the author says: "The present revised edition represents a rewriting of the latter half of the text, with the addition of nearly eighty writers who have become prominent during the past decade."

A CONCORDANCE TO THE POEMS OF SIDNEY LANIER: *Including the Poem Outlines and Certain Uncollected Items.* By Philip Graham and Joseph Jones. Austin: The University of Texas Press. 1939. vi, 447 pp. \$3.50.

This is a thoroughgoing piece of work. Messrs. Graham and Jones have included not only the better known poems but the juvenilia and dialect poems and sixteen as yet uncollected poems. They have listed in alphabetical order every word occurring in the poems and, with the exception of a "List of Words Partially Treated," they have given the text of the line in which each word appears. The book is indispensable.

to the student of Lanier's poetry. It is unfortunate that as yet we have concordances to no other American poets than Lanier and Emerson.

THE POET'S WORK. By John Holmes. New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. xviii, 189 pp. \$2.00.

A carefully compiled collection of what the poets have had to say of their art, classified under such headings as "The Poet's Words," "The Poet's Knowledge," "The Poet's World," etc.

AMERICAN IMPRINTS INVENTORY No. 5: *Check List of Kentucky Imprints, 1787-1810*. By Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen. Louisville: The Historical Records Survey. 1939. xxvii, 205 pp.

A mimeographed list of Kentucky imprints, which it is expected will be republished with additions and corrections and a second instalment including Kentucky imprints through 1830.

WORK IN PROGRESS 1939 IN THE MODERN HUMANITIES. Edited by James M. Osborn and Robert G. Sawyer. Modern Humanities Research Association. [1939.] xiv, 337 pp.

The second issue of *Work in Progress*, which as the compilers state, "is an entirely new work," is more than twice the size of last year's issue. Pages 99-100 deal with American Language; pages 101-123 with American Literature.

AMERICAN FOLK PLAYS. Edited, with an Introduction, "American Folk Drama in the Making," by Frederick H. Koch. Foreword by Archibald Henderson. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. xlvi, 592 pp. \$4.00.

The volume contains twenty short plays written at the University of North Carolina under Professor Koch's direction. The settings of the plays represent every section of the United States as well as Canada and Mexico. Professor Koch's Introduction gives an excellent account of his methods of teaching the writing of plays. The volume contains some suitable illustrations and a useful bibliography.

NICK OF THE WOODS: or, *The Jibbenainosay: A Tale of Kentucky*. By Robert Montgomery Bird. Edited, with Introduction, Chronology, and Bibliography, by Cecil B. Williams. New York, etc.: American Book Company. [1939.] lxxvi, 408 pp.

The latest addition to the "American Fiction Series" contains an excellent account of Bird based in large measure upon unpublished materials. Mr. Williams's discussion of *Nick of the Woods* throws new light upon the genesis of that still readable romance.

J. B. H.

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), Arthur E. Christy (Columbia University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the January, 1940, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

### I. 1607-1800

[BARLOW, JOEL] Boynton, Percy H. "Joel Barlow Advises the Privileged Orders." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 477-499 (Sept., 1939).

A detailed study of Barlow's shift from conservatism to liberalism, with an analysis of his *Advice to the Privileged Orders*.

Zunder, Theodore A. "A New Barlow Poem." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 206-209 (May, 1939).

A mock-heroic poem of thirty-seven octosyllabic couplets, written during the period from 1785 to 1788.

[BRACKENRIDGE, H. H.] Haviland, Thomas P. "Hugh Henry Brackenridge and Milton's 'Piedmontese' Sonnet." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVI, 243-244 (Apr. 8, 1939).

The possible influence of Milton's sonnet on passages in poems by Brackenridge.

[BYRD, WILLIAM] Wright, Louis B. "A Shorthand Diary of William Byrd of Westover." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, II, 489-496 (July, 1939).

Descriptive comments about the diary (in the possession of the Huntington Library), which contains daily entries from Feb. 6, 1709, to Sept. 29, 1712. The passages here printed illustrate Byrd's daily life, and picture Virginia colonial customs.

[COLMAN, BENJAMIN] Hornberger, Theodore. "Benjamin Colman and the Enlightenment." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 227-240 (June, 1939).

This liberal and accomplished preacher was the author of ninety-odd books. Despite his adherence to the Calvinist system, he was

concerned, even more than his more famous contemporaries, with "the great abstractions which meant so much to the Age of Enlightenment: Nature, Reason, and Humanity."

[EVANS, NATHANIEL] Milligan, Burton A. "An Early American Imitator of Milton." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 200-206 (May, 1939).

Six of the fifty-one poems in Evans's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1772) are "clearly imitative of Milton," and his paraphrases of the Psalms reveal the same influence.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Leary, Lewis. "Philip Freneau's Father." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, II, 46-52 (June, 1939).

Pierre Fresneau, the father of the poet, left in an extant letter book the records of his unsuccessful attempts in business.

— "Philip Freneau at Seventy." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, I, 1-13 (June, 1938).

His literary activity manifested in an unfinished poem and six uncollected poems in the *New Brunswick Gazette* for 1822.

Marsh, Philip M., and Ellis, Milton. "Freneau's Last Home." *N. J. Hist. Soc. Pro.*, LVII, 108-113 (Apr. 1939).

At the time of his death Freneau resided on a farm "about two miles northeast of Freehold."

Marsh, Philip M. "Philip Freneau's Personal File of *The Freeman's Journal*." *N. J. Hist. Soc. Pro.*, LVII, 163-170 (July, 1939).

A guide of some value to his prose. His active interest in the *Journal* ended about March, 1783.

[HOPKINSON, FRANCIS] Hastings, George E. "Francis Hopkinson and the Flag." *Americana*, XXXIII, 1-23 (July, 1939).

Evidence that Hopkinson, and not Betsy Ross or anyone else, designed the American flag which was accepted by the Continental Congress, after its resolution of June 14, 1777.

— "Two Uncollected Essays by Francis Hopkinson." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, XLI, 416-422 (July, 1939).

From the original manuscripts in the Huntington Library.

[PAINE, THOMAS] Falk, Robert P. "Thomas Paine and the Attitude of the Quakers to the American Revolution." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIII, 302-310 (July, 1939).

Paine's relations with the Quakers and the relative influence of Deism and Quakerism in the Revolution.

[MORTON, THOMAS] Connors, Donald Francis. "Thomas Morton of Merry Mount: His First Arrival in New England." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 160-166 (May, 1939).

"Thomas Morton first visited New England, not in June, 1622, but in the spring of 1624."

[SANDYS, GEORGE] Davis, Richard Beale. "George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer." *Americana*, XXXIII, 180-195 (Apr., 1939).

A collection of data concerning Sandys' activities in Virginia for a consideration of the circumstances under which he translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

[SMITH, JOHN] Davis, Richard Beale. "The First American Edition of Captain John Smith's *True Travels and General Historie*." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLVIII, 97-108 (Apr., 1939).

[WEBSTER, NOAH] Partch, Clarence E. "Noah Webster: The Schoolmaster of Our Republic." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Lib.*, II, 39-45 (June, 1939).

[WISE, JOHN] Story, Irving C. "John Wise, Congregational Democrat." *Pacific Univ. Bul.*, XXXVI, No. 3 (Mar., 1939).

An analysis of the *Vindication of New England Churches* (1717).

## II. 1800-1870

[BANCROFT, GEORGE] Nye, Russel. "The Religion of George Bancroft." *Jour. of Religion*, XIX, 216-233 (July, 1939).

George Bancroft's religion embraced an inward, reasonable approach to divinity, a belief in progress, in natural goodness, in determinism, in a natural impulse to justice, and in Trinitarianism."

[BOKER, G. H.] Hubbell, Jay B. "Five Letters from George Henry Boker to William Gilmore Simms." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIII, 66-71 (Jan., 1939).

[BRYANT, W. C.] Glicksberg, Charles I. "Bryant on Emerson the Lecturer." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 530-534 (Sept., 1939).

Comments in 1842.

Nichols, Charles Washburn. "A Passage in 'Thanatopsis.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 217-218 (May, 1939).

Bryant's "lie down . . . with kings" passage in "Thanatopsis" was a conscious or unconscious echo of the Book of Job.

[CHANNING, WILLIAM ELLERY] Ladu, Arthur I. "Channing and Transcendentalism." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 129-137 (May, 1939).

Although most students of American literature consider Channing "to have been a transcendentalist before transcendentalism had become full-fledged, or at least to have been a forerunner of the . . . movement," Channing's "fundamental philosophy" forced him "to stand as far aloof from that of the transcendentalists as it did from the orthodoxy of the Unitarians."

[CURTIS, G. W.] Adams, Elizabeth L. "George William Curtis and His Friends." *More Books*, XIV, 291-303; 353-366 (Sept. and Oct., 1939).

A fresh estimate of Curtis based upon a hundred letters to him from Taylor, Bancroft, Howells, Longfellow, Lowell, and others.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Glicksberg, Charles I. See above, *s. v.* BRYANT. Scudder, Townsend, III. "The Human Emerson." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XX, 3-4, 15 (June 10, 1939).

Smith, Henry Nash. "Emerson's Problem of Vocation: A Note on 'The American Scholar.'" *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 52-67 (Mar., 1939).

"Emerson was struggling to affirm a creed of self-reliance, and the fiction of the Scholar was a phase of the struggle."

[EVERETT, EDWARD] Read, Allen Walker. See below, *s. v.* V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE.

[FULLER, MARGARET] Rostenberg, Leone. "Diary of Timothy Fuller in Congress, January 12-March 15, 1818." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 521-529 (Sept., 1939).

Journal of Margaret Fuller's father.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Doubleday, Neal Frank. "Hawthorne's Hester and Feminism." *PMLA*, LIV, 825-828 (Sept., 1939).

"It is the purpose of this note, not to discuss any moral question, but to present one argument against seizing upon the 'consecration' of Hester's love as the theme and moral of *The Scarlet Letter*."

Warren, Austin. "Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, and 'Nemesis.'" *PMLA*, LIV, 613-615 (June, 1939).

Presents "a few disagreements and assents" with the views in Professor Oscar Cargill's picture of Margaret Fuller in "Nemesis and Nathaniel Hawthorne," *PMLA*, LII, 848-862.

[HAYNE, P. H.] McKeithan, Daniel Morley. "Paul Hamilton Hayne's Reputation in Augusta at the Time of His Death." *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826, *Studies in English*, pp. 163-173 (July 8, 1938).

He was lionized by well-meaning but uncritical admirers, but he was homesick for the social and intellectual companionship that he had known in Charleston, and he wished that he could meet and talk with the writers of the North and of England.

— "An Unpublished Poem of Paul Hayne." *So. Lit. Mes.*, I, 591 (Sept., 1939).

[HOLMES, O. W.] Clark, Harry Hayden. "Dr. Holmes: A Re-interpretation." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 19-34 (Mar., 1939).

"If Holmes's social, political, and literary views were conservative, his religious and philosophical views were in his day strikingly radical. . . . He must further be recognized not only as an urbane and charming writer but as a thinker concerned with the problem of evil and its social implications."

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] Basler, Roy P. "Abraham Lincoln's Rhetoric." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 167-182 (May, 1939).

The peculiarities which set Lincoln's prose apart from the political writings of his contemporaries.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Charvat, William. "Let Us Then Be Up and Doing." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 374-383 (May, 1939).

Longfellow's "A Psalm of Life" and "Excelsior" "stand today as monuments not of American literature but of American social history."

[LOWELL, J. R.] Nye, Russel B. "Lowell and American Speech." *Phil. Quar.*, XVIII, 249-256 (July, 1939).

"During the years 1845-70 Lowell defended American speech as a legitimate and valid dialect, advocating its use in literature. . . ." Later he turned from "nationalism to universalism, . . . to a renewed respect for tradition and the past."

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Olson, Charles. "Lear and *Moby-Dick*." *Twice a Year*, No. 1, pp. 165-189 (1938).

Melville owed much to Shakespeare, especially to *King Lear*. In *Moby-Dick* he "has worked out what may be called a concept of democratic prose tragedy. . . . He weds democracy with Christianity because he seems to see both ideally freeing man from his own and his fellow's oppression."

Parks, Aileen Wells. "Leviathan: An Essay in Interpretation." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 130-132 (Jan.-Mar., 1939).

Melville "foretold the doom of a culture and a civilization" in *Moby-Dick*. Ahab symbolizes the Rugged Individualist, the "finance-capitalist," and the whale represents industrialism.

[NEVILLE, MORGAN] Flanagan, John T. "Morgan Neville: Early Western Chronicler." *Western Pa. Hist. Mag.*, XXI, 255-266 (Dec., 1939).

The "first notable writer of fiction to be born west of the Alleghenies."

[NORTON, ANDREWS] Heindel, R. H. "Transatlantic Cross Currents." *Harvard Alumni Bul.*, (Nov. 4, 1938).

Letter from Joanna Baillie to Felicia Hemans regarding Andrews Norton.

[POE, E. A.] Davidson, Frank. "A Note on Poe's 'Berenice.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 212-213 (May, 1939).

The discovery in *Affection's Gift* (1854) of the hitherto unlocated Bulwer's "A Manuscript Found in a Madhouse," to which Poe referred in answering T. W. White's criticism of "Berenice."

Hoagland, Clayton. "The Universe of Eureka: A Comparison of the Theories of Eddington and Poe." *So. Lit. Mes.*, I, 307-313 (May, 1939).

Mabbott, T. O. "Newly-Identified Verses by Poe." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVII, 77-78 (July 29, 1939).

Recalled from memory by an old man, they may possibly be the work of Poe.

Quinn, Arthur H. "The Marriage of Poe's Parents." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 209-212 (May, 1939).

The marriage of Poe's parents took place between March 14 and April 9, 1806. Criticism, direct or implied, of undue haste in the wedding proves unwarranted. The Poes added interesting roles to their repertoires during the January-May, 1806, Richmond season.

Smith, Julia Moore. "A New Light on Poe." *So. Lit. Mes.*, I, 575-581 (Sept., 1939).

A letter from Estelle Anna Lewis—Poe's "Stella."

Starke, Aubrey. "Poe's Friend Reynolds." *Amer. Lit.*, 152-159 (May, 1939).

A supplement to the major facts of the career of J. N. Reynolds established by Robert Almy in the *Colophon* (Winter, 1937).

Traylor, Mary Gavin. "To Keep It in Beauty: The Poe Shrine." *So. Lit. Mes.*, I, 265-268 (Apr., 1939).

A description of the shrine in Richmond and its holdings.

Wimsatt, W. K., Jr. "Poe and the Chess Automaton." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 138-151 (May, 1939).

The peculiar merit of Poe's "exposure" of Maelzel's chess automaton. Poe made "bright and acceptable the drab, mechanic guesses of writers with an eye to reality."

[SIMMS, W. G.] Hubbell, Jay B. See above, *s. v.* BOKER, G. H.

[STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER] Scheffler, Herbert. "Bücher die die Welt bewegten." *Die Literatur*, XLI, 663-665 (Aug., 1939).

America is represented in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Canby, Henry Seidel. "American Challenge: A Study of *Walden*." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XX, 10-12, 16 (Sept. 2, 1939).

— "Thoreau in History." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XX, 3-4, 14-15 (July 15, 1939).

Condensed account of the growth of Thoreau's literary reputation, with reasons for the fluctuations in this growth.

— "Two Women." *No. Amer. Rev.*, CCXLVIII, 18-32 (Autumn, 1939).

Thoreau's strange romances with Lucy Jackson Brown and her sister, Lidian Emerson, shatter the conception of the man "as a woman-hater and a sexless philosopher."

Hoeltje, Hubert H. "Thoreau in Concord and Town Records." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 349-359 (June, 1939).

Wade, J. S. "A Contribution to a Bibliography from 1909 to 1936 of Henry David Thoreau." *Jour. of the N. J. Entomological Soc.*, XLVII, 163-203 (June, 1939).

White, William. "A Henry David Thoreau Bibliography, 1908-1937: Parts IV and V." *Bul. of Bib.*, XVI, 163 (Jan.-Apr., 1939); 181 (May-June, 1939).

[WHITE, T. W.] Devine, Russell Benson. "Thomas Willis White." *So. Lit. Mes.*, I, 503-507 (Aug., 1939).

A biographical sketch, with a genealogy of descendants.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Harvey-Jellie, W. "A Forgotten Poet." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XIX, 91-100 (Apr., 1939).

Hawley, Charles Arthur. "John Greenleaf Whittier and His Middle Western Correspondents." *Bul. of the Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, XXVIII, No. 1, pp. 19-29 (Spring, 1939).

Whittier readily consented to the use of his name for Whittier College. His letters of advice were appreciated by Lorenzo Dow Lewelling, Jennie Shrader, Levi Gregory, and others.

Hume, E. F. "Summers with a Poet." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXV, 313-325 (Oct., 1939).

Visits to West Ossipee, N. H., in the decade of the 1870's.

Pollard, John A. "Whittier on Labor Unions." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 99-102 (Mar., 1939).

Advocacy of labor's right to collective bargaining.

Tilton, Eleanor M. "Making Whittier Definitive." *New Eng. Quar.*, XII, 281-314 (June, 1939).

Details concerning the collaboration of Whittier and Horace E. Scudder on the collected edition.

### III. 1870-1900

[BELLAMY, EDWARD] Shurter, Robert L. "The Writing of *Looking Backward*." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 254-261 (July, 1939).

A biographical sketch prefaces the facts regarding the composition, purpose, and subsequent influence of the novel.

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Blair, Walter. "On the Structure of *Tom Sawyer*." *Mod. Phil.*, XXXVII, 75-88 (Aug., 1939).

A contrast of *Tom Sawyer* with earlier juvenile literature in America and with previous comic attacks upon that literature. "The simplest explanation of the arrangement of happenings in Clemens' book is that it represented a fictional working-out of the author's antipathy to the conventional plot structure of juvenile tales" and a desire to show a real boy developing toward manhood.

Blaise, Bunker. "The Mark Twain Society." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XX, 11-12 (July 15, 1939).

On an unusual "international" society and the activities of its president, Cyril Clemens, a distant kinsman of the author.

Ferguson, DeLancey. "A Letter to the Editors of *American Literature*." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 218-219 (May, 1939).

[COLBY, F. M.] Clark, John Abbott. "A Touchstone for Intellectuals: Frank Moore Colby." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 221-234 (Apr.-June, 1939).

"The present generation is reminded of an intellectual whose work is worthy of rediscovery."

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Pratt, Lyndon U. "An Addition to the Canon of Stephen Crane." *Research Studies: State College of Washington*, VII, 55-58 (1939).

An article on Henry M. Stanley (*Vidette*, Feb., 1890).

[DUVAL, J. C.] Dobie, J. Frank. "John C. Duval: First Texas Man of Letters." *Southwest Rev.*, XXIV, 257-281 (Apr., 1939).

A biographical and critical sketch of J. C. Duval (1816-1897), the creator of Big Foot Wallace.

[HARRIS, J. C.] Flanders, B. H. "Two Forgotten Youthful Works of Joel Chandler Harris." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 278-283 (July, 1939).

Discusses briefly two periodical publications by Harris: a story, "Charlie Howard," in the *Child's Index* (Macon) for July, 1863; and a review, "Henry Lynden Flash," in the *Countryman* for June 14, 1864.

[HOVEY, RICHARD] Marchand, Ernest. "Hovey's First Flight." *Dartmouth Alumni Mag.*, XXXI, 15-16 (June, 1939).

An examination of the juvenile poems by Hovey printed in a volume by himself and a boy friend in 1880.

[NORRIS, FRANK] Kazin, Alfred. "Three Pioneer Realists." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XX, 3-4, 14-15 (July 8, 1939).

Critical comments on three novelists considered as muckrakers, reformers, and naturalists: Frank Norris, David Graham Phillips, and Robert Herrick.

[PORTER, W. S.] Jung, Margetta. "O. Henry in Manhattan." *Southwest Rev.*, XXVI, 411-415 (July, 1939).

Intimate glimpses of O. Henry's life in Manhattan from 1902 to 1910 are given by Mrs. Nettie Roach Daily, who "was a friend in a strange city where he was sometimes lonely." Four letters from O. Henry to Mrs. Daily are included.

Lomax, John A. "Harry Steger and O. Henry." *Southwest Rev.*, XXIV, 299-316 (Apr., 1939).

An account of the relationship between O. Henry and Steger, who "acted as paymaster, friend, companion to him, and later guardian to his daughter, Margaret Porter."

[RILEY, J. W.] Price, Robert. "James Whitcomb Riley in 1876." *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, XXXV, 129-140 (June, 1939).

[WHITMAN, WALT] Paine, Gregory. "The Literary Relations of Whitman and Carlyle with Especial Reference to Their Contrasting Views on Democracy." *Studies in Phil.*, XXXVI, 550-563 (July, 1939).

Carlyle's attack on democracy in the article, "Shooting Niagara, and After?" (1867) brought an abusive reply five months later from Whitman in his article, "Democracy." In incorporating this article in *Democratic Vistas* (1871) Whitman made significant changes; and throughout his life he read eagerly Carlyle's writings and modified his views concerning Carlyle's strictures on democracy.

Rhav, Philip. "Paleface and Redskin." *Kenyon Rev.*, I, 251-256 (Summer, 1939).

Suggests that American writers have been of two contrasting types—Henry James and Walt Whitman.

Rubin, Joseph Jay. "Whitman's *New York Aurora*." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 214-217 (May, 1939).

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Since 1846, this Algonkin word meaning "marshy meadow" has been a symbol of derogation for an unenterprising village.

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Wheeler, Eva Floy. "A Bibliography of Wyoming Writers." *Univ. of Wyo. Pub.*, VI, 2, 11-37 (Feb. 15, 1939).

Briefly annotated list of Wyoming residents who have written verse, fiction, and general prose.

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"Because the backwoodsman uses no philosophy of humor, follows no formula, and has no design or purpose except to create mirth, his humor almost defies classification."

Woodruff, M. Dorothy. "Realism and Romance." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 293-296 (July, 1939).

On the difficulty of defining the terms "realism" and "romance."

Wright, Lyle H. "A Statistical Survey of American Fiction, 1774-1850." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, II, 309-318 (Apr., 1939).

A tabular interpretation of fourteen hundred titles listed in the author's book, *American Fiction, 1774-1850: A Contribution toward a Bibliography* (1939) and a list of the best sellers from 1792 to 1850.

Zabel, Morton Dauwen. "The Condition of American Criticism: 1939." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 417-428 (June, 1939).

The year 1939 marks a moment of exceptional alertness and tension in American critical thinking. There is needed "a fuller and more intelligent collaboration between the best writers and the best critics, a journal with scope and prestige to make that collaboration effective," and "a similar collaboration between the work of critics and teachers of literature."

## THE VALUES OF ROBINSON JEFFERS

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IT IS A TRUISM that everyone who opposes the existing order of things is "dangerous." If he advocates a new order, he is a "radical"; but radicals are intellectually, at least, constructive. If, however, he opposes the existing order without advocating a new one, he is a "reactionary," and reactionaries are merely destructive. In intellectual America "radicals" are not without honor, but "reactionaries" are anathema. Perhaps for this reason Robinson Jeffers begins a typical poem: "I am not well civilized, really alien here; trust me not."<sup>1</sup> For he has often been called the poet of denial, the destroyer of morality and of human values. It is the purpose of this essay to inquire how far this is true. A poet may deny the authority of existing values, may be unable or unwilling to describe a new order, and yet may imply and even occasionally define the outlines of such an order.

Many critics and most readers, to whom morality looms larger than poetry, have simply dismissed Jeffers with an epithet: "Dull naughtiness," wrote Howard Mumford Jones; "Pathology," wrote V. F. Calverton; "Hysterics," said a newspaper reviewer.<sup>2</sup> Others, even while recognizing the beauty and power of his poetry, have been repelled by the negative implications of his thought. ". . . The most splendid poetry of my time!" exclaimed H. L. Davis. "Nothing written by this generation can begin to come up with it. . . . And yet—the poem itself is dead."<sup>3</sup> Comparing Jeffers to Hardy, Newton Arvin also concluded that "the appeal is to nothing affirmative . . . and, in the long run, is pure negation."<sup>4</sup> A reason for this negation was suggested by Lawrence Morris: "In Jeffers the heart of an ancient mystic wars with the mind of a contemporary scientific rationalist."<sup>5</sup> And H. H. Waggoner blamed Jeffers's denial of existing morality on the teachings of nineteenth-century science: "He absorbed without the necessary grain of salt the implications

<sup>1</sup> "The Trap," *Solstice and Other Poems* (New York, 1935), p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> For these references, see S. S. Alberts, *A Bibliography of the Works of Robinson Jeffers* (New York, 1933), pp. 199, 200, 217.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, XXXI, 274 (Feb., 1928).

<sup>4</sup> *New Freeman*, I, 230 (May 17, 1930).

<sup>5</sup> *New Republic*, LIV, 388 (May 16, 1928).

of a science that had no place for mind or values."<sup>6</sup> But all of these critics, whether recognizing the beauty of his poetry or not, have opposed the "negation" of his thought, and particularly his rejection of accepted morality and human values.

The first suggestion that Jeffers might be attempting something new and constructive came from Benjamin H. Lehman in Jeffers's own California, who pointed out that "We confront simply the problem of a new approach to the universe and the individual, which shall bring into harmony the moral and the natural worlds."<sup>7</sup> But no writer has developed this insight, nor suggested that Jeffers, even in denying the authority of a purely humanistic morality, has sought to preserve certain of the old values, and to harmonize these with the "new" morality of the "natural world."

But, first, the question arises: Does Jeffers concern himself with human values at all? For if he does not, our inquiry is meaningless. Identifying Jeffers's thought with that of materialistic science, Professor Waggoner believes that he merely denies them: "There are no values recognized as such by man which are ultimate values: value lies only in the pre-human animals, pre-civilized activities, and the inhuman universe."<sup>8</sup> To this Jeffers himself replies that values are not illusory. "The belief that traditional values are divinely ordained seems to me an illusion. But to prefer—for instance—courage to cowardice or mercy to cruelty cannot be called an illusion. Traditional values may be thought of as habits or conventions, some useful, others foolish, all subject to change; but not as illusions."<sup>9</sup>

Jeffers, then, specifically affirms his interest in the problem of values, and his acceptance of certain traditional values. Indeed, he has proclaimed this from the beginning: "Meditation on Saviors" remains one of his most thoughtful poems. And increasingly in later years he has turned toward a purely philosophic type of poetry. Such pieces as "The Answer," "Hellenistics," and "Nova"<sup>10</sup> are outstanding: what they have lost in vividness of imagery, they have gained in clarity of expression. Finally, a recent letter from the poet places this problem first: "Now . . . it seems to me that some pref-

<sup>6</sup> "Science and the Poetry of Robinson Jeffers," *American Literature*, X, 288 (Nov., 1938).

<sup>7</sup> "Robinson Jeffers," *Saturday Review of Literature*, VIII, 97 (Sept. 5, 1931).

<sup>8</sup> Waggoner, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

<sup>9</sup> Letter quoted in *ibid.*, p. 284.

<sup>10</sup> All in *Such Counsels You Gave to Me* (New York, 1937).

tory definition of values would be useful. What does the author think would be best for men? What is he working toward?"<sup>11</sup>

It seems clear that the problem of values is fundamental to the understanding of Jeffers's poetry. But it must be admitted that many of his statements on this subject are contradictory. Although he believes that human values are real and necessary, his poems also exclaim frequently that humanity itself is "a spectral episode," and "needless." Can human values be important if humanity itself is not? This contradiction constantly distorts his thought. Before we attempt to describe his values, our first concern must be to explain what logical right he has to values at all.

But granting the existence of contradictions, his poetry as a whole does repeatedly emphasize certain values. Some of these may be classed as "human," others as "natural." Although the human, or traditional, values are less striking, they are none the less important. Among them "freedom" will be seen to stand highest. When this is recognized as the cornerstone of his house of human values, it becomes surprising that he should so often be called "reactionary," and even "Fascist." Our second concern will be to show how the passion for freedom dominates his social philosophy.

Beyond the traditional human values, Jeffers celebrates the transcendental value of "integrity," or the unity of man and nature. Because it is mystical, this value remains somewhat vague. But more clearly in Jeffers's poetry than in any other contemporary writing, this mystic ideal has found new embodiment and definition. That it has not been recognized before is due, perhaps, to the frequent confusion between the "transcendental" and the "natural." For "integrity" transcends the old values of good and evil (as Emerson knew), but at the same time preaches the oneness of man with nature, and is thus far "natural." An idea so perennially obscure can hardly become clear all at once, but Jeffers's poetry illuminates it strikingly. Beyond the contradictions involved in his denunciation of humanity, and beyond his celebration of the traditional value of freedom, his development of the idea of integrity suggests the key to his thought.

## I

According to strict logic, Jeffers's poetry is inconsistent: if man is a "spectral episode" and "humanity is needless," human values

<sup>11</sup> Letter to the writer, dated Jan., 1938. Reprinted by permission.

are clearly unreal and unnecessary. (Natural values may still be real and necessary, and may apply to man as a part of nature.) But Jeffers, like Emerson and Whitman before him, disclaims a purely logical consistency: "I think it is the business of a writer of poetry, not to express his own gospel, but to present images, emotions, ideas, and let the reader find his good in them if he can. Not to form a way of thought, but perhaps to activate thoughts."<sup>12</sup> Jeffers, therefore, usually follows the old American method of extreme statement, writing as the mood impels him, and trusting that one counter-statement will balance the other, shocking the reader into thought, and suggesting a final ground of truth.

Following this principle, Jeffers has repeatedly exaggerated the insignificance of man and of human consciousness, in order to counterbalance the anthropocentric tendency of conventional thought. Because past writers have claimed for man the supreme value, and sometimes the sole significance in the stellar universe, Jeffers, often consciously, has gone to the other extreme. In "Margrave," for instance, he has described educated humanity at its worst, and imagined the outer stars as

. . . fleeing the contagion  
Of consciousness that infects this corner of space.

But, as he explained soon after: "The poem called 'Margrave' in my latest book exaggerates. From that point of view it is just a poem, I was irritated into extravagance by the excessive value that people seem to attribute to human consciousness."<sup>13</sup>

In other words, Jeffers's extreme denial of the value of humanity and of human consciousness is not to be taken literally. It is purposeful, consciously intended to correct conventional errors. And always it is modified by counter-statement, often occurring in the very same poem. Thus, in "Margrave" he warns himself:

. . . I also am not innocent  
Of contagion, but have spread my spirit on the  
deep world;

and answers himself:

. . . But who is our judge? It is likely the enormous  
Beauty of the world requires for completion our  
ghostly increment.

<sup>12</sup> Letter to the writer, dated Nov., 1933.

<sup>13</sup> Letter to the writer, dated March 31, 1932.

Even more clearly in "Meditation on Saviors" he grants to men:

. . . this advantage over their granite grave-marks, of  
having realized the petulant human consciousness  
Before, and then the greatness, the peace: drunk  
from both pitchers: these to be pitied? These not fortunate?

Jeffers's denunciation of man is often purposefully exaggerated. But he goes on to explain that all of his dramatic poetry is similarly purposeful and prophetic. Like the Old Testament prophets, he will paint vivid word-pictures of the destruction of the city. Like his countryman, Jonathan Edwards,<sup>14</sup> and the later evangelical preachers, he will awaken man to a realizing sense of sin. So his imagined "Redeemer" explains:

. . . I am here on the mountain making  
Antitoxin for all the happy towns and farms, the  
lovely blameless children, the terrible  
Arrogant cities.

And so Jeffers exhorts himself to "make fables again, / Tell people not to fear death, toughen / Their bones if possible with bitter fables not to fear life."<sup>15</sup>

But the final and inevitable answer to the question of whether Jeffers has, logically, the right to celebrate human values, is that every writer must have. Writing presupposes an audience. Speech, and even verbal thought, are social. Every poet has some "message," and imagines some scale of values, even if unconsciously; else he would never have written. Jeffers also admits this: he writes to influence the people. He, too, seeks power, even if only "power / After the nerves are put away underground, to lighten the abstract unborn children toward peace."<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, his emphasis on the insignificance of human life, combined with his significant desire to "lighten the children toward peace," merely repeats an ancient paradox. Buddha found peace under the Bo-tree, but returned to the world to preach it. The preacher of Ecclesiastes saw that all was "vanity," but nevertheless

<sup>14</sup> For a comparison between Edwards and Robinson Jeffers, see "The Radicalism of Jonathan Edwards," by the writer, in *New England Quarterly*, IV, 637-639 (Oct., 1931). Concerning this article Mr. Jeffers wrote (Dec., 1931): "I read your essay . . . feeling a new sympathy toward your subject." Edwards has not influenced Mr. Jeffers directly (although he may have done so indirectly, through Mr. Jeffers's father, who was a theologian). But there is, I think, a clear logical relationship between the ideas of the two men.

<sup>15</sup> "Crumbs or the Loaf."

<sup>16</sup> "Meditation on Saviors."

taught the people "because he was wise." Man may be relatively insignificant, and his life vain; but because no man is ever quite free of his fellows, the poet must continue to teach men their own insignificance until a true sense of values makes them also free. Therefore Jeffers denounces humanity but emphasizes values.

## II

Of course, Jeffers does not believe that modern man will achieve freedom: neither his own poetry nor any other writing will accomplish much. Pessimistically, he believes that our civilization is doomed to decay. The most famous and characteristic of his poems is, perhaps, "Shine, Perishing Republic." "America," he says, is "thickening to empire; and protest, like a bubble in the molten mass, pops and sighs out, and the mass hardens." But the significant thing about this poem is that this ultimate "perishing" of the republic does not deny the sense of the social values—rather it emphasizes them. A "republic" is good; an "empire," bad. "Protest" is good; acquiescence, bad. His pessimism as to the future of these goods merely enhances the sense of their importance.

Lest anyone should misinterpret his meaning in this early poem, Jeffers has added a kind of sequel to it, entitled "Shine, Republic,"<sup>17</sup> in which he defines the values of Western civilization, without dwelling on its probable "perishing." For, he concludes, the true values will persist, although each successive republic may sicken and die.

But the traditional values of modern civilization, Jeffers argues, are irreconcilable. Whitman had sought to couple "independence" with the word "en masse." "—But we cannot have all the luxuries and freedom also,"<sup>18</sup> Jeffers replies. Choosing between the two, he proclaims boldly:

. . . The love of freedom has been the quality of  
Western man.

There is a stubborn touch that flames from Marathon to  
Concord, its dangerous beauty binding three ages  
Into one time . . .

And you, America, that passion made you. You were not  
born to prosperity, you were born to love freedom.  
You did not say "en masse," you said "independence."

<sup>17</sup> In *Solstice, and Other Poems*, p. 138.      <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Republics and all social groups "shine" by virtue of the freedom which they offer individuals. But all men love wealth, and many will sell freedom for an imagined security. "Freedom is poor and laborious; that torch is not safe but hungry, and often requires blood for its fuel." Therefore, he fears, even Americans may soon sell their freedom:

We are easy to manage, a gregarious people,  
Full of sentiment, clever at mechanics,  
and we love our luxuries.<sup>19</sup>

But even after this betrayal, the value of freedom will live: "The states of the next age will no doubt remember you, and edge their love of freedom with contempt of luxury."<sup>20</sup>

This doctrine is central to Jeffers's social philosophy. Individuals and individual nations and civilizations will perish, he believes, but the values which they have partially realized will persist. And whether or not these values are fully realized by later men, they remain more "real" and more significant than the human beings who realize them.

Jeffers does more than define this freedom in words. He embodies it in his dramatic poetry, illustrating it in human terms. In *Dear Judas*, for instance, this libertarian philosophy finds its clearest expression. Although tradition has always described Judas as the treacherous, self-seeking embodiment of evil—the conscious villain, Jeffers describes him as the deluded social reactionary, who betrays Jesus "to get the firebrand locked up, to save the city. . . . Oh Jesus, I also love men." To Jeffers, the reactionary is the coward who fears the dangers of freedom. And cowardice, or submission to tyranny, seems to him the ultimate evil. Therefore, "dear" Judas, even if his intentions were good, remains despicable:

Therefore your name shall couple  
With His in men's minds for many centuries: you  
enter His kingdom with Him, as the hawk's  
lice with the hawk  
Climb the blue towers of the sky under the down  
of the feathers.

<sup>19</sup> "Ave Caesar," *Solstice*, p. 137.

<sup>20</sup> "Shine, Republic," *Solstice*, p. 139. Cf. also "Hellenistics," in *Such Counsels You Gave to Me*.

Whatever else it is, this social philosophy does not seem "reactionary," nor "Fascist."<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, many distinguished critics have so described it.<sup>22</sup> The reason, perhaps, is that Jeffers considers social action doomed to defeat. But his pessimism in this is not properly "defeatist." It rather suggests the pattern of fatalistic Greek thought, as opposed to Christian.

Jeffers has often compared Jesus with the Greek Prometheus. Both were lovers of man, seeking to free him by giving him one of the attributes of God—fire, or knowledge of the truth. But both were doomed to defeat for their acts—Jesus to be crucified, and Prometheus to be chained to the mountain. In "At the Birth of an Age" Jeffers identifies these two with "the Hanged God" of Norse mythology, and suggests that the symbol is universal. Man is perpetually defeated, and the leaders of men doomed to suffering. So Greek religion taught that Zeus punishes rebellion; and in this Jeffers's thought is Greek. But his thought is also Christian and modern in that he prefers the defeated rebel to the victorious reactionary. His social sympathies remain always with "the man-loving rebel: wherever there has been love or rebellion against any of the tyrannies of darkness, there is a touch of his spirit."<sup>23</sup> Jesus and Prometheus were rebels against God, but were greater than man: they were half-gods because of their passion for freedom. The revolutionary surpasses the reactionary, as the god-man (loving freedom) surpasses the animal-man (loving luxury and security).

These social values are clear: progress toward freedom is good, and conservative reaction is evil. But further confusion has arisen because Jeffers has always denied the ultimacy of these social values. His are rather the individual values of the mystic, beyond good and

<sup>21</sup> Jeffers affirms that, as an individual, he would fight against Fascism in America. See *Writers Take Sides: Letters from 418 American Authors* (New York: The League of American Writers, 1938).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Newton Arvin, in a letter to the writer: "Jeffers's work seems to me to be increasingly shaped and colored by the kind of sentiments—negation, despair of reason, contempt for humanity, violence—that, on the political level, we call reactionary."

Benjamin H. Lehman writes: "The Fascist epithet, for me, applies only in this sense: that if we could understand it, the totalitarian, dictatorial modes are achieving because now is the time for that phase, and we may as well go along with them" (letter to the writer). Certainly Mr. Jeffers believes that the time is ripe for Fascism, but he does not, I think, for that reason believe that "we may as well go along with them." His poetry consistently denies the *value* of Caesarism, and celebrates the value of libertarian rebellion—even if each rebellion seems destined to fail.

<sup>23</sup> See Jeffers's review of Babette Deutsch's *Epistle to Prometheus*, reprinted in Alberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-153.

evil. For revolution breeds reaction, and power—even benevolent power—defeats itself. The man-loving rebel, be he Jesus or Prometheus, is destined eternally to suffer torment at the hands of the superhuman God. Salvation is not for society, but for the individual. For, although society can never be perfected, the individual perhaps can. By “falling in love with God,” he can himself become superhuman.

But “this,” Jeffers’s Electra replied, “is mere death.” And all the humanist and all the socialist critics have repeated—this is mere denial of social morality, denial of human values. Possibly it is. But it is also “self-reliance”—the morality of Emerson and Thoreau.<sup>24</sup> Fundamentally it is not the denial of social morality, but the transcendence of it. On their own levels, the social values remain valid. For the mass of mankind, they constitute “morality.” But there are higher, “transcendental” values.<sup>25</sup>

Thus Thoreau once argued, reviewing an early book on socialism: The socialist wishes to reform the world; and then mankind will be right. The mystic wishes to reform himself; and then the world will be right.<sup>26</sup> The mystic sympathizes with the socialist, and wishes him well; but he seeks first to perfect himself.

### III

The value of freedom is essentially social and human: celebrating man’s refusal to be compelled by any power outside himself.<sup>27</sup> But this freedom is limited in two ways. It is (in a certain sense) negative, implying freedom from some external power. And it is dependent on life in that an external power may kill the man who refuses to submit to it, and so destroy his freedom. Since Jeffers has already declared that human life is not of ultimate importance, he must define the values which transcend it. To this problem he has

<sup>24</sup> Mr. Jeffers has been deeply influenced by Emerson. His first book, *Flagons and Apples*, was prefaced by a motto from Emerson. In reply to a later question, he wrote: “Emerson was a youthful enthusiasm, if you like, but not outgrown by any means, only read so thoroughly that I have not returned to him for a long time” (letter to the writer, Nov., 1933).

<sup>25</sup> For a philosophic discussion of these “transcendental” values, see Charles Hartshorne, *Beyond Humanism: Essays in the New Philosophy of Nature* (Chicago, 1937). Robinson Jeffers is discussed in the “Conclusion.” The problem is complicated by the different meanings given to “humanism” by the philosophers and by the literary critics; but even in this confusion of tongues, certain general distinctions come clear.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. “Paradise (To Be) Regained,” in *Cape Cod and Miscellanies*.

<sup>27</sup> Of course this does not include “freedom of the will” or “freedom from *internal* compulsion.”

addressed himself in a series of philosophical poems included in his latest book.<sup>28</sup> Life is good, he writes, and freedom is better than life; but best of all is integrity:

. . . All life is beautiful. We cannot be  
sure of life for one moment;  
We can, by force and self-discipline, by many  
refusals and a few assertions, in the  
teeth of fortune assure ourselves  
Freedom and integrity in life or integrity in death.<sup>29</sup>

Beyond humanity, beyond life, beyond freedom lies the value of wholeness or integrity. For it applies equally to man and the universe—to microcosm and macrocosm—uniting human and non-human under one law:

. . . however ugly the parts appear the  
whole remains beautiful. A severed hand  
Is an ugly thing, and man dissevered from the earth . . .  
Often appears atrociously ugly. Integrity is  
wholeness, the greatest beauty is  
Organic wholeness, the wholeness of life and things,  
the divine beauty of the universe.<sup>30</sup>

But what is this mystic “integrity”? Old as it is, the ideal remains vague:

. . . To thine own self be true  
And it must follow as the night the day  
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

In the mouth of Polonius, the counsel seems platitudinous and conservative. But in the mouth of Emerson, it becomes revolutionary. “Who so would be a man, must be a nonconformist. . . . Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind.”<sup>31</sup> Carried to its logical conclusion, this becomes the crucial doctrine of American mysticism. For does it not deny traditional morality, and preach absolute anarchy? “He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness . . . ‘If I am the Devil’s child, I will live then from the

<sup>28</sup> “The Answer,” “Nova,” and “Hellenistics,” in *Such Counsels You Gave to Me*.

<sup>29</sup> “Nova,” *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> “The Answer,” *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> These quotations from “Self-Reliance” (see earlier note on Emerson).

Devil.' No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature."<sup>32</sup> It is in this revolutionary and mystical sense that Jeffers develops the ideal of integrity.

Addressing "Woodrow Wilson," he explains:

. . . you and all men are drawn out of this depth  
Only to be these things you are, as flowers for color,  
    falcons for swiftness,  
Mountains for mass and quiet. Each for its quality  
Is drawn out of this depth.

And his *Dear Judas* illustrates it concretely: Jesus understands his betrayer and loves him, because he knows him to be acting according to his inmost nature, and "This is the roots of forgiveness." But, he warns: "This is our secret, Judas. / For the people's hearts are not scrupulous like yours, and if they heard it they'd run on license and die." To this, however, the conservative may well reply: "If you recognize the danger, why preach so anarchic a principle?" The answer is that this principle of integrity is "true." It is the fundamental truth of mysticism, recognized repeatedly: "*Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner.*" But although recognized, it has seldom been acted upon: "What is truth?" asked Pilate cynically. Only Jesus acted upon it, practicing the forgiveness of evil. All professing Christians, indeed, have accepted his ideal in principle, even while denying it in practice. Only the modern mystics have said: "Let us see where this logic of integrity will lead us." And they have also warned: "Beware when the great God lets loose a thinker on this planet."

Being the devil's child, Jeffers's Tamar lived from the devil. The offspring of the uttermost sin, she did not seek repentance but the realization of the logic of her evil. To her incestuous father, she explained carefully:

. . . I'll show you your trouble, you sinned,  
your old book calls it, and repented: that was  
foolish.  
I was unluckier, I had no chance to repent, so I  
    learned something, we must keep sin pure,  
Or it will poison us. . . .

And so at the end, this Tamar achieved a certain tragic dignity, surpassing the other characters in the story who were less "evil"

<sup>32</sup> From "Self-Reliance."

but more confused. In the poet's "Apology for Bad Dreams," her restless ghost reappears: "Someone flamelike passed me saying: 'I am Tamar Cauldwell, I have my desire.'" Self-reliant to the end, she embodies something of the absolute heroism of Milton's Satan, with "The courage never to submit or yield, / And what is else not to be overcome."

But all this is profoundly disturbing: Does the ideal of integrity lead to the lowest circle of hell? Does mysticism imply moral anarchy? If "good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this," as Emerson asserted, what standards remain? Even Jeffers recoiled somewhat from the implications of his early poem: "Tamar seemed to my later thought to have a tendency to romanticize unmoral freedom. . . . That way lies destruction, of course. . . . One of the intentions of *Point Sur* was to indicate the destruction and strip everything but its natural ugliness from the unmorality."<sup>33</sup> Yet his Barclay in *Point Sur*, lacking the tragic integrity of Tamar, failed to achieve her heroic stature, and the poem failed with him. *Tamar* remains the modern "Inferno"—the embodiment of the transcendental logic of evil.

The point is that the poem *Tamar* did not really "romanticize unmoral freedom." Although it idealized Tamar's integrity and self-realization, the poem did not pretend that these qualities—when practiced by an evil heroine—produced happiness. Always it distinguished two levels of life—the mystic and the human. In the speech quoted, Tamar said, "I was unluckier"—and she was, by the standards of human morality. She found no pleasure in her sin, and won only destruction. But she realized clearly the absolute logic of her nature. "As Blake wrote, 'If the fool would persist in his folly he would become wise.'"<sup>34</sup> Through her persistent folly, Tamar learned a strange new kind of wisdom.

Only if the humanistic and the transcendental levels of life are confused does moral anarchy result from the practice of this ideal of "integrity." For the morality of the mystic does not destroy the morality of traditional society, but goes beyond it to a new set of values:

For the essence and the end  
Of His labor is beauty, for goodness and evil are two  
things and still variant, but the quality of life as  
of death and of light

<sup>33</sup> Alberts, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>34</sup> Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

As of darkness is one, one beauty, the rhythm of that  
Wheel, and who can behold it is happy and will  
praise it to the people.<sup>35</sup>

Going beyond good and evil, the mystic projects logically the morality of "the super-man."

But "goodness and evil are still variant." The true mystic, unlike the deluded Barclay in *The Women at Point Sur*, does not pretend that he has annulled all human laws, nor destroyed all human values. Tamar still does evil; and "dear" Judas still does evil: both remain morally despicable; but Judas is the more despicable, because he thinks he is doing good. Even Jesus does not achieve the perfect integrity, because he still seeks to struggle against God for mankind: he seeks to do good, rather than to learn the truth. But because he aims at the highest degree of human goodness, where Tamar aimed at the lowest degree of human evil, his story becomes the highest form of human tragedy, as hers was the lowest. Both realize the heroic ideal of tragedy and in so far surpass the worldly characters of human comedy.

*Dear Judas*, therefore, describes in detail Jesus's transcendental ideal of integrity beyond tragedy: "Life after life, at the bottom of the pit comes exultation." Through suffering and pain, endured for a purpose, man is raised above the common level of humanity. He may turn the other cheek from weakness, of course, or from strength; but if he lives "according to principle" (Thoreau's phrase) his suffering becomes creative. So Jesus lives and preaches the logic of self-sacrifice:

I having no foothold but slippery  
Broken hearts, and despairs . . . am yet lifting my  
peoples nearer  
In emotion, and even at length in powers and  
perception, to the universal God than ever  
humanity  
Has climbed before.

And the parallel poem of "The Loving Shepherdess" illustrates the same principles from a different point of view.

But obviously this heroic integrity, even when practiced by "good" men, will not bring happiness, in the ordinary sense. Obviously, it will not bring worldly success. It will not bring pleasure,

<sup>35</sup> "Point Pinos and Point Lobos," *Roan Stallion*, p. 241.

nor comfort, nor joy. It will set up rather a new set of values. Among these, self-realization and the discovery of truth will be primary. And secondary values will be courage, mercy, endurance, and strength.<sup>86</sup>

In a letter, Jeffers has suggested these post-humanistic values:

Some prefatory definition of values would be useful. What does the author think would be best for men? What is he working toward?

*Human happiness?*—If a harmless drug were invented under the influence of which all people could be intensely and harmoniously happy, only working enough to provide each other with sustenance and the drug—would that be a good goal for men? That would be maximum happiness, minimum pain.

*Goodness?*—The modern view makes goodness a purely relative term. Good conduct is the conduct that conduces to general human happiness.—But then happiness is primary.

*Discovery, experience, development of all powers?*—But then experience of sorrow and pain is included. And all hopes of general harmony and cooperation ought to be cancelled. For man is not only a cooperative animal, but also a fiercely pugnacious animal. Unless he annihilates a whole hemisphere of himself, universal cooperation is not possible. Do we really want to annihilate half of the powers that have carried us so far? Would a world of happy saints not be rather ignoble, if it were possible?<sup>87</sup>

To this Jeffers adds, "I am not answering these questions—at present." But his manner of asking suggests the answer, and his poetry has always implied it: the development of all man's powers and the discovery of truth are the new values of modern man. The experience of sorrow and pain becomes a positive value. And the old value of ignorant happiness is denied, flatly contradicting the neoclassical dictum: "Where ignorance is bliss / 'Tis folly to be wise." Only the inner integrity that transcends tragedy and defeat is final for the modern mystic.

<sup>86</sup> See "The Answer," in *Such Counsels You Gave to Me*. In this connection, see also Henry Alonzo Myers, "The Tragic Attitude Toward Value," *International Journal of Ethics*, XLV, 337-355 (April, 1935).

<sup>87</sup> Letter to the writer, dated Jan., 1938.

# EMERSON, CITIZEN OF CONCORD

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THOUGH much of the story of Emerson in Concord has been told, something yet remains to be said to show the poet-philosopher's relation to the life of the village which was his home for nearly fifty years. Curiously enough, though the subject has not been without interest to Emerson's biographers, none has given much attention to the official town records, in which Emerson's name appears surprisingly often, and which, should there be no other biographical data available, as in the case of Shakespeare, would provide a fairly substantial basis for a conception of the man as citizen.

## I

The first of the Emerson roots in Concord are of course to be found in the life of Peter Bulkeley, Emerson's first Concord ancestor and one of the redoubtable founders of Concord, but the name Emerson first makes its appearance in the town records in the person of the Reverend William Emerson, the poet's grandfather, builder of the Old Manse, and for something more than a decade pastor of the First Church of Concord. The tale of his stormy career, plainly and frankly recorded by himself in the Church Records, though highly interesting because of its contrast to the relatively placid life of his famous grandson, is too long to be told here.

The Church Records show that the family of the Reverend William Emerson were all properly introduced to an association with the Church. The pastor's wife, Phebe Bliss Emerson, was "admitted in full" as a member on October 18, 1767.<sup>1</sup> All his children were baptized, as the "Record of Baptisms" (p. 411) indicates:

|         |  |      |
|---------|--|------|
| May 7   | Emerson, William [father of R. W. E.]        | 1769 |
| July 29 | Emerson, Hannah Bliss                        | 1770 |
| Nov. 8  | Emerson, Phebe                               | 1772 |
| Aug. 28 | Emerson, Mary Moody [the famous "Aunt Mary"] | 1774 |
| Aug. 11 | Emerson, Rebecca <sup>2</sup>                | 1776 |

<sup>1</sup> Records of the First Church in Concord, 1738 to 1857, a "true copy" made by Chas. E. Brown, Sept. 19, 1891, p. 322. This volume is in the Concord Public Library. The original, which I was also permitted to examine, is in the hands of Mr. Julian Ballou, parish clerk.

<sup>2</sup> An appended note adds: "Rebecca the last child he ever baptised." The pastor died shortly thereafter subsequent to services as an army chaplain in the Revolutionary War.

In the course of time, three of these children were likewise "admitted to the church in full":

Dec. 8 1793 Phebe Emerson

Nov. 28 1794 Mary Moody Emerson & Rebecca Emerson<sup>3</sup>

Of Emerson's father, William Emerson, the records say nothing more; but of Emerson's brother Edward, it is recorded (p. 334):

July 6, 1828: Emerson, Edward Bliss, A.M. (Admitted in private, by reason of sickness)

Though brief, the entry suggests a good deal—the young man's scholarly attainments, his dread disease (consumption), and apparently his apprehension of death.

Of Emerson himself, considering the fact that he began his career as a minister, the church records say little. On March 1, 1829, the pastor, Ezra Ripley (who had become Emerson's step-grandfather), wrote in the Records (p. 264):

The church tarried by request of the pastor, & heard a letter from the Second Church & Society of Boston, requesting assistance by pastor & delegation, at the ordination of Mr. R. W. Emerson; & voted to comply with said request, & chose Brethren Edward Jarvis & Edward B. Emerson delegates.<sup>4</sup>

And a year later, on February 18, 1830, Dr. Ripley recorded that at the ordination of the Reverend Hersey Bradford Goodwin as junior pastor of the First Church in Concord, "Rev. Mr. R. W. Emerson of Boston gave the Right Hand."<sup>5</sup> Until his death was recorded in 1882,<sup>6</sup> the church records included no other mention of Emerson except the item pertaining to the baptism of his first child:

May 7 Emerson, Waldo: s. of Ralph W. & Lydia<sup>7</sup> 1837

The silence in the minister's records seems all the more unaccountable when it is considered that, first and last, from the beginning of his preaching experience in 1826 until its close in 1839, Emerson appears to have delivered some fifty-five sermons in the Concord church,<sup>8</sup> thirty-five of them, apparently, after his resigna-

<sup>3</sup> Records, p. 326.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Jarvis later served on the Concord school committee with Emerson. Edward B. Emerson was of course Emerson's own brother. <sup>6</sup> Records, pp. 266-267.

<sup>5</sup> "Ralph Waldo Emerson 78 yr., 11 mo., 2 da. Pneumonia."

<sup>7</sup> Records, p. 411. The boy was baptized by Dr. Ripley.

<sup>8</sup> I am indebted to Prof. E. W. Forbes, Superintendent of the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., for permission to examine Emerson's Preaching Record in the Widener Library.

tion from the Second Church in Boston. When the junior pastor of the First Church in Concord in June, 1836, asked for a vacation of three months to recover his health, the question of obtaining a substitute to "supply the pulpit" was discussed in town meeting, and a committee was appointed for that purpose, though its decisions went unrecorded.<sup>9</sup> Since, however, Emerson's Preaching Record shows that he occupied the Concord pulpit frequently during the summer of 1836, it is probable that the committee, which included the aged Dr. Ripley, requested his services.<sup>10</sup>

In view of the fact that in Emerson's declining years it was publicly maintained by the Reverend Joseph Cook of Boston that Emerson had renounced his earlier teachings and joined the church,<sup>11</sup> it is perhaps worthy of note that the records of the First Church include no reference indicating that Emerson was ever a member. The records of the parish do show, however, that Emerson was a parish member in March, 1878, though it is not wholly clear whether he was a member before that date.<sup>12</sup> Membership in the parish, it should be said, is distinct from membership in the church; it implies no acceptance of the church creed, but does entitle the member to a voice in the secular activities of the church—to a voice, for example, in determining the minister's salary or repairs for the church building, and evidently shows a sympathetic interest in the welfare of the institution.

## II

It is perhaps in the Records of the School Committee that Emerson's activities in the affairs of Concord appear most prominently. It was before his marriage to Lydia Jackson, before he had pur-

<sup>9</sup> Concord: Town Records, VIII, March, 1834, to Sept., 1851. Church and state were not separated in Concord affairs until 1855; hence such parish matters as the employment of a minister were decided in town meeting at the local courthouse.

<sup>10</sup> I shall try to show in some detail in a forthcoming article, what is already implied in A. C. McGiffert, Jr.'s, *Young Emerson Speaks* (Boston, 1938), that Emerson continued to preach during a period of more than six years following his resignation from the Second Church of Boston, and that his break with the ministerial profession was a gradual process and not even a mildly dramatic event.

<sup>11</sup> Clearly and firmly denied by Emerson's son, Dr. Edward W. Emerson, in a letter written in 1880 and published in the *Indianapolis (Ind.) Journal*, Feb. 28, 1882. See also Emerson's *Works*, Concord ed., VIII, 416 n.

<sup>12</sup> Untitled record of parish membership, a manuscript volume in the possession of Mr. Julian Ballou. The name of R. W. Emerson, in Emerson's own handwriting, is second on the list, following that of Ebenezer Hoar (p. 3). If there was an earlier volume, which seems likely, it is apparently not extant. The name of Ellen T. Emerson, Emerson's older daughter, appears in the list for 1881-82; that of his son, Edward W. Emerson, appears in the list for 1899-1900.

chased his home in Concord, and while he was still living at the Old Manse with Dr. Ripley, on June 1, 1835, that he received his first civic recognition by being selected to fill a vacancy on the school committee.<sup>13</sup> The duties of a school committeeman, if not heavy, nevertheless required a good deal of time and much attention to minutiae. It is interesting to observe how a part of Emerson's days was filled while, at the same time, the "rhapsodic" *Nature* was being written. A quotation or two from the secretary's record tells the story:

Oct 16th [1835]. Committee Messrs Goodwin—Emerson & Jarvis examined school in Dist No 4 under care of Miss Mary E. Hurd. There was a considerable improvement in reading & spelling, in arithmetic of the 1st & 3d class—and in grammar. The classes in geography & the 2d in arithmetic were very superficial—The order was very greatly improved—The discipline had for a long time been lax & ineffectual—but it was now restored to its proper tone.

E. Jarvis, Sec.

On March 15, 1836, Messrs. Ball, Emerson, Miles, and Jarvis inspected the school in District No. 3, and were "Highly gratified with the progress":

The arithmetic & geography were unusually accurate—thirtyone very respectable compositions were exhibited. On the whole the committee had rarely seen so much evidence of industry & successful ambition in any school.

And so the examinations and the secretary's reports went on and on, though not always with such favorable comments, since in some cases the "children were very noisy and even talked aloud." Between September 24, 1835, and March 24, 1836, Emerson had participated in eleven such inspections.

On April 4, 1836, at the town meeting in the courthouse, Emerson was elected to fill the position on the school committee to which he had in the year previous only been appointed.<sup>14</sup> On April 14, when the committee met at the Middlesex Hotel, he was chosen for the combined office of chairman and secretary. For the remainder of his tenure at this time, the records are therefore in his handwriting. Again he was a member of several examining committees (four all told), and now he was appointed a committee of one "to examine the qualifications of such persons as offer themselves as teachers for the Schools." His secretarial records are much

<sup>13</sup> Records of the School Committee, Concord, Mass., 1826 to 1842, not paged. Now preserved among the records of the superintendent of the Concord public schools.

<sup>14</sup> Concord: Town Records, VIII, 64.

briefer than those of his predecessors, as if he were impatient with detail. Though he states that the committees continued their inspections, he says nothing of their findings. Nevertheless, he did not fail to record the decisions of the school committee regarding the conduct of the schools in general, as, for example:

Voted, to permit Miss Barrett to give instruction to a class in History; and to the girls in plain sewing so long as these exercises did not encroach on the required studies of the School.

Voted to require of the children who have been absent or tardy at the Schools to bring a written excuse from their parents or guardians for each delinquency.

R. W. EMERSON, Secy.

On October 29, 1836 (*Nature* had been published in September), the secretary hastily and briefly made his final entry:

The Committee met at Wilson's Hotel & attended to the reading of the ~~Return~~ [sic] Annual Report to be returned to the Secretary of State's office. Having satisfied themselves of its correctness, they signed it in presence of John Keyes, Esq. and adjourned.

For making this report, Emerson was paid by the town the sum of five dollars. Unlike the reports of his predecessors, his was very brief, highly systematized, consisting chiefly of figures and tabulations, without the comment on conditions in each school as in previous years.

It was his final entry because at this meeting on October 29, or shortly thereafter, he resigned, no reason for the resignation having been made a part of the record. On the nineteenth of November his successor was chosen.

Almost thirty years later, when Emerson was no longer merely a local figure, but a writer and speaker of national and international fame, he was once more elected to the school committee. In 1864 he was chosen for a term of three years.<sup>15</sup> This was during a part of Bronson Alcott's period of service as superintendent of Concord schools (at \$100 per year).<sup>16</sup> Emerson seems to have been present at most of the meetings except for frequent absences during the winter months, when his duties as lecturer may have interfered. His name does not appear conspicuously in the minutes of the secretary until March 24, 1866, when it was voted that Emerson and the su-

<sup>15</sup> Records of Town Meetings, IX, 228. In a letter to his daughter, Edith Emerson Forbes, Emerson speaks of his school committee work as a "high duty." See R. L. Rusk (ed.), *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1939), V, 434.

<sup>16</sup> Alcott's famous school report had been made in 1861. He was not re-employed in 1865-66.

perintendent of schools be a committee to examine teachers for schools and scholars for promotion.<sup>17</sup> The prospect of such a task, which would very likely have been arduous, may have prompted Emerson to decline it; at any rate, for some reason not specifically stated, about two weeks later, on April 7, 1866, he sent in his resignation, which the committee accepted. Three weeks afterward, when the committee met with the selectmen to fill the vacancy, they chose his older brother, William Emerson, who had retired from his practice of law in New York City to live in Concord.<sup>18</sup> This was the last time that Emerson served as school committeeman, though his son, Dr. Edward W. Emerson, and his elder daughter, Ellen, both held that position during their father's lifetime.

## III

Not long after Emerson had been chosen to fill the vacancy on the school committee, he delivered, on September 12, 1835, the first of his addresses marking special occasions in the affairs of Concord—the first of a number extending over his active years and continuing until old age made the writing of speeches impossible. This was the “Historical Discourse”<sup>19</sup> delivered in the First Church and marking the second centennial anniversary of the incorporation of Concord. But of Emerson’s name in relation to this event, the Town Records have nothing to say. Of the preparations for the day, the appointment of a program committee, and the financial report of the committee after the event, the Records take note,<sup>20</sup> though whether there was any compensation for the “Oration by the Rev. R. W. Emerson” (as itemized on the printed program placed in the hands of the celebrators<sup>21</sup>) they do not say. Unfortunately silent, too, are the Records about Emerson’s other addresses delivered upon public occasions in Concord: at the dedication of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in 1855, the Civil War Soldier’s Monument in 1867, the Munroe Library in 1873, and French’s statue of the Minute Man in 1875. All that the Records note concerning these events are that Emerson was one of a committee of fifteen empowered to purchase and arrange for the resale of the grounds comprising Sleepy Hollow, and that he was among the eleven committeemen appointed to procure “a statue of a Continental Minute Man cut in granite” to be erected on the American side of the

<sup>17</sup> [School] Records, 1862-75, p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88. See also *The Ipswich Emersons, A.D. 1636-1900* (Boston, 1900), p. 264.

<sup>19</sup> *Works*, XI, 29-86.

<sup>20</sup> Town Records, VIII, 27, 37-38, 43, 50.

<sup>21</sup> I am indebted to the generosity of Mr. Edgar Clark of Concord for a copy of this program.

river (that is, the side on which the Americans stood in the battle at Old North Bridge), with his own lines ("By the rude bridge," etc.) "enduringly graven for an inscription on the base."<sup>22</sup>

## IV

If Emerson was thus early in his Concord residence selected by his fellow townsmen for civic duties, even before he became a householder, the spring after his marriage and settlement in the Coolidge house on the Cambridge turnpike found him accepted as a full-fledged citizen of the town; for at the spring election, in a meeting at the courthouse on March 7, 1836, he, together with fourteen others, was elected to the office of hogreeve.<sup>23</sup>

Obviously Concord, which in 1836 was a town of only a few more than two thousand inhabitants, scarcely needed fifteen hog-catchers. But the office of "hog-reef," which was the word used in the old records, was a position of long standing and peculiar significance. Concord had evidently had its trouble with unconfined hogs, for as late as the 1817 March town meeting it was "voted, that the Swine shall not go at large the ensuing year," an injunction which it was found necessary to repeat the following year, though the sting was removed from this severe order by the addition of the words "without a keeper." As late as 1819, five citizens of plain and democratic Concord (including the distinguished "Saml Hoar, 2nd") duly and solemnly swore to do their duty as hog-catchers. When, in a few years, the need for the hogreeve became less pressing, either because Concord was becoming hog-tight or because the hogs were moving westward, the position became an honorary one, the title, without the oath, being conferred in a spirit of friendly banter. Thus two of those elected with Emerson were town selectmen, and two were trustees of the Congregational Ministerial Fund. The Reverend Hersey B. Goodwin, junior pastor of the First Church, was given this honor in 1831, as was Nathaniel Hawthorne on March 4, 1844.<sup>24</sup> Of course Emerson never took the oath of office and never caught so much as a single pig.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Records of Town Meetings, IX, 86, 419, 442, 451. Rusk, *op. cit.* VI, 264, 265, 271, includes several letters from Emerson to J. E. Cabot relating to the statue of the Minute Man. Of Emerson's many appearances as lecturer before the Concord Lyceum, I shall write in detail in another essay.

<sup>23</sup> Concord: Town Records, VIII, 58. Dr. Emerson, in *Emerson in Concord* (Boston, 1890), pp. 66-67, tells an amusing little story about this "first civic honor," though of course it was not the "first."

<sup>24</sup> Concord: Town Records, VIII. The name is spelled Nath<sup>l</sup> Hawthan, which indicates how Hawthorne's Concord neighbors pronounced his name.

<sup>25</sup> In 1848 the town clerk thought it unnecessary to record all the twenty or thirty

## V

To no public service in Concord was Emerson devoted over a longer period than to his duties in behalf of the local library. As early as 1837-38, he seems to have been moderator of the Social Library;<sup>26</sup> he was on the Standing Committee in 1840 and 1841, and, apparently, was chairman of that committee in 1850 and 1851.<sup>27</sup> After the Social Library was merged in the Town Library, and beginning with the "Second Annual Report," dated March, 1854, Emerson's name appears among the members of the library committeemen until his death in 1882.<sup>28</sup> In one capacity or another, he devoted himself to the library over a period of at least forty-five years.<sup>29</sup>

It has already been said that Emerson had been elected by the town in 1854 to serve with fourteen others to purchase the land for Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, and to circulate subscription papers to obtain purchasers for the first fifty lots therein.<sup>30</sup> He was also a member of the committee of six to supervise the care of Sleepy Hollow, a position which he continued to fill until 1860.<sup>31</sup>

## VI

The Town Records offer no accurate indication of the frequency with which Emerson attended town meetings, nor do they offer final evidence concerning the extent of his active participation when he did attend. The Records of course do not list the names of those present, nor do they always give the names of those making the motions or leading the discussions. But that Emerson did attend town meetings, that he did make motions, and that his talents were

names of the newly elected hogreeves because "the election of hog-reeves is made by consent rather a matter of pleasantries than of earnest" (Town Records, VIII, 361). After 1850, hogreeves are no longer mentioned, a sign, probably, of local decay.

<sup>26</sup> "Concord Free Public Library," a folder dated Concord, March 26, 1914. Rusk, *op. cit.*, II, 40, shows that he was a committeeman as early as Oct., 1836.

<sup>27</sup> MS Reports of the Social Library. In the possession of the Concord Public Library.

<sup>28</sup> *Reports of the Selectmen of the Town of Concord*. See the library reports from 1853 to 1883; also Rusk, *op. cit.*, VI, 297, 316.

<sup>29</sup> Emerson, like other citizens of Concord, upon a number of occasions contributed volumes to the local library. For instance, in 1873, when William Munroe by his gifts made possible the Concord Free Public Library, Emerson donated 61 volumes, as compared to 86 by Bronson Alcott, 266 by Frederic Hudson, 277 by Grindall Reynolds, and 315 by R. N. Price. Of course there were many gifts smaller than Emerson's (*Report for 1873-74*). In this connection it is of interest to learn that not until 1852-53 did the local library contain a complete set of Emerson's writings. See *Report for March, 1853*.

<sup>30</sup> Emerson himself was one of the first to purchase a lot. See *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, ed. Odell Shepard (Boston, 1938), p. 281.

<sup>31</sup> *Reports of the Selectmen, 1857 to 1860*.

recognized by his fellow citizens in town meeting are sufficiently manifest.

In 1856, for example, when the United States seemed on the point of war with Great Britain because of the claims of the latter in Central America in the region of the proposed canal and because of the recruiting by British officers in the United States of soldiers for service in the Crimean War,<sup>32</sup> Emerson was chosen with Simon Brown and E. R. Hoar to draft a letter in response to "an Address from the Inhabitants of the Town of Coggeshall, Essex County, England, . . . asking us to exert whatever influence [Concord] may to avert the impending hostilities between our country and Great Britain."

The address itself was accompanied by one hundred signatures, the occupations of nearly all the signers being indicated. Though expressed in strangely old-fashioned phrases, and recording an almost forgotten incident, it is not without interest.

It is impossible but that we regard with deep and unaffected anxiety any approach to a misunderstanding between the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain, and the rumours of possible hostilities between the two nations have given us intense sorrow: we deeply regret that the influence of the Press in both countries should have tended to fan the spark into a flame: but we are devoutly thankful that the "God of peace" has by the more recent development of His Providence led us to believe that the gloomy forebodings which some of us entertained will not now be realized, but that the amicable relations that have been so long maintained may continue undisturbed. Still we deem this a fitting opportunity to assert our fraternal feelings towards you and our American brethren at large.

Friends and Brethren, we hold the evils attendant upon War to be so tremendous, so unspeakably horrible and heartrending—and believing that "God has made of one blood all nations of men" and that consequently all men are brethren we would seek by all possible means to maintain peace. But there are strong special reasons why we should cultivate peace with the people of your land: your ancestry is so truly noble, of which not merely England but all Europe "was not worthy": we hold so much in common: we speak the same language: our literature is one: and for the most part our religion is one: bound by ties so solemn and tender our alienation for ever so short a time we could not but regard as a fearful calamity.

Friends and Brethren, accept this humble effort on our part towards the perpetuation of peace and goodwill between us. May you be still

<sup>32</sup> See speech of the Honorable A. G. Brown of Mississippi in the Senate on March 11, 1856, *Appendix to the Congressional Globe* (Washington, D. C., 1856), pp. 234-242.

more abundantly blessed by the Giver of all good than you have yet been—and bright and great as have been the preceding ages of your country, may its future be even greater and brighter than the past.

Apparently the committee acted at once, for the minutes of April 7, 1856, the date when the town meeting was to consider a suitable reply, include the following letter, signed by the selectmen and the town clerk, in the drafting of which Emerson seems to have participated:

To our Brethren of the Town of Coggeshall, Essex County, England.—

We acknowledge the receipt of your late Address asking us to exert whatever influence we may to perpetuate peace between Great Britain and the United States—and we accept it with pleasure. Standing as we do on the soil baptised with the blood of both nations, and that was once the theatre of war, we fully appreciate the sentiments you have expressed, and most earnestly desire that the bonds of union now so happily existing between us may never be broken; that both parties may remain, not only the conservators of peace, but continue to cherish the Arts of peace, the literature and religious freedom of which both have become such eminent examples.—

It was the Spirit of Peace which you invoke, that settled this town without the shedding of blood, and which has enabled us to live in harmony and concord ever since.

We thank you for your kind thought of us, and trust that a common ancestry, a common literature and religion together with the important commercial relations existing between us, and the highest civilization that the world has ever known may keep us united in friendship and love, and convince us that war, would be unnecessary as well as a fearful calamity.

In the Spirit of Peace therefore, and of fraternal regard we return your friendly greetings.

What in the history of Coggeshall related it to Concord, so that its "Inhabitants" were prompted to write to Concord, remains unsaid, though it may be that the events of April 19, 1775, explain why Concord should be the recipient of such a letter. The Coggeshall "Address" was ordered "framed and placed in the office of the Clerk,"<sup>33</sup> though later it was removed to the Public Library.

A number of times Emerson was chosen at town meetings to serve on committees to prepare resolutions. On November 4, 1856, after he himself had moved that the town pay tribute to the memory of the Honorable Samuel Hoar, recently deceased, he, together

<sup>33</sup> Records of Town Meetings, IX, 143-144.

with J. S. Keyes and G. L. Prescott, was chosen to draw resolutions of respect for his fellow Concordian, who, with Webster and Rufus Choate, had attained highest distinction in New England public affairs. The resolution spoke of "his [Hoar's] singular purity, his love of truth and justice, his inflexible obedience to duty, his liberality, and his zealous & effective cooperation in every measure of public benefit." And again, on April 1, 1878, the town voted that Emerson, E. R. Hoar (son of the Honorable Samuel Hoar), and Richard Barrett write resolutions of respect in memory of the late William Munroe, wealthy lead-pencil manufacturer and resident of Concord, who, in 1873, had generously donated funds for the erection and support of Concord's Free Public Library. It may be that on this committee Emerson was an honorary and not an active member, for in 1878 he was an old man for whom writing of any kind was very difficult if not impossible.

## VII

The Town Records also contain a number of miscellaneous references to Emerson, none of them of great importance individually, but all indicating that he was an integral part of the life of Concord. On April 19, 1838, when the town made a public event of the planting of some two hundred trees between Old North Bridge and Monument Street, Emerson, like Dr. Ripley and John Thoreau, was among the forty-three residents who contributed trees.<sup>34</sup> Some time between March 1, 1853, and March 1, 1854, he received a refund of \$9.61 on taxes paid to the town. Of this amount, \$1.68 came from the parish fund, Concord property owners at that time still being taxed for the support of the church.<sup>35</sup> At a town meeting on November 10, 1845, he petitioned to purchase "a portion of the lot on which the School house of the East Centre District now stands," a purchase which was finally consummated on March 2, 1846. The seventy dollars which Emerson paid for this plot of ground across the street from his residence was "reserved to the Committee of the Battle ground to be laid out by them in making

<sup>34</sup> Town Records, VIII, 167-170. He seems not, however, to have been among the "Subscribers to the Monument," that is, the monument to the east of the river, at the dedication of which he read his "Concord Hymn" in 1837.

<sup>35</sup> *Report of the Selectmen*. See section on "Expenditures." The report does not say whether Emerson complained about the overcharge or whether the error was discovered by the town officials. Such abatements were of course not uncommon. Although I have consulted the official tax records, I have chosen not to speak of the extent of Emerson's finances as revealed by those records.

a front fence at the road."<sup>36</sup> At an election of state officers in November, 1851, Emerson (probably to his surprise and amusement, if he ever heard of it) received one vote as Representative to the General Court; but the job went to a better man, Samuel Staples, a former bartender and a good friend and neighbor of Emerson. The town financial report for the year ending March 1, 1865,<sup>37</sup> contains under the heading, "Payments, East Primary School," this ambiguous statement: "R. W. Emerson, wood and sawing same, \$3.12." It can, however, probably be assumed that Emerson himself was not sawing the wood which, very likely, he was providing in his capacity as school committeeman. On March 30, 1874, the town voted, among other measures, to decline the proposal to rename Lincoln Street (running past Emerson's house) Emerson Street.<sup>38</sup> The last reference to Emerson in the Town Records during his lifetime occurred on November 5, 1878, when, at town meeting, it was voted to postpone indefinitely the authorization of "a conveyance to R. W. Emerson of certain land in the Southeasterly part of town."

## VIII

From these records—town, parish, and church—it seems abundantly evident that Emerson took an active part in the life of Concord. However much he accused himself of being cold and impersonal, and however modestly he regarded his own talents in practical affairs, it is amply clear that he moved with no forbidding austerity among his fellow citizens, who obviously held him in respect as one of their own number and were always ready to choose him for such offices as he cared to accept. Of all the Concord celebrities—Channing, Alcott, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Emerson—certainly Emerson stands out conspicuously as having lived the most active and perhaps the most normal life. And that suggests what was one of his greatest qualities—that the man was never lost in the genius. To imagine that Emerson was a cloud-treading transcendentalist who lived aloof from the terrestrial affairs of men, ignorant of their everyday problems and indifferent to their daily concerns, is to harbor a faulty conception of one of the most complete men America has yet produced.

<sup>36</sup> Town Records, VIII, 311, 315, 322, 325, 331.

<sup>37</sup> *Report of the Selectmen*, March 1, 1864, to March 1, 1865, p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Town Records, IX, 460. Perhaps to avoid embarrassment to Emerson.

# AUTHORS OF THE PORT FOLIO REVEALED BY THE HALL FILES

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THE FIRST number of the *Port Folio* was issued on the first Saturday of the nineteenth century, and the magazine was destined to have, for that period, the unusually long lifetime of twenty-seven years. Joseph Dennie, the first editor, had announced in the *Prospectus* that the co-operation of many minds was requisite for the accomplishment of his purpose; accordingly, the interest that he succeeded in arousing in the large number of contributors, who seem never to have thought of pay, was an important factor in the magazine's longevity. The reasons for the contributors' enthusiasm were varied. First, Dennie's earnest Federalism brought the aid of fellow partisans, whose political and cultural sympathies were no doubt intensified by the Republicans' first national victory at the polls in the autumn of 1800. Moreover, though pro-English, he gave encouragement and outlet to American writers, and thus appealed to a patriotic spirit among those Americans who were smarting under imputations of literary crudity. Further, he had sufficient learning and charm to become a leader of a cultured group in Philadelphia, a significant number of whom were women.

The success of the early issues must have been gratifying to Dennie. One contributor, William Smith Shaw, who had been John Adams's secretary during the last two years of his presidency, soon wrote from Washington that he had secured nearly fifty subscriptions, for which he had obtained payment in advance.<sup>1</sup> John Quincy Adams, then in Berlin, wrote:

I have read attentively the prospectus and the three numbers of the *Port Folio*. The *plan* of this undertaking has given me more pleasure than I can express. The object is noble. It is to take off that foul stain of literary barbarism which has so long exposed our country to the reproach of strangers, and to the derision of her enemies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joseph B. Felt, *Memorials of William Smith Shaw* (Boston, 1852), pp. 131-132.

<sup>2</sup> *The Writings of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York, 1913-1917), II, 521.

Although Dennie succeeded in building interest in writing among others, the paucity of his own contributions moved John Elihu Hall, a later editor, to write several years afterward:

Such a spirit of literature prevailed among his associates, and the young men generally of that period, that his table abounded with contributions for the *Port Folio*; and it may easily be imagined that a person of his habits would not require much persuasion to exchange the labour of composition for the easier employment of selection. Hence we find that in the whole course of his editorship of the *Port Folio*, including a period of twelve years, there are scarcely as many original essays from his pen.<sup>3</sup>

Dennie probably wrote more than Hall indicated in that statement. Hall's intention, however, seems to have been to emphasize the number and distribution of the authors, and thus praise Dennie's ability to stir others to write.

But Hall, in his little book of selections from the *Port Folio*, designed to be "a memorial of the dawn of periodical literature in the United States,"<sup>4</sup> revealed the identity of only a very few of the authors, probably because he did not feel free to disclose the names of those who were, in 1826, living and holding "the foremost places in society."<sup>5</sup> Anonymity and the use of pseudonyms were the rule. John Quincy Adams, for one, feared the political result of being known:

But there is no small number of very worthy citizens among us irreversibly convinced that it is impossible to be at once a man of business and a man of rhyme, and who, if they knew me for instance to be the author of the two pieces inclosed, would need no other proof that I ought immediately to be *impeached* for incapacity as a public servant.<sup>6</sup>

The result is that, although many who wrote for the *Port Folio* have been known, there has been less certainty of what they wrote. Professor Milton Ellis, in his study of the magazine, stated: "In comparatively few cases can the individual productions of these men in the *Port Folio* be determined, owing to the almost invariable use of initials or pseudonyms, several of which might be employed by one writer."<sup>7</sup> There was the additional possibility that more than one author used the same pen name. Professor Ellis, following to

<sup>3</sup> John E. Hall, *The Philadelphia Souvenir* (Philadelphia, 1826), p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Writings*, II, 523.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Dennie and His Circle (Austin, Texas, 1915), p. 158.

a considerable extent Albert H. Smyth and Ellis P. Oberholzer,<sup>8</sup> was able to list about forty possible contributors, and he connected a few of them with pseudonyms; but, as he indicated, the authorship of most of the pieces was unknown. He was, of course, concerned with the magazine chiefly only from its beginning to Dennie's death in 1812. Since Professor Ellis's study in 1915, scholarship has added little if anything to our knowledge of the authorship of the *Port Folio*. The following discussion and compilation are intended to show that, although many of those whom Professor Ellis listed as possible contributors actually were contributors, many others wrote for the magazine, and that there is reasonable evidence to establish the authorship of individual writings.

Revelation of the authorship of many of the pieces, printed both during Dennie's lifetime and later, appears to exist in the endorsement of authors' names beside the pieces in the files of the *Port Folio* once owned by John Elihu Hall and his brother, Harrison Hall. They were the magazine's editor and publisher respectively during the last eleven years (1816-27) of the magazine's existence. These bound volumes were taken to Cincinnati by Harrison Hall, who went there about a year before his death in 1866, to live with his younger brother, James Hall. The volumes later came into the possession of his grandnieces.<sup>9</sup> The names of the authors are written, usually in pencil, unfortunately, beside approximately 430 of the individual pieces, of which 339 were printed during the first four years of the magazine's publication.

There are, for the years 1801-27, twenty-one bound volumes which contain endorsements. Names which indicate ownership are written on the covers or flyleaves of only those for the following years: 1805, Jos. J. [I?]<sup>10</sup> Slocum; 1806, H. Hall; July to December, 1807, J. E. Hall's. The volume mentioned last has marginal notes and revisions for John E. Hall's series called "The Memoirs of Anacreon," which he proposed to publish in book form.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Albert H. Smyth, *The Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors* (Philadelphia, 1872); Ellis P. Oberholzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1906).

<sup>9</sup> Miss Mary Posey Foote and Miss Louisa Bowler Foote, to whom I am indebted for the history of the Hall files of the *Port Folio* and for their kindness in allowing me to compile the endorsements.

<sup>10</sup> Early nineteenth-century handwritten *I*'s and *J*'s were often identical. See Albert S. Osborne, *Questioned Documents* (2d ed.; Albany, Toronto, London, 1929), pp. 196-197.

<sup>11</sup> The proposal was printed on the inside of the front cover of the *Port Folio*, Vol. III (May 9, 1807).

The handwriting of the endorsements in the volumes for 1801-06 is very like the few extant known specimens of the handwriting of Harrison Hall. In the volumes for 1807-27 the handwriting of some names is apparently that of John E. Hall; that of others is like the writing of Harrison Hall. There is little doubt that the handwriting of the marginal notes for the "Memoirs" is John E. Hall's.

The two brothers were in an excellent position to learn who were the contributors. Both lived in Philadelphia most of their lives; and John E. Hall, as a resident of Baltimore from 1804 to 1815, was able to become acquainted with authors in that city. Their uncle, Samuel Ewing, an attorney, was closely connected with Dennie, was one of the *Port Folio's* most regular contributors, and had as his friends both John Quincy Adams and his brother, Thomas Boylston Adams.<sup>12</sup> Dennie was "upon the most intimate terms" with Joseph Hopkinson,<sup>13</sup> with whom John E. Hall studied law.<sup>14</sup> Although he was only eighteen at the commencement of the magazine, John E. Hall soon became one of Dennie's group, socially and as a contributor.<sup>15</sup> His mother, Sarah Ewing Hall (Samuel Ewing's sister), was a contributor during Dennie's editorship, and "was one of the literary circle with which he associated."<sup>16</sup> In a biography of Mrs. Hall, published four years after her death, Samuel L. Knapp shows that Dennie was made at ease in the Hall household, and that Mrs. Hall's influence upon Dennie was greater than has generally been thought. The fact that Knapp was living during part of Dennie's and Mrs. Hall's lifetimes lends credence to his statements about Mrs. Hall:

Her disposition was cheerful and she looked on the bright side of every thing. At her hospitable mansion, the feverish scholar [Dennie] found more charms to cure his misanthropy than could be found elsewhere. If Dennie had outlived her, he would, in the fulness of his soul, have borne testimony to all this; but heaven decreed that she should

<sup>12</sup> See Charles G. Washburn (ed.), "Letters of Thomas Boylston Adams to William Smith Shaw, 1799-1823," The American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, N. S. XXVII, 166 (April, 1917); and J. Q. Adams, *Writings*, IV, 137.

<sup>13</sup> D. P. Brown, *The Forum, or Forty Years' Full Practice at the Philadelphia Bar* (Philadelphia, 1856), I, 548-549, quoted by Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>14</sup> Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>15</sup> See the proposal cited in note 11, above. See also Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>16</sup> *Selections from the Writings of Mrs. Sarah Hall* (Philadelphia, 1833), Memoir, p. xv. Harrison Hall edited the selections, but James Hall was the author of the Memoir (Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, New York, 1856, II, 147).

survive him many years. When the evil spirit came over him, as he does over all beings who are regardless of themselves, he went, to use his own words, to the house of Mrs. Hall, to drive off all his blue devils. Her conversation abounded in classical recollections, in playful remarks, and in delicate satire, and, like the harp of David, gave new soul and life to the gloomy editor.<sup>17</sup>

Between 1817 and 1833 Harrison Hall published four volumes which borrowed nearly all of their contents from the pages of the first twelve years of the *Port Folio*.<sup>18</sup> Of these four books, three were edited by John E. Hall. In three of the volumes the works of a few authors were published under their real names. The attribution of authorship in these volumes agrees with that of the endorsements in the Hall *Port Folio*. Likewise no disagreement has been found between the endorsements and other volumes containing known writings of the authors whose names are written in the Hall *Port Folio*, although it should be borne in mind that the work of only a few of the contributors to the *Port Folio* has been collected in volumes.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the endorsements could not have been made except by persons who had an intimate knowledge of the identity of the contributors, or by persons who had access to such knowledge. The following statement by John E. Hall, in the *Port Folio* for June, 1824, seems to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that John E. and Harrison Hall were in possession of this knowledge, and the statement, with the discussion above, demonstrates that the endorsements in the Hall files are authentic:

It was a favourite scheme [the publication of a volume of selections from the *Port Folio*] with Mr. Dennie; and we have in our possession, an *Editor's copy* in which are marked, those articles which he wished to preserve in this form; . . . and, in some instances, the names of authors

<sup>17</sup> Knapp, *Female Biography* (New York, 1834), pp. 268-269. Dennie mentions his alternate periods of gaiety and gloom in his letter to his mother, July 15, 1809, in *The Letters of Joseph Dennie*, ed. Laura G. Pedder (Orono, Maine, 1936), p. 197. William Meredith, with whom Dennie lived, also mentioned Dennie's "fits of gloom and depression" (Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 200).

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Dennie, *The Lay Preacher*, ed. John E. Hall (Philadelphia, 1817); John E. Hall (ed.), *The Philadelphia Souvenir* (Philadelphia, 1826); Mrs. Sarah Hall, *op. cit.* (cf. note 16, above); John E. Hall (ed.), *The Poetry of the Port Folio, Collected and Arranged by Oliver Oldschool* (Philadelphia, 1818). Some of the selections in the volumes named second and third were printed with the authors' names. Probably only the volume named last borrowed all of its contents from the *Port Folio*.

<sup>19</sup> Among those examined were: Garrett Barry, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Baltimore, 1807); Robert H. Rose, *Sketches in Verse* (Philadelphia, 1810); *Poems by the Late Dr. John Shaw*, ed. John E. Hall (Philadelphia, 1810).

are disclosed. We have also had access to several copies in the libraries of gentlemen who were intimate with him and contributed largely to his journal.<sup>20</sup>

The chief significance of the Hall files of the *Port Folio* is that they add heretofore uncollected pieces to the works of John Quincy Adams, Charles Brockden Brown, Joseph Dennie, Thomas Green Fessenden, John Trumbull, Royall Tyler, and other writers now less well known.<sup>21</sup> Authors of additional pieces can be identified because of the increased dependence that can be placed upon the pseudonyms by the attributions of authorship in the Hall files. Perhaps of equal interest is the light thrown on American culture at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Among the ninety-two writers listed are merchants, physicians, attorneys, mothers with sizable families, politicians, ministers, and professors who, because of their attachment to letters, found time to produce writing which in some instances certainly does not deserve to be left anonymous.

#### ENDORSEMENTS IN THE HALL FILES OF THE *PORT FOLIO*

In the table below, an asterisk beside the title of a piece by John Quincy Adams, Charles Brockden Brown, Joseph Dennie, Thomas Green Fessenden, Royall Tyler, John Shaw, Dr. Robert H. Rose, John Davis, and John Trumbull indicates an item uncollected in their published works or heretofore not attributed to them in print. *The Dictionary of American Biography* is indicated by *D.A.B.* The reader is referred to this work for an account of those authors for whom no biographical reference is cited in the notes. Only the beginning page of each production is noted; the endorsements, however, are not necessarily on that

<sup>20</sup> XVII, 518.

<sup>21</sup> Lack of space prevents a description here of the work of any of the authors whose names are endorsed. I plan to write further about certain of the authors and their contributions.

The present study likewise takes little account of the *Port Folio's* authors whose names are not endorsed in the Hall files. Professor Jay B. Hubbell has, however, called to my attention two authors whose names are not endorsed there. One of special significance is George Tucker (1775-1861), who, in the Preface to his *Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals, and National Policy* (Georgetown, D. C., 1822), wrote: "The following essays were written in the year 1813, and the greater part of them were soon afterwards published in the *Port Folio*, under the title of *Thoughts of a Hermit*" (p. v). The other is James Ogilvie (ca. 1775-1820), who, in his letter of July 12, 1813, to Francis Gilmer, signifies that he was the author of "Instruction in Rhetoric, Philosophical Criticism, and Elocution" (Richard B. Davis, *Francis Walker Gilmer: Life and Learning in Jefferson's Virginia*, Richmond, Va., 1939, pp. 378-379). The essay may be found in the *Port Folio* (II, 285-290, Sept., 1813). For an account of Ogilvie, see Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25.

page. Titles or descriptions are supplied in square brackets for those productions without titles in the magazine. All endorsements indicating authorship are included in the table.

| <i>Date</i>                   | <i>Title or Description</i>   | <i>Page</i> | <i>Endorsement</i> |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------|--------------------|
| — ADAMS <sup>22</sup> —       |   |             |                    |
| 1803                          |   |             |                    |
| May 21                        | The Test. To Lucy [verse]   | 168         | Adams              |
| JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1767-1848) |   |             |                    |
| 1801                          |   |             |                    |
| Jan. 3                        | Journal of a Tour through<br>Silesia  | 1           | John Quincy Adams  |
|                               | The Thirteenth Satire of<br>Juvenal [verse]   | 6           | John Quincy Adams  |
| May 30                        | The Ram and the Bull. A<br>Fable. [verse]*  | 176         | J. Q. Adams        |
| June 6                        | Letters from an American,<br>Resident Abroad—on Vari-<br>ous Topics of Foreign<br>Literature. No. I.              | 179         | J. Q. Adams        |
| June 13                       | Politics*<br>Letters from an American<br>Resident Abroad—on Vari-<br>ous Topics of Foreign<br>Literature. No. II. | 185         | J. Q. Adams        |
|                               | The Fly, a Fable. From the<br>German of Gellert [verse]* <sup>23</sup>  | 186         | J. Q. Adams        |
| Oct. 24                       | Politics*   | 192         | J Q Adams          |
| Dec. 12                       | From the German of Gellert,<br>The Dancing Bear, a Fable<br>[verse]* <sup>24</sup>                                | 337         | J. Q. Adams        |
|                               |   | 400         | J Q Adams          |

<sup>22</sup> Although it is likely that either John Quincy Adams or Thomas Boylston Adams, his brother, is referred to, no other verse is ascribed to Thomas Boylston Adams in the endorsements. The poem has the signature "Batisto," a pseudonym not used in the other pieces ascribed to the younger Adams. John Quincy Adams's letter to Thomas Boylston Adams, March 21, 1801, written from Berlin, states that "All the pieces of this kind [verse] which I shall send you will, therefore, be signed with one of the letters forming the name of *Columbus*, . . ." (*Writings*, II, 523). By 1803, however, John Quincy Adams had been in America more than a year, and may have used a different signature. After 1801 no endorsed piece ascribed to him has a signature.

<sup>23</sup> For the original, see Christian F. Gellert, *Sämmliche Schriften* (Leipzig, 1839), I, 149-151 ("Die Fliege"). Adams almost certainly was the translator of "The Suicide," which follows "The Fly" on p. 192, and which is signed "u." The original is Gellert's "Der Selbstmord" (*ibid.*, I, 62).

<sup>24</sup> The original is "Der Tanzbär" (*ibid.*, I, 42-43).

|          |   |     |  |
|----------|---|-----|--|
| 1802     |   |     |  |
| Feb. 13  | A Ballad [verse]*                                     | 48  | J. Q. Adams                                  |
| Oct. 30  | Original Poetry [verse]*                              | 344 | John Quincy Adams                            |
| 1803     |   |     |  |
| July 9   | Politics*   | 217 | J. Q. Adams                                  |
| July 15  | Life of Florian                                       | 228 | J Q Adams                                    |
| 1804     |   |     |  |
| Dec. 8   | Review*   | 385 | J. Q Adams                                   |
| 1805     |   |     |  |
| May 18   | The Seventh Satire of Juvenal<br>[verse]              | 150 | J. Q Adams                                   |
| 1801     | THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS (1772-1832) <sup>25</sup>       |     |  |
| Jan. 24  | Politics  | 25  | T. B Adams                                   |
| Jan. 31  | Politics. No. II.                                     | 33  | T. B. Adams                                  |
| June 13  | Politics  | 190 | T. B Adams Son of Ex<br>President John Adams |
| 1802     |   |     |  |
| March 6  | Review  | 66  | T. B. Adams                                  |
| March 13 | Levity [Letter signed Ignatius<br>Inquisitive]        | 76  | T. B. Adams                                  |
| May 1    | [Letter to Mr. Saunter, signed<br>Aristippus, Junior] | 129 | T. B. Adams                                  |
| Dec. 11  | [Letter signed Censor]                                | 388 | T B Adams                                    |
| 1802     | — ARNOLD <sup>26</sup>                                |     |  |
| May 15   | Imitation of Horace Ode ix.<br>Book I. [verse]        | 152 | Arnold of Virginia                           |
| 1807     | B <sup>27</sup>                                       |     |  |
| July 4   | Hours of Leisure                                      | 5   | B  |
| 1804     | GARRETT BARRY (—?-1815?) <sup>28</sup>                |     |  |

<sup>25</sup> Washburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

<sup>26</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>27</sup> Unidentified. The endorser, probably John E. Hall, was, however, abbreviating Charles Breck's name near this piece (below, p. 389). The "Speech of Evander to His Son Pallas," ascribed to Garrett Barry (below), is signed "B."

<sup>28</sup> Almost nothing is known of Baltimore's early poet Garrett Barry, and some of the little written about him is to be suspected because there were, it seems, three persons of the same name. Since the poet states that "On the Death of General Washington" was written while the author was still in St. Mary's College in Baltimore (Barry, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 28), he was probably born about 1780. He may, therefore, have been the Garrett Barry upon whose personal estate letters of administration were served in 1810, and who

|                             |  |     |   |
|-----------------------------|--|-----|---|
| Aug. 4                      | Translation from Ovid's<br>Metamorphoses [verse] <sup>29</sup> | 248 | Barry   |
| Oct. 20                     | Speech of Evander to His<br>Son Pallas [verse] <sup>30</sup>   | 335 | Garret[t] Barry   |
| NICHOLAS BIDDLE (1786-1844) |  |     |   |
| 1804                        |  |     |   |
| Feb. 18                     | The American Lounger   | 49  | N Biddle  |
| July 14                     | The American Lounger   | 217 | N Biddle  |
| 1809                        |  |     |   |
| Feb.                        | A Voyage of Discovery<br>[a review]                            | 114 | N. Biddle   |
| March                       | Vindication of Macchiavel-<br>li [sic]                         | 220 | by Nicholas Biddle Esq<br>N Biddle [The article is<br>endorsed at the beginning<br>and at the end.] |
| HORACE BINNEY (1780-1875)   |  |     |   |
| 1801                        |  |     |   |
| Jan. 31                     | Miscellany   | 35  | H. Binney   |
| April 11                    | Polite Literature  | 115 | H. Binney   |
|                             | Horace—Lib. I. Car. VII<br>[verse]                             | 120 | Binney  |
| April 18                    | Horace, Ode 32 B.I. Horace<br>to His Lyre [verse]              | 127 | H. Binney   |
| May 9                       | Pierre. A German Tale, from<br>the French of Florian           | 149 | H Binney  |
| May 23                      | The Turtle Dove, A Tale<br>[verse]                             | 167 | H. Binney   |
| June 13                     | [Letter signed Alcander]                                       | 187 | H. Binney   |
| June 20                     | Review   | 193 | H. Binney   |

probably died in that year (*National Intelligencer*, Feb. 5, 1810). Or, he may have been the Garrett Barry who was born in Maryland, became a surgeon's mate in the 38th Infantry on April 8, 1814, and who died in 1815 (Francis B. Heitman, *Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Washington, 1903, I, 195). In either case he could have been the person who was admitted to the bar in Baltimore on May 28, 1805 (Test Book). Charles M. Scanlan quotes the Cathedral Records to show the birth and parentage of Garrett Barry (1814-60), whose father was Robert Barry ("Captain Garret [sic] Barry and the *Lady Elgyn* Disaster," *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, XVI, 183, July, 1917). Thus David C. Holly was apparently wrong in stating that the poet died in 1860 ("Baltimore in American Literature," MS, 1933, Enoch Pratt Free Public Library, p. 162). Likewise evidently wrong was George C. Perine, who stated that the poet was the father of the Garrett Barry who died in 1860 (*Poets and Verse-Writers of Early Maryland*, Cincinnati, 1898, p. 35). (I am indebted to Mr. Louis H. Dielman for the information in the Test Book and in the *National Intelligencer*.)

<sup>29</sup> Reprinted in Barry, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-64. <sup>30</sup> Reprinted *ibid.*, pp. 88-92.

|          |   |     |                                      |
|----------|---|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 1802     |   |     |                                      |
| March 20 | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.                         |     |                                      |
|          | [Signed Spencer]                                | 81  | H. Binney                            |
| May 22   | Miscellany                                      | 155 | H. Binney                            |
| 1803     |   |     |                                      |
| Aug. 6   | Polite Literature. On Music                     | 251 | H. Binney                            |
| Aug. 27  | Politics  | 273 | Binney                               |
| Sept. 3  | Politics  | 281 | H Binney                             |
| 1804     |   |     |                                      |
|          | ABRAHAM BLAUVELT (1764-1838) <sup>31</sup>      |     |                                      |
| Sept. 1  | [Poems signed Lodinus]<br>[verse]               | 280 | Blauvell [Final t<br>uncrossed] N. Y |
| 1805     |   |     |                                      |
| Aug. 31  | To Serena [verse]                               | 272 | Bleauveld [sic] N. Y                 |
| Dec. 14  | Translation. Horace. Ode 6.<br>Liber 3. [verse] | 392 | Blauveldt [sic]                      |
| 1802     |   |     |                                      |
|          | — BLODGET <sup>32</sup>                         |     |                                      |
| Aug. 28  | "The Arts of Able Editors."<br>[verse]          | 272 | Blodget                              |
| 1809     |   |     |                                      |
|          | JUSTUS ERICH BOLLMAN (1769-1821)                |     |                                      |
| Sept.    | Man Constitutionally Moral                      | 300 | Bollman                              |
| Nov.     | Man Constitutionally Moral                      | 391 | Bollman                              |

<sup>31</sup> William H. Benedict, "Historic *Buccleuch*: Its Successive Owners," New Jersey Historical Society, *Proceedings*, N. S. VI, 23 (Jan., 1921).

Abraham Blauvelt was born near Tappan, N. Y. He received a Master's degree from Rutgers in 1789 (*Alumni and Students of Rutgers University, 1774-1932*, n.p., 1929, p. 2), and for several years was one of Rutgers's outstanding trustees. He married Jane Mitchel Scott in 1794. The Library of Congress cards state that he was probably the author of *Fashion's Analysis; or, The Winter in Town, A Satirical Poem*, by Sir Anthony Avalanche, Part I (New York, 1807). He became the publisher of the *Brunswick Gazette*, of New Brunswick, N. J., at some time between June 16, 1789, and March 23, 1790. In 1792 he and Shelly Arnett established, as successor to the *Gazette*, the *New Brunswick Guardian*; but Blauvelt published it alone from Nov. 5, 1793, to Oct. 7, 1813, and possibly as late as Nov. 6, 1815 (Clarence S. Brigham, "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820," American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, N. S. XXVI, 431, Oct., 1916). Professor Ellis believes that Dennis contributed to the *Guardian* (*op. cit.*, pp. 101-111). Blauvelt, whose pseudonym was "Lodinus," was a frequent contributor to the *Port Folio*, although only three of his contributions are endorsed in the Hall files. He died near New Market, N. J.

<sup>32</sup> Unidentified. William H. Blodget, of Philadelphia, was probably a friend of Samuel Ewing and the Adamses (Adams, *Writings*, IV, 137). There is a sketch of Samuel Blodget (1757-1814), of Philadelphia, in *D.A.B.*, II, 380-381. The Library of Congress cards list also Samuel Blodget (1724-1807).

|          |   |  |                         |
|----------|---|--|-------------------------|
|          |   | SAMUEL F. BRADFORD (1776-1837) <sup>33</sup> |                         |
| 1809     |   |  |                         |
| Jan.     | Laura. A new novel. [a review]                                | 68   | S. F. Bradford          |
| 1807     |   | CHARLES BRECK (1782-1822) <sup>34</sup>      |                         |
| July 4   | Abelard to Eloisa [verse]                                     | 15   | Ch Breck                |
| July 11  | Fable   | 17   | Ch B—k                  |
| 1801     |   | CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN (1771-1810)           |                         |
| Jan. 17  | To Laura [verse]*   | 23   | C B B[rown? (obscure)]  |
| March 7  | Manners and Amusements of Amsterdam*                          | 77   | C B. Brown              |
| April 11 | The Rans de Vache of Tuscany* [verse]                         | 120  | C B. Brown              |
| April 18 | L'Amoroso [verse]   | 128  | C B Brown               |
| May 2    | The Water-Drinker, an Anti-Anacreontic [verse]* <sup>35</sup> | 143  | C. B. Brown             |
|          | The Poet's Prayer [verse]*                                    | 144  | C B. Br[own? (obscure)] |
| 1802     |   |  |                         |
| April 10 | Madelina*   | 105  | C. B. Brown             |
| June 19  | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.*                                      | 185  | C B. Brown              |

<sup>33</sup> Samuel S. Purple, *Bradford Family: Genealogical Memorials of William Bradford, the Printer* (New York, 1873), p. 7.

Samuel F. Bradford was the son of Thomas Bradford (1745-1838), publisher of the *True American*, and the great-great-grandson of William Bradford (1660-1752). Samuel F. Bradford also was a publisher. He took part in pamphlet warfare with William Cobbett by writing *A Refreshment for the Memory of William Cobbett* (Philadelphia, 1796). He was second vice-president of the Society of the Sons of Washington (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 27, 1811), and a director of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank (*ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1811).

<sup>34</sup> Samuel Breck, *Genealogy of the Breck Family . . .* (Omaha, 1889), pp. 41, 209.

Charles Breck was born in Boston, the son of Samuel Breck, an opulent merchant who moved to 321 High Street, Philadelphia, in 1792. Charles Breck was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1800 (W. J. Maxwell, comp., *General Alumni Catalog of The University of Pennsylvania*, [Philadelphia], 1922, p. 12). He traveled in Italy, and died in Amsterdam, Holland. He was the author of two plays: *The Fox Chase* (New York, 1808) and *The Trust* (New York, 1808).

After the poem "Abelard to Eloisa," signed "Speicola" (listed above), a note, also signed "Speicola," states that the author has changed his name from "Agricola" to "Speicola." Thus earlier pieces signed "Agricola" apparently were written by Breck. For a suggestion that "Agricola" was Lucas George, see Robert A. Law, "The Bard of Coosawhatchie," *Texas Review*, VII, 144-145 (Jan., 1922). Several poems in the *Port Folio* for 1807 are printed under Lucas George's own name.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Brown's attack on the drunkenness and lewdness of Anacreon in "A Student's Diary," *Literary Magazine*, I, 164-165 (Dec., 1803), as quoted by Ernest Marchand in "The Literary Opinions of Charles B. Brown," *Studies in Philology*, XXXI, 563 (Oct., 1934).

|          |   |     |                                 |
|----------|---|-----|---------------------------------|
| Sept. 11 | The American Lounger*                                 | 281 | C. C. [sic] Brown <sup>36</sup> |
| Sept. 18 | On Music as a Female Accomplishment. A Dialogue.      | 291 | C B Brown                       |
| Sept. 25 | "Solitary Worship"*                                   | 304 | C B Brown                       |
| Nov. 20  | Alliteration [verse]*                                 | 368 | C B Brown                       |
| 1809     |   |     |                                 |
| Jan.     | The Scribbler, No. I                                  | 55  | by C. B. Brown                  |
| Feb.     | A Sketch of the Life and Character of John Blair Linn | 129 | by C. B. Brown                  |
|          | The Scribbler, No. II.                                | 162 | C. B Brown                      |

THOMAS CADWALADER (1779-1841)<sup>37</sup>

|          |   |     |                               |
|----------|---|-----|-------------------------------|
| 1802     |   |     |                               |
| May 29   | On a Turtle [verse]                     | 168 | Cadwalader                    |
| June 19  | Festoon of Fashion                      | 188 | Cadwallader [sic]             |
| 1803     |   |     |                               |
| Jan. 22  | In Thomam, Jam Senem [verse]            | 32  | T. Cadwallader [sic]          |
| May 21   | The Spirit of Contradiction [verse]     | 168 | Cadwalader                    |
| June 4   | To the Memory of Miss M. P. [verse]     | 184 | Cadwalader                    |
| June 11  | Address to My Friend J. D. Esq. [verse] | 192 | Cadwalader                    |
| July 9   | Sketches from Nature [verse]            | 224 | Cadwalader                    |
| Aug. 20  | Horace, Ode II. Book I. [verse]         | 272 | Cadwalader                    |
| Sept. 17 | Epistle to My Friend                    | 304 | Cadwalader                    |
| Oct. 1   | From the French [verse]                 | 320 | [do? (obscure)] <sup>38</sup> |
|          | Sonnet [verse]                          | 320 | Cadwalader                    |

<sup>36</sup> This piece is attributed to Charles B. Brown because the middle initial could easily be a natural error for B. The author of this essay stated that he was staying in town in spite of the epidemic of yellow fever, which had almost depopulated the city. Brown's letters show that he was in Philadelphia on Aug. 18, and on Oct. 9, 1802, although on the former date he wrote, "I expect to be gone into Jersey next week, merely because the total suspension of business will leave me nothing to do here" (William Dunlap, *Memoirs of Charles Brockden Brown*, London, 1822, p. 221). No C. C. Brown is listed in the Philadelphia City Directory for 1802.

<sup>37</sup> Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 166-170.

<sup>38</sup> Apparently "do" means "ditto," but no endorsement precedes it, although Cadwalader's name is endorsed below it beside "Sonnet." Evidently the endorser made an error with the two poems on this page, for "Sonnet" is signed "Harley," Skelton's signature, and, because of the matter and signature, is almost certainly his. "From the French" is included as being of Cadwalader's authorship because it is signed "Mercutio," Cadwalader's signature. Simply, it seems that the endorser wrote Cadwalader's name beside the wrong piece.

|         |  |     |  |
|---------|--|-----|--|
| Oct. 15 | Free Imitation of Persicos<br>Odi, &c. [verse]                       | 336 | Cadwalader   |
| Nov. 5  | [Poem signed Mercutio]   | 360 | Cadwalader   |
| Nov. 26 | Ode to Fortune [verse]   | 384 | Cadwalader   |
| Dec. 31 | [Poem signed Mercutio]<br>[verse]                                    | 424 | Cadwalader   |
| 1804    |  |     |  |
| Jan. 7  | From Phaedrus [verse]  | 8   | Cadwalader   |
| Jan. 14 | A Paraphrase from Phaedrus<br>[verse]                                | 16  | Cadwalader   |
| May 19  | [Poem beginning: <i>Laberius</i><br>held, or <i>Publius Syrus</i> ,] | 160 | Cadwalader   |
| Dec. 8  | Levity. Journal of a Great<br>Man                                    | 391 | Cadwallader [ <i>sic</i> ]                                       |
| Dec. 15 | From the French [verse]  | 400 | Cadwalader   |
| 1805    |  |     |  |
| May 18  | Le Voyage de L'Amour et du<br>Tems [verse]                           | 149 | Cadwalader   |
| 1811    | DR. CHARLES CALDWELL (1772-1853)                                     |     |  |
| Vol. V  |  |     |  |
| Feb.    | A Biographical Memoir of<br>Benjamin Chew, Esq.                      | 89  | D <sup>r</sup> Caldwell!!! <sup>39</sup>                         |
| April   | Criticism [A Review of<br>Inchiquin's Letters]                       | 300 | D <sup>r</sup> Caldwell  |
| 1809    | THOMAS LEAMING CALDWELL (d. 1875) <sup>40</sup>                      |     |  |
| May     | Lines on an Eruption of<br>Mount Etna [verse]                        | 450 | T. Caldwell son to D <sup>r</sup> Cal                            |
| 1804    | CHARLES CARROLL (1775-1825) <sup>41</sup>                            |     |  |
| Sept. 8 | To Chloe [verse]   | 288 | Chas. Carroll [,]<br>Homewood [,] near<br>Balt[imore? (obscure)] |

<sup>39</sup> The exclamation marks and subsequent notes (not reproduced here) indicate the endorser's annoyance with Dr. Caldwell's scholarship.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Leaming Caldwell, the son of Dr. Charles Caldwell (above), was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1817, was granted a Master's degree from Harvard in 1819, and, in 1836 at Transylvania, at Lexington, Ky.—where his father was in charge of the medical school—was awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine (W. J. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 14; *Harvard University Quinquennial Catalog of the Officers and Graduates 1636-1930*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 221; Records of Transylvania College). In Kentucky, in 1846, he became a surgeon in the army, and left the service in 1847 (Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 274). He died in Louisville.

<sup>41</sup> Kate M. Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton* (New York and London, 1898), II, 54, 334.

|         |  |                                       |
|---------|--|---------------------------------------|
|         |  | DR. NATHANIEL CHAPMAN (1780-1853)     |
| 1801    |  |                                       |
| July 18 | [Letter signed Falkland]   | 226 Dr. Chapman                       |
| 1802    |  |                                       |
| Dec. 25 | The Bard to His Candle<br>[verse]  | 408 Dr. Chapman                       |
| 1804    |  |                                       |
| June 9  | Mr. Livingston   | 183 Dr. Chapman                       |
| 1809    |  |                                       |
| Jan.    | An Inquiry into the Effects of<br>Rarefied Atmosphere on the<br>Human Functions, &c. | 37 Dr Chapman                         |
|         | Criticism  | 59 by Dr. Chapman                     |
| Feb.    | Criticism  | 150 by Dr Chapman<br>Dr Chapman of P— |

|         |                            |                             |
|---------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|         |                            | JOHN CLEFTON? <sup>42</sup> |
| 1801    |                            |                             |
| June 20 | The Robin's Return [verse] | 200 John Clefton            |

|          |                                      |  |
|----------|--------------------------------------|--|
|          |                                      | JOHN DAVIS (1774-1853 or 1854) <sup>43</sup> |
| 1801     |                                      |  |
| March 21 | [Letter signed Peter<br>Prospectus]* | 90 J. Davis                                  |

|          |                    |                                       |
|----------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
|          |                    | THOMAS DAY (1777-1855) <sup>44</sup>  |
| 1803     |                    |                                       |
| April 30 | Original Criticism | 142 — Day of Connecticut<br>dry humor |

|         |                                     |   |
|---------|-------------------------------------|---|
|         |                                     | JOSEPH DENNIE (1768-1812) <sup>45</sup> |
| 1801    |                                     |   |
| Jan. 3  | An Author's Evenings* <sup>46</sup> | 4 Dennie                                |
| Jan. 10 | Politics*                           | 12 Dennie                               |
| Jan. 17 | An Author's Evenings*               | 20 Dennie                               |
| Jan. 24 | The Farrago. No. II.                | 29 Dennie                               |

<sup>42</sup> Unidentified. Possibly the endorser forgot to dot the *i*. John E. Hall mentions a "Clifton" as one whose work is in the *Souvenir* (*The Philadelphia Souvenir*, p. vii). In a note preceding the poem, the author calls himself "an unfledged muse."

<sup>43</sup> Thelma L. Kellogg, *The Life and Works of John Davis, 1774-1853* ("University of Maine Studies," 2d. Ser., No. I, Orono, Maine, 1924). April 24, 1854, is given on p. 119 as the date of Davis's death.

<sup>44</sup> Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 98; S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary . . .* (Philadelphia, n.d.), I, 487.

<sup>45</sup> Professor Ellis has written the only full-length biography of Dennie. See also Pedder, *op. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> The endorser has credited Dennie with four and Royall Tyler with three of the articles called "An Author's Evenings" (see below, p. 411).

|          |  |     |  |
|----------|--|-----|--|
| Feb. 14  | Theatrical Review. No. VII.*   | 50  | Dennie   |
|          | Literary Intelligence*   | 51  | Dennie   |
|          | An Author's Evenings*  | 53  | Dennie   |
| March 14 | The Farrago. No. XI.<br>From the Shop of Messrs.<br>Colon and Spondee* | 83  | Dennie   |
|          | [verse] <sup>47</sup>  | 87  | [Dennie? (obscure)]  |
| March 21 | Theatrical Review. No. X*  | 93  | Stock & Dennie   |
| May 30   | Miscellany*  | 173 | Dennie   |
|          | Political Synopsis*  | 174 | Dennie   |
|          | Domestic Occurrences*  | 174 | Dennie   |
| July 25  | Political Synopsis*  | 236 | Dennie   |
| Oct. 10  | An Author's Evenings*  | 324 | Dennie   |
| Dec. 5   | The Drama*   | 390 | S JD <sup>48</sup>   |
| 1802     |  |     |  |
| Jan. 16  | Review*  | 1   | Dennie   |
|          | Festoon of Fashion*  | 5   | Dennie   |
| Jan. 30  | [Comment on Modestia's<br>Letter]*                                     | 25  | Dennie   |
|          | Festoon of Fashion*  | 26  | Dennie   |
| Feb. 27  | [Comment on Fairlove's letter<br>in The American Lounger]*             | 57  | Dennie   |
|          | The Drama*   | 57  | [Dennie? (obscure)]  |
| May 15   | Biography. The Life of the<br>Right Hon. William<br>Windham*           | 149 | Dennie   |
| July 10  | Review*  | 214 | Dennie   |
| July 31  | The American Lounger*  | 233 | Dennie [beside introduc-<br>tion] Dennie [beside<br>"Mr. Saunter"] |
| Dec. 4   | The American Lounger*  | 377 | Dennie   |
| 1803     |  |     |  |
| Jan. 15  | The American Lounger*  | 17  | Dennie   |
| June 18  | The American Lounger*  | 193 | Dennie   |
| July 9   | Advice to the Editor of the<br>Aurora*                                 | 219 | Dennie   |
| 1809     |  |     |  |
| March    | To Readers and<br>Correspondents                                       | 284 | JD   |

<sup>47</sup> The endorsements attribute one of the "Colon and Spondee" series to Tyler (below, p. 411).

<sup>48</sup> Probably initials for Dr. John E. Stock and Joseph Dennie.

1805

DR. JOHN SYNG DORSEY (1783-1818)

Feb. 23 Song, sung at the anniversary  
dinner of the Philadelphia  
Medical Society, February 15,  
1805, by one of the members.  
[verse] 55 Dr. J. S. Dorsey  
[could refer to  
preceding poem]

1809

Jan. Chemistry 41 Dr. Dorsey

1802

JOHN DUNN<sup>49</sup>

May 1 Original Poetry [verse] 136 John Dunn Esq Norfolk  
Va [in ink]  
June 5 [To] Mr. Saunter 169 J. Dunn  
July 17 [To] Mr. Saunter 217 Dunn  
Aug. 7 [To] Mr. Saunter 241 J Dunn  
Oct. 9 Original Poetry [verse] 320 J. Dunn  
Oct. 13 To the Rose [verse] 328 J Dunn [Evidently  
To the Muses [verse] 328 intended to show author-  
ship of both poems]

1801

JAMES ELLIOTT (ca. 1775-1839)<sup>50</sup>

Feb. 14 The Rural Wanderer.  
No. XVII. 50 J. Elliot  
April 18 The Rural Wanderer.  
No. XVIII. 121 Elliot

1801

EVANS<sup>51</sup>

July 4 Translations from Anacreon  
[verse] 216 Evans

1802

DAVID EVERETT (1770-1813)

Sept. 11 P. Pencil's Elegy; Supposed to  
to Be Written by Himself,  
during His Decline [verse] 288 Everett—aging lawyer  
of Mass

<sup>49</sup> Unidentified.<sup>50</sup> Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.<sup>51</sup> Unidentified. There were several prominent Evanses in Philadelphia in 1801.

|          |      |  |                  |
|----------|------|--|------------------|
|          | 1801 | JOHN EWING <sup>52</sup>   |                  |
| Jan. 24  |      | [Letter signed Curiatius]  | 26 John Ewing    |
|          | 1803 | MISS [MARGARET?] EWING <sup>53</sup>                                   |                  |
| Jan. 29  |      | To Beatrice [Letter in The American Lounger signed Hero]               | 33 Miss Ewing    |
|          | 1801 | SAMUEL EWING (1776-1825) <sup>54</sup>                                 |                  |
| Jan. 24  |      | The Barber's Shop. No. I.  | 28 S. Ewing      |
| Jan. 31  |      | Reflections in Solitude. No. I.<br>[verse]                             | 40 S. Ewing      |
| Feb. 14  |      | Reflections in Solitude [verse]  | 55 Ewing         |
| March 7  |      | Reflections in Solitude, No. III<br>[verse]                            | 79 S Ewing       |
| April 11 |      | Reflections in Solitude [verse]  | 119 Ewing        |
| May 9    |      | Reflections in Solitude No. VI<br>[verse]                              | 151 Ewing        |
| May 16   |      | Reflections in Solitude<br>No. VII [verse]                             | 160 Ewing        |
| July 11  |      | [Poem signed Timon] [verse]  | 224 S. Ewing     |
| Nov. 7   |      | To the Memory of Robert<br>Burns [verse]                               | 360 Ewing? [sic] |
| Dec. 12  |      | Time [verse]   | 400 Ewing        |
|          | 1802 |  |                  |
| Jan. 30  |      | Reflections in Solitude [verse]  | 32 Ewing         |
| Feb. 20  |      | Walter and Mary [verse]  | 56 S. Ewing      |
| March 6  |      | American Miracle [verse]   | 71 S. Ewing      |
| March 13 |      | Reflections in Solitude [verse]  | 80 S. Ewing      |
| April 3  |      | The American Lounger, To<br>Samuel Saunter, Esq.<br>[signed] Sensitive | 97 S. Ewing      |
| April 10 |      | Epigram [verse]  | 111 S. Ewing     |
| May 22   |      | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.  | 153 S. Ewing     |

<sup>52</sup> John Ewing (1732-1802), Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, was the father of Samuel Ewing and Mrs. Sarah Hall, (D.A.B., VI, 236-237). John Ewing, Jr., (1776-1816), was Samuel Ewing's twin (Records of the Hall Family). Like his brother Samuel, John Ewing, Jr., received the Bachelor's degree in 1792 and the Master's degree in 1795 from the University of Pennsylvania (Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 11). Probably the endorser meant the younger John Ewing.

<sup>53</sup> Margaret Ewing (1779-1809) appears to be the only sister of Samuel Ewing who was living in 1803 (Records of the Hall Family).

<sup>54</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-357.

|           |   |                   |          |
|-----------|---|-------------------|----------|
| Nov. 13   | To Her Who Best Under-<br>stands It. [verse]  | 360               | S. Ewing |
| Nov. 27   | Reflections in Solitude<br>[verse]  | 364 <sup>55</sup> | S. Ewing |
| 1803      |   |                   |          |
| January 1 | Addressed to Her, Who Best<br>Understands It [verse]                                | 8                 | S. Ewing |
| Jan. 15   | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.   | 17                | S. Ewing |
| April 30  | Reflections in Solitude [verse]   | 144               | S. Ewing |
| June 11   | The American Lounger  | 185               | S. Ewing |
| Oct. 15   | The American Lounger<br>Parody of Romeo's Descrip-<br>tion of an Apothecary [verse] | 329               | S. Ewing |
| Oct. 22   | Reflections in Solitude [verse]   | 336               | S. Ewing |
| Nov. 19   | Parody on Romeo's Descrip-<br>tion of an Apothecary [verse]                         | 344               | S. Ewing |
| Dec. 3    | [Poem beginning: The bee<br>from the rose never sips]                               | 376               | S. Ewing |
| 1804      |   | 392               | Ewing    |
| Feb. 4    | The American Lounger  | 33                | S. Ewing |
| Feb. 25   | Reflections in Solitude [verse]   | 64                | Ewing    |
| Sept. 1   | Reflections in Solitude.  | 279               | S. Ewing |

1801 JOHN WARD FENNO (1778-1802)<sup>56</sup>

|          |   |     |   |
|----------|---|-----|---|
| Jan. 24  | [Essay headed: Dulce est<br>desipere in loco. Hor.] | 27  | J. W. Fenno Ed. U. S.<br>Gazette                                |
| Jan. 31  | Paragraphs  | 34  | J. W. F[enno? (obscure)]  |
| Feb. 7   | Miscellany  | 43  | J. W. Fenno [May also<br>refer to Miscellany,<br>which follows] |
| April 11 | Paragraphs  | 116 | J. W. Fenno   |

1801 THOMAS GREEN FESSENDEN (1771-1837)<sup>57</sup>

|         |  |     |           |
|---------|--|-----|-----------|
| Aug. 15 | The Morning Walk [verse]*              | 264 | Fessenden |
| Oct. 3  | A Character*                           | 316 | Fessenden |
| 1804    |  |     |           |
| Oct. 27 | Description of the Morning<br>[verse]* | 344 | Fessenden |
| Dec. 15 | Fanaticism [verse]*                    | 400 | Fessenden |

<sup>55</sup> Page 364 is misnumbered; it should have been numbered 376.<sup>56</sup> See an account of John Ward Fenno in the life of his father, John Fenno, *D.A.B.*, VI, 325. See also Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 124.<sup>57</sup> Porter G. Perrin, *The Life and Works of Thomas Green Fessenden 1771-1837* ("University of Maine Studies," 2d Ser., No. 4, Orono, Maine, 1925).

|          |  |     |   |
|----------|--|-----|---|
| 1807     |  |     |   |
| Oct. 24  | Parody [verse]   | 271 | Fessenden <sup>58</sup>   |
|          | Epitaph [verse]  | 272 | Fessenden   |
| 1803     | R[OBERT?] FIELD <sup>59</sup>  |     |   |
| Dec. 17  | [Poem signed Parmegiano]<br>[verse]  | 408 | R. Field  |
| 1804     |  |     |   |
| March 3  | [Poem signed Parmegiano]<br>[verse]  | 72  | Field   |
| March 10 | [Poem signed Parmegiano]<br>[verse]  | 80  | R. Field  |
| May 19   | Delia's Smile [verse]  | 160 | Field   |
| 1804     | FOLEY <sup>60</sup>  |     |   |
| Dec. 15  | To Miss Ann B——, of New<br>York, On her Birthday<br>[verse]                          | 400 | Foley   |
| 1801     | DR. JOHN S. J. GARDINER (1765-1830)  |     |   |
| March 7  | A Dialogue between Pollio<br>and Lydia, Imitated from<br>Horace, Ode 9.Lib.3 [verse] | 80  | Dr. Gardiner  |
| Oct. 10  | The Restorator   | 325 | Dr. Gardiner  |
|          | Selected Poetry [verse]  | 328 | Dr. Gardiner  |
| Nov. 28  | Philology  | 378 | Gardiner  |
| Dec. 5   | Philology  | 386 | Gardiner  |
| 1804     |  |     |   |
| Nov. 17  | From "The Repertory" The<br>Caravansary  | 366 | By [Dr? (obscure)]<br>Gardiner—also author<br>of [criticism? (obscure)]<br>on Humphreys Works |
| 1804     | ROBERT GILMOR (1774-1848) <sup>61</sup>  |     |   |
| March 3  | [Poem signed Rowland]<br>[verse]   | 72  | Gilmore [sic] Baltimore   |

<sup>58</sup> Although Professor Perrin thought it likely that Fessenden sent Dennie only one poem, credence is lent the endorsements because the last two poems endorsed as Fessenden's are known to be his (*ibid.*, pp. 46, 195-198).

<sup>59</sup> Probably Robert Field (*ca.* 1769-1819), a painter of portraits in oil, a miniaturist, and an engraver. It is known that he painted in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and that he gained the support of Robert Gilmor (see below), also a contributor (*D.A.B.*, VI, 370-371).  
<sup>60</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>61</sup> "The Diary of Robert Gilmor," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII, 231 (Sept., 1922).

Gilmor was the author of "Memorandums Made in a Tour of the Eastern States in the Year 1797" (Boston Public Library, *Bulletin*, N. S. III, 72-92, 1892). He was probably

|          |  |     |                          |
|----------|--|-----|--------------------------|
| May 12   | [Poem signed Rowland]<br>[verse]   | 152 | Gilmore                  |
| June 9   | The American Sailor Boy<br>[verse]                                       | 184 | Gilmore                  |
| 1823     | MRS. ANNE GRANT (1755-1838) <sup>62</sup>                                |     |                          |
| Jan.     | [Letter in "Literary<br>Intelligence"]                                   | 85  | Mrs. Grant               |
| 1801     | GEORGE LEWIS GRAY (1778-1808) <sup>63</sup>                              |     |                          |
| May 9    | Carrie-Thura [verse]   | 151 | G. L. Gray               |
| Sept. 19 | Penelope to Ulysses [verse]  | 304 | G. L. Gray               |
| 1802     |  |     |                          |
| Nov. 6   | On the Death of a Tar [verse]  | 352 | G. L. Gray               |
| Nov. 13  | William [verse]  | 360 | G. L. Gray               |
| Dec. 4   | <i>Phyllis to Demo-Phoon</i><br>[verse]                                  | 384 | G. L. Gray               |
| 1803     |  |     |                          |
| Jan. 29  | Epistle to _____<br>Esq. of Baltimore [verse]                            | 40  | Gray                     |
| 1807     | HAFIZ (?) <sup>64</sup>  |     |                          |
| Nov. 14  | Lines [verse]  | 318 | Hafiz                    |
|          | [Footnote for <i>Lines</i> ]   | 318 | Huntington, Pennsylvania |
| 1816     | JAMES HALL (1793-1868)   |     |                          |
| June     | Extracts from the Journal of<br>One of the Officers of the<br>Army . . . | 507 | Jas Hall                 |
|          | Stanzas Written at Fort Erie<br>[verse]                                  | 527 | [J. H. (printed)] all    |
|          | To a Young Lady Who<br>Mended the Author's<br>Stockings [verse]          | 528 | [J. H. (printed)] all    |

the Harvard graduate of 1797, although the Harvard *Quinquennial Catalogue* spells his name with a final *e*, and gives 1842 as the date of his death (p. 206). See also the "Chart of the Gilmore Family" (Blue print, Enoch Pratt Free Public Library).

<sup>62</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXII, 376-378.

<sup>63</sup> Mr. Louis H. Dielman, of Baltimore, informs me that the *Federal Gazette* (Baltimore) of May 26, 1808, and the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) of June 2, 1808, carry obituary notices of Gray. See Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 166. Gray also wrote the translation, *Justification of General Moreau . . .* (Norfolk, 1804).

<sup>64</sup> Unidentified. "Hafiz" occurs as a name signed to the poem "To Mr. Southey . . ." (*Port Folio*, Sept. 11, 1802, p. 288). Probably "Hafiz" is the pseudonym of an author who lived in Huntington.

|         |   |     |                       |
|---------|---|-----|-----------------------|
| Oct.    | To Miss ——— [verse]                                 | 528 | Jas Hall              |
|         | The Power of Madeira [verse]                        | 353 | [J. H. (printed)] all |
|         | To Miss ——— [verse]                                 | 354 | [J. H. (printed)] all |
|         | To ——— [verse]                                      | 355 | [J. H. (printed)] all |
| 1817    |   |     |                       |
| March   | The Adventures of a One<br>Dollar Note              | 242 | James Hall            |
| 1822    |   |     |                       |
| Feb.    | Lines Written on the Banks of<br>the Wabash [verse] | 174 | Jas Hall              |
|         | Dreams [verse]                                      | 175 | James Hall            |
| April   | A Sublime and Pathetic Ode<br>to Honour [verse]     | 347 | Judge Hall            |
| 1825    |   |     |                       |
| Aug.    | Fashionable Watering Places                         | 94  | Judge Hall            |
| Sept. . | The Bearer of Despatches                            | 200 | James Hall            |

## JOHN ELIHU HALL (1783-1829)

|          |   |     |            |
|----------|---|-----|------------|
| 1801     |   |     |            |
| June 27  | Translations from Anacreon<br>[verse]   | 208 | J. E. Hall |
| July 4   | Contentment [verse] <sup>65</sup>   | 216 | J. E. Hall |
| Sept. 12 | Pity, a Tale [verse]  | 295 | J. E. Hall |
| 1804     |   |     |            |
| June 30  | The American Lounger  | 201 | J. E. Hall |
| Oct. 6   | To Thomas Moore, Esq.<br>[verse]  | 319 | J. E. Hall |
| Dec. 8   | Johnathan to Jemima [verse]   | 392 | J. E. Hall |
| 1805     |   |     |            |
| Feb. 23  | The American Lounger  | 49  | J. E. Hall |
| March 9  | The American Lounger<br>[Beside signature Alcander in<br>column 3]  | 65  | J. E. Hall |
|          |   | 71  | J. E. Hall |
| 1806     |   |     |            |
| Feb. 15  | [Letter and poem signed<br>Sedley]  | 94  | J. E. Hall |
| March 22 | [In right hand column, l. 41,<br>the word Sedley's is under-<br>lined, and above it is written<br>the endorsement.] | 174 | J. E. Hall |

<sup>65</sup> This poem is reprinted in Burton A. Konkle's *Joseph Hopkinson 1770-1842* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 133-135, as the work of Hopkinson, chiefly upon the basis that the initials printed at the end are J. H. The evidence, however, is in favor of Hall's authorship.

|                 |   |     |   |
|-----------------|---|-----|---|
| Oct. 4<br>1807  | The American Lounger  | 193 | J. E. Hall  |
| July 4          | Song [verse]<br>[Written at the top of the<br>page, and probably refers to<br>the authorship of<br>"Miscellany."] | 13  | Qu? Sir Ch S-y <sup>66</sup>                        |
| Aug. 29<br>1809 | Song. By Sir Charles Sedley <sup>67</sup><br>[verse]  | 81  | Anacreon  |
| Feb.<br>1810    | Extract from a Letter from a<br>Literary Friend in Baltimore.   | 142 |   |
| Sept.<br>1812   | The French Orpheus [verse<br>signed Sedley]   | 49  | J. E. Hall  |
| Aug.<br>1813    | Moonshine   | 291 | On Sicard's taking<br><i>Whale</i> into partnership |
| March           | On Leyrid's Retirement into<br>the Country [verse]  | 197 | J. E. Hall  |
| April<br>1815   | The Adversaria; ...   | 322 | J. E. Hall  |
| May<br>1816     | Reflections of a Recluse  | 404 | [J. E. H. (printed)] all                            |
| May             | Song [verse]  | 480 | J. E. Hall  |
|                 | Walter Scott  | 455 | J E Hall  |
|                 | Some Account of<br>Susquehannah County; ...   | 499 | J E Hall  |
| 1824            | To* * * * [verse]   | 503 | J E Hall  |
| March           |   | 255 | J. E. Hall  |

## MRS. SARAH HALL (1761-1830)

|                |   |     |                      |
|----------------|---|-----|----------------------|
| 1802           |   |     |                      |
| May 8          | [Letter to Mr. Saunter, signed<br>Constantia] | 137 | M <sup>rs</sup> Hall |
| July 3<br>1803 | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.                       | 201 | M <sup>rs</sup> Hall |
| Feb. 5         | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.                       | 41  | M <sup>rs</sup> Hall |

<sup>66</sup> Evidently the notation means: Query? "Sir Charles Sedley." Possibly the endorser was questioning whether John E. Hall (whose pen name was "Sir Charles Sedley") was the author of the piece.

<sup>67</sup> Probably John E. Hall noted his work in this way. (See note 66.)

|           |   |  |  |
|-----------|---|--|--|
| Feb. 12   | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.<br>[First letter]   | 49   | M <sup>rs</sup> S Hall                                       |
| 1804      |   |  |  |
| May 12    | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.<br>[Signed Constantia]  | 145  | M <sup>rs</sup> J Hall <sup>68</sup><br>M <sup>rs</sup> Hall |
| 1816      |   |  |  |
| March     | [Letter to Mr. Saunter, signed<br>Martha]   | 196  | M[ <sup>rs.</sup> ? (obscure)] Hall                          |
|           | Biblical Criticism  | 365  | M <sup>rs</sup> Hall   |
|           | Review of Literature  | 411  | M <sup>rs.</sup> Hall & JEH                                  |
| 1822      |   |  |  |
| July      | On Duelling   | 60   | M <sup>rs</sup> S Hall                                       |
| 1816      | DR. THOMAS MIFFLIN HALL (1798-1828) <sup>69</sup>   |  |  |
| Oct. 1822 | The Witchery of Love [verse]  | 353  | Thos. M. Hall  |
| Nov. 1825 | To My Violin [verse]<br>Sweet and Sour [verse]  | 144 <sup>70</sup> T M Hall<br>445 T M Hall |  |
| Aug.      | A Review of "Report of the<br>Transactions of the Academy<br>of Natural Sciences of<br>Philadelphia, . . ." | 103  | D <sup>r</sup> . [T.M.H. (printed)] all                      |

## DR. ROBERT HARE (1781-1858)

|       |                    |     |                       |
|-------|--------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| Jan.  | Miscellany         | 45  | Mr Robert Hare        |
| March | Dramatic Criticism | 261 | D <sup>r</sup> Hare   |
| Dec.  | Sympathy           | 537 | Rob <sup>t</sup> Hare |

JOSEPH HOPKINSON (1770-1842)<sup>71</sup>

|         |                                |     |                |
|---------|--------------------------------|-----|----------------|
| Feb. 14 | Shakespeare, No. I             | 52  | J. Hopkinson   |
| Feb. 28 | Criticism. Shakespeare No. III | 67  | Hopkinson      |
| 1809    |                                |     |                |
| May     | The Lover's Dream [verse]      | 453 | J. Hopkins[on] |

EMILY MIFFLIN (MRS. JOSEPH) HOPKINSON (1773?-1850)<sup>72</sup>

|        |                       |    |                           |
|--------|-----------------------|----|---------------------------|
| Feb. 6 | Nancy Dawson's Return | 39 | M <sup>rs</sup> Hopkinson |
|--------|-----------------------|----|---------------------------|

<sup>68</sup> Mrs. Hall's husband was John Hall.<sup>69</sup> Smyth, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Mrs. Sarah Hall, *op. cit.*, Memoir, p. xxxi.<sup>70</sup> Page 144 is misnumbered; it should be 441. <sup>71</sup> Konkle, *op. cit.*<sup>72</sup> Mr. Edward Hopkinson, Jr., informs me that the Hopkinson Bible states that Mrs. Hopkinson died on December 11, 1850. A blurred entry in the Bible seems to record her age at death as seventy-seven.

|   |   |     |                                       |
|---|---|-----|---------------------------------------|
| April 3                                       | Levity [Letter to Mr.<br>Oldschool signed Beatrice]           | 97  | M <sup>rs</sup> . Hopkins[on]         |
| Dec. 11                                       | [Letter to Mr. Oldschool<br>signed Beatrice]                  | 389 | M <sup>rs</sup> Hopkinson             |
| 1803  |   |     |                                       |
| Jan. 1  | To Samuel Saunter   | 1   | M <sup>rs</sup> Hopkinson             |
| CHRISTOPHER HUGHES (1786-1849)                |   |     |                                       |
| 1809  | American Scenery  | 411 | Christopher Hughes of<br>Baltimore    |
| CHARLES JARED INGERSOLL (1782-1862)           |   |     |                                       |
| April 11                                      | Extract from the New<br>Tragedy of Edwy and<br>Elgiva [verse] | 117 | C. J. Ingersoll                       |
| 1803  |   |     |                                       |
| May 7   | Original Correspondence                                       | 149 | C. J. Ingersoll                       |
| JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL (1786-1868) <sup>73</sup> |   |     |                                       |
| 1807  | [Written beside "Saladin"]                                    | 96  | J R. I. <sup>74</sup>                 |
|   | Miscellany  | 97  | J R I                                 |
| 1809  |   |     |                                       |
| Feb.  | The Drama   | 136 | J R. Ingersoll<br>Mr Joseph Ingersoll |

|         |   |     |                                   |
|---------|---|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 1801    | DR. THOMAS CHALKLEY JAMES (1766-1835)         |     |                                   |
| Jan. 24 | A Madagascar Song [verse]                     | 31  | D <sup>r</sup> . James            |
|         | Parodied [verse]                              | 32  | D <sup>r</sup> James              |
|         | Lines in the Manner of<br>Shenstone [verse]   | 32  | James                             |
| Feb. 14 | [Letter signed A Subscriber]                  | 51  | D <sup>r</sup> . James            |
|         | Lycas; or the Invention of<br>Gardens [verse] | 54  | D <sup>r</sup> . James            |
| Feb. 21 | The Glow Worm [verse]                         | 63  | D <sup>r</sup> James              |
| Feb. 28 | Gessner, No. III                              | 66  | D <sup>r</sup> . James            |
| March 7 | Gessner, No. IV                               | 77  | D <sup>r</sup> . James            |
|         | Myrtle and Daphne [verse]                     | 80  | D <sup>r</sup> J[ames? (obscure)] |
| May 30  | Damon and Daphne, an Idyll<br>[verse]         | 176 | D <sup>r</sup> . James            |

<sup>73</sup> *The National Cyclopaedia*, VII, 530. See also Lilian D. Avery, *A Genealogy of the Ingersoll Family of America . . .* (New York, 1926), pp. 161-162.

<sup>74</sup> See note 10.

|                 |  |     |   |
|-----------------|--|-----|---|
| June 20<br>1802 | [Letter signed D.]   | 197 | D <sup>r</sup> . James                        |
| Feb. 6          | Smoking a Segar, In the<br>Manner of Milton [verse]  | 40  | D <sup>r</sup> . James                        |
| 1801            | DR. JAMES KEMP (1764-1827)   |     |   |
| Aug. 15         | Strictures on the Reply of Mr.<br>Jefferson to the Remonstrance<br>of the Merchants of<br>Newhaven | 260 | D <sup>r</sup> Kemp Balt[imore?<br>(obscure)] |
| 1807            | MISS [T. L?] <sup>75</sup>   |     |   |
| Nov. 21         | Epigram [verse]  | 336 | Miss [T. L? (obscure)]                        |
| 1801            | JOHN BLAIR LINN (1777-1804)  |     |   |
| Jan. 3          | The Misanthrope  | 5   | John Blair Linn                               |
| 1804            | D. MEREDITH <sup>76</sup>  |     |   |
| June 30         | Miscellany   | 204 | [D? obscure)] Meredith                        |
| Sept. 8         | Advice to a Journalist   | 282 | D. Meredith                                   |
| 1804            | WILLIAM MEREDITH (1772-1844) <sup>77</sup>   |     |   |
| June 30         | Politics   | 203 | W <sup>m</sup> Meredith                       |
| Sept. 1         | Politics. Hortensius, No. II   | 274 | W Meredith                                    |
| Sept. 15        | Politics   | 293 | [Meredith? (obscure)]                         |
| 1807            |  |     |   |
| Aug. 8          | Literary Notice  | 109 | W M [Beside title]                            |
| 1801            | GERTRUDE G. OGDEN (MRS. WILLIAM) MEREDITH (1777-1828) <sup>78</sup>                                |     |   |
| Oct. 10         | Sketch of the Person and<br>Mode of Living of Catharine<br>II. Empress of Russia                   | 322 | Mrs Meredith                                  |
| 1802            |  |     |   |
| Jan. 30         | [Letter to Mr. Saunter<br>signed Modestia]   | 25  | M <sup>rs</sup> Meredith                      |

<sup>75</sup> Unidentified.<sup>76</sup> Unidentified. A David Meredith appears to have been in business with Dennie in 1806, for in that year he billed Dennie for, among other items, "half of joint expense [\$]424.95" (Uncatalogued Meredith Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania).<sup>77</sup> William O. Wheeler, *The Ogden Family in America* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 195.<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 195.

|          |  |     |   |
|----------|--|-----|---|
| Feb. 27  | [Letter in The American Lounger signed Fairlove]       | 57  | Mrs. Meredith                                     |
| March 6  | To the American Lounger [signed Fidelia]               | 65  | Mrs. Meredith                                     |
| March 27 | [First letter to Mr. Saunter]                          | 89  | Mrs. Meredith [sic]                               |
| April 17 | To Samuel Saunter, Esq. [signed M.]                    | 113 | Mrs. Meredith [sic]                               |
| May 15   | [Letter to Mr. Saunter signed M.]                      | 145 | Mrs. Meredith [sic]                               |
| Aug. 14  | [Verses beginning: The Capricious]                     | 256 | Meredith [Indexing shows Mrs. Meredith intended.] |
| Dec. 18  | [Letter in The American Lounger signed Maintenon]      | 393 | Mrs. Meredith [sic]                               |
| 1804     |  |     |   |
| April 7  | [Letter to Samuel Saunter, Esq., signed M. G.]         | 105 | Mrs. Meredith [sic]                               |
| 1804     |  |     |   |
|          | CLEMENT CLARKE MOORE (1779-1863)                       |     |   |
| Aug. 4   | Miscellany <sup>79</sup>                               | 244 | By a son of Bishop Moore                          |
| 1809     |  |     |   |
|          | ANTHONY MORRIS (1766-1860)                             |     |   |
| Feb.     | Biographical Notices of the Pembertons of Philadelphia | 173 | by Mr. Anthony Morris of P—                       |
| 1801     |  |     |   |
|          | GOUVERNEUR MORRIS (1752-1816)                          |     |   |
| Feb. 14  | Horace, Ode XVI, Lib.II. [verse]                       | 55  | [Gou Morris? (obscure)]                           |
| 1809     |  |     |   |
|          | JOHN MORTON <sup>80</sup>                              |     |   |
| June     | [Letter to Mr. Oldschool]                              | 516 | John Morton                                       |
| 1802     |  |     |   |
|          | C. NICHOLAS <sup>81</sup>                              |     |   |

<sup>79</sup> The subtitle is "Observations upon certain passages in Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia . . .," the title of a work published as a pamphlet (New York, 1804), and known to have been written by Clement Clarke Moore (*The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VII, 362).

<sup>80</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>81</sup> A Charles Jenkins Nicholas was born Oct. 15, 1782. He married Alice Ann Hoffman in 1809 (Jenkins and Gray Family Records, Photostat, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Charles J. Nicholas, probably the same, is mentioned as one serving in Philadelphia on a committee of vigilance for the ensuing election (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 26, 1812).

|         |  |     |  |
|---------|--|-----|--|
| Dec. 4  | [Verses beginning: The night<br>is silent, and the moon<br>shines clear]       | 384 | C. Nicholas  |
| 1803    |  |     |  |
| Jan. 15 | To the Memory of a Friend<br>[verse]   | 416 | C. Nicholas  |
| May 14  | [Beside signature Emily]   | 153 | C. Nicholas  |
| Oct. 1  | The Lay Preacher   | 313 | C. Nicholas [Probably<br>refers to the preceding<br>article] |
| 1824    |  |     |  |
| June    | F. NICHOLS <sup>82</sup><br>On the Study of Mathematics.                       | 456 | F. Nichols   |
| 1802    |  |     |  |
| Oct. 30 | CHARLES NISBET (1736-1804)<br>Extract of a Letter from a<br>Friend             | 343 | D <sup>r</sup> . Nes[bit? (obscure)]<br>of Carlisle          |
| 1809    |  |     |  |
| June    | GEORGE ORD (1781-1866)<br>To Mary [verse]                                      | 546 | Geo Ord  |
| 1802    |  |     |  |
| May 29  | RICHARD PETERS JR. (1779-1848) <sup>83</sup><br>[Letter to Mr. Saunter]        | 162 | R. Peters Jr.  |
| 1805    |  |     |  |
| Sept. 7 | T. R. PETERS <sup>84</sup><br>[Letter signed T. R. P—s.]                       | 280 | T. R. Peters   |
| 1810    |  |     |  |
| Dec.    | THOMAS FRANKLIN PLEASANTS (?-1817) <sup>85</sup><br>The Ladies of Philadelphia | 604 | T F. Pleasants   |
| 1805    |  |     |  |
| Feb. 16 | CONDY RAGUET (1784-1842)<br>The American Lounger                               | 41  | C. Raguet  |
| 1809    |  |     |  |
| May     | Memoirs of Hayti   | 369 | by C. Raguet   |
|         |  | 371 | Mr. Conde Raguet [Beside<br>signature R.]                    |
| 1810    |  |     |  |
| March   | Memoirs of Hayti. Letter X.  | 209 | Condy Raguet   |

<sup>82</sup> Unidentified.<sup>83</sup> See the account of his father, Richard Peters (*D.A.B.*, XIV, 510).<sup>84</sup> Unidentified.<sup>85</sup> Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

|  |  |     |  |
|--|--|-----|--|
| 1804   | MRS. HARRIET RODMAN (ca. 1785-1808) <sup>86</sup>          |     |  |
| Oct. 27                                      | Written at the Falls of Mount<br>Ida, (near Troy.) [verse] | 344 | Mrs Harriet Rodman<br>[Could refer to the poem<br>following] |
| 1807   | R. R. <sup>87</sup>  |     |  |
| July 4                                       | Miscellany   | 1   | R R  |
| DR. ROBERT H. ROSE (1777-1842) <sup>88</sup> |  |     |  |
| April 3                                      | [Poem signed Ao] [verse]*                                  | 103 | D <sup>r</sup> Rose  |
| April 17                                     | Anacreontic [verse]  | 119 | D <sup>r</sup> Rose  |
| July 24                                      | Original Poetry [verse]*                                   | 232 | Rose   |
| July 31                                      | The American Lounger                                       | 233 | R[ose? (obscure)] <sup>89</sup>                              |
| 1803   |  |     |  |
| Jan. 1                                       | To Eliza [verse]*  | 8   | D <sup>r</sup> Rose  |
| 1804   |  |     |  |
| Aug. 18                                      | The American Lounger                                       | 257 | D <sup>r</sup> Rose  |
| 1805   |  |     |  |
| Feb. 16                                      | Ode to a Market-Street Gutter<br>[verse]                   | 47  | D <sup>r</sup> Rose  |
| March 23                                     | To Mrs. ——— [verse]  | 87  | Rose   |
| May 18                                       | My Imitation [verse]                                       | 149 | D <sup>r</sup> Rose  |
| 1807   |  |     |  |
| Sept. 5                                      | [Footnote for "Asmodeo,"<br>l.37, left col.]               | 159 | <sup>z</sup> Dr R. think                                     |

<sup>86</sup> Harriet Fenno Rodman was the third daughter of John Fenno, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*. She married John Rodman (1775-1847). She died in New York, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard (Charles H. Jones, *Genealogy of the Rodman Family*, Philadelphia, 1886, pp. 53-55).

<sup>87</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>88</sup> Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1873), p. 459.

Robert Hutchinson Rose's parents came to America shortly before the Revolution, and settled in Chester County, Pa., where Robert Rose was born. In his early life he spent the winters in Philadelphia and the summers in the country. In 1799 he traveled over the wilderness of what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, and lived and hunted with the Indians. In 1800 Rose went to Italy. In 1810 he married a daughter of Andrew Hodge, of Philadelphia; and in 1811 he and Mrs. Rose took up their residence in the mansion he had built on Silver Lake, Susquehanna County, Pa., where Rose owned a vast tract of land. He was one of Dennie's most faithful contributors during the *Port Folio's* early years. Dennie edited his *Sketches in Verse* (Philadelphia, 1810), which contains most of the poems attributed to Rose here (Blackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-446, 448, 459-460, 544-545, and *passim*.)

<sup>89</sup> "The American Lounger" contains three poems written by Rose and reprinted in *Sketches in Verse*, pp. 110-111, 118-121.

|      |                                   |     |                   |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|-------------------|
| 1809 |                                   |     |                   |
| Feb. | Sketches of American<br>Scenery*  | 101 | R. H. Rose        |
| 1824 |                                   |     |                   |
| June | A Panther Hunt in<br>Pennsylvania | 494 | By Dr. R. H. Rose |

## DR. BENJAMIN RUSH (1745-1813)

|      |   |     |   |
|------|---|-----|---|
| 1809 |   |     |   |
| June | An Account of the Life and<br>Character of Mrs. Elizabeth<br>Ferguson | 520 | D <sup>r</sup> Rush? [Question<br>mark in original] |

## RICHARD RUSH (1780-1859)

|          |  |     |   |
|----------|--|-----|---|
| 1804     |  |     |   |
| Jan. 28  | [Letter in The American<br>Lounger signed Marcellus] | 25  | R. Rush   |
|          | Classical Literature                                 | 25  | R. Rush [May be a second<br>endorsement for the<br>preceding article] |
| April 21 | Polite Literature                                    | 121 | R. Rush <sup>90</sup>   |

JOSEPH SANSOM (1767-1826)<sup>91</sup>

|       |   |     |                                |
|-------|---|-----|--------------------------------|
| 1809  |   |     |                                |
| March | Outlines of the Life and<br>Character of William Penn | 189 | by Jos Sansom Esq <sup>r</sup> |

MRS. SARAZIN<sup>92</sup>

|      |                       |     |                         |
|------|-----------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| 1825 |                       |     |                         |
| July | A Tour through Europe | 82  | M <sup>rs</sup> Sarazin |
| Aug. | A Tour through Europe | 133 | M <sup>rs</sup> Sarazin |

<sup>90</sup> The endorsement probably refers to the preceding article, "The American Lounger," for it (like the "Lounger" on p. 25, Jan. 28, 1804) deals with oratory, and is signed "Marcellus."

<sup>91</sup> Transcripts of "Records of the Friends Monthly Meeting, Philadelphia," MSS, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Joseph Sansom was the son of Samuel Sansom, Jr., and Hannah Callender. The Philadelphia Directories for 1802-1805 list him as a merchant. With Beulah Sansom, his wife, he traveled in Europe from about 1798 until the autumn of 1802, and soon after his return published *Letters from Europe, during a Tour through Switzerland and Italy, in the Years 1801 and 1802* (Philadelphia, 1805). He wrote the preface to the Philadelphia Directory for 1804 (Watson Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania), and *Sketches of Lower Canada in 1817* (New York, 1817). Somewhat more intimate mentions of him are to be found in *Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, ed. Henry D. Biddle (Philadelphia, 1889), pp. 257, 365, 377, 388, 392, 398. That Sansom was a Federalist is apparent from the fact that he was an elector for Clinton and Ingersoll in 1812 (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 22, 1812).

<sup>92</sup> Unidentified.

|          |   |                                |  |
|----------|---|--------------------------------|--|
|          |   | THOMAS SERGEANT (1782-1860)    |  |
| 1805     |   |                                |  |
| June 8   | Reflections in the City [verse]   | 176                            | Thos. Sergeant                         |
| June 29  | The American Lounger  | 193                            | T. Sergeant                            |
| July 6   | The American Lounger  | 201                            | T Sergeant                             |
|          |   | DR. JOHN SHAW (1778-1809)      |  |
| 1801     |   |                                |  |
| June 13  | The Autumnal Flower<br>[verse]  | 192                            | D <sup>r</sup> . Shaw                  |
| July 25  | Address to the Evening Star<br>[verse]  | 240                            | D <sup>r</sup> Shaw                    |
| Oct. 3   | Spring [verse]  | 319                            | D <sup>r</sup> . Shaw                  |
| 1802     |   |                                |  |
| Dec. 25  | Address to a Lady, Leaving<br>Edinburgh [verse]*  | 408                            | D <sup>r</sup> . Shaw                  |
| 1804     |   |                                |  |
| March 17 | Moorish Songs [verse]   | 88                             | D <sup>r</sup> Shaw                    |
| March 24 | [Poem signed Ithacus]   | 96                             | D <sup>r</sup> Shaw                    |
| April 7  | A Sleighing Song [verse]  | 112                            | Shaw                                   |
| May 5    | The Cricket [verse]   | 144                            | Shaw                                   |
| Dec. 15  | To the Same* [That is, Miss<br>Ann B——] [verse]   | 400                            | D <sup>r</sup> . Shaw                  |
| 1805     |   |                                |  |
| Jan. 19  | Song [verse]*<br>[Verses beginning: Not when<br>the vernal zephyr breathes]*                                    | 16                             | D <sup>r</sup> . Shaw                  |
| Feb. 16  | Sonnet [verse]  | 16                             | D <sup>r</sup> Shaw                    |
| March 16 | From Metastasio [verse]   | 48                             | Shaw                                   |
|          |   | 80                             | Shaw                                   |
|          |   | WILLIAM SMITH SHAW (1778-1826) |  |
| 1801     |   |                                |  |
| Jan. 17  | Extract of a Letter from a<br>Gentleman at Washington to<br>His Friend in This City—<br>Dated 8th January, 1801 | 19                             | W S Shaw                               |
| 1802     |   | A. SKELTON <sup>93</sup>       |  |
| July 10  | Polite Literature<br>[Verses beginning: Our<br>massa Jefferson he say]  | 213                            | A[!?]. Skelton<br>An English gentleman |
|          |   | 216                            | Skelton                                |

<sup>93</sup> Unidentified. Dennie introduced the author as follows: "All the ensuing articles, with the signature of HARLEY, are the elegant effusions of the leisure of an English gentle-

|          |                                     |                   |         |
|----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------|
| July 17  | Sonnet, Written at Sea [verse]      | 224               | Skelton |
| Aug. 21  | Original Poetry [verse]             | 264               | Skelton |
| Nov. 20  | The American Lounger                | 361               | Skelton |
| Nov. 27  | Epigram [verse]                     | 364 <sup>94</sup> | Skelton |
| Dec. 11  | The American Lounger                | 385               | Skelton |
| Dec. 18  | Miscellany                          | 396               | Skelton |
| 1803     |                                     |                   |         |
| Jan. 22  | The American Lounger<br>[verse]     | 25                | Skelton |
| June 25  | To Samuel Saunter, Esq.             | 201               | Skelton |
|          | Original Poetry [verse]             | 208               | Skelton |
| July 2   | To the Muse [verse]                 | 209               | Skelton |
| July 30  | The American Lounger                | 241               | Skelton |
| Aug. 13  | Rural Sketches [verse]              | 264               | Skelton |
| Aug. 27  | Sonnet [verse]                      | 280               | Skelton |
| Sept. 10 | Original Poetry [verse]             | 296               | Skelton |
| Oct. 8   | Sonnet [verse]                      | 328               | Skelton |
| Nov. 5   | Sonnet [verse]                      | 360               | Skelton |
| 1804     |                                     |                   |         |
| Feb. 4   | Song [verse]                        | 40                | Skelton |
| Sept. 15 | [Poem signed Harley]                | 296               | Skelton |
| 1805     |                                     |                   |         |
| Feb. 16  | The Temple of Friendship<br>[verse] | 46                | Skelton |

DR. JOHN EDMONDS STOCK (1774-1835)<sup>95</sup>

|         |                           |    |                      |
|---------|---------------------------|----|----------------------|
| Jan. 10 | Theatrical Review, No. II | 11 | D <sup>r</sup> Stock |
|---------|---------------------------|----|----------------------|

man, whom the Editor is happy to call his friend, and at whose natal hour, the Muses smiled" (p. 216, July 2, 1803). The reader of "Harley's" poetry in the *Port Folio* finds that the author was from Leeds, or that the lady to whom he addresses one or more of his poems was in Leeds; that he had a business in America to attend to; that he learned to write verse "by Weisa's willow'd banks"; and that he wrote one sonnet as early as 1792. Hence he could scarcely have been born much later than 1777. I have been unable to find that Weisa is the name of any English stream, but it is possible that Skelton thought it was an ancient English name for the Ouse (James B. Johnston, *The Place-Names of England and Wales*, London, 1915, p. 390). Mr. J. G. Clark, Secretary of The Thoresby Society, in Leeds, has kindly searched the parish registers and the periodicals of Skelton's time for information about him, but without success. See note 38.

<sup>94</sup> See note 55.

<sup>95</sup> The catalogue cards of the Library of Congress contain the dates. The University of Pennsylvania granted Stock the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1797 (Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 482). In addition to his Doctor's dissertation, *An Inaugural Essay on the Effects of Cold upon the Human Body* (Philadelphia, 1797), he was the author of *Memoirs of Thomas Beddoes, M.D. . . .* (London, 1811). He is described in his former work as being of Gloucestershire, England, and a member of the Medical and Natural History Societies of Edinburgh (Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Pertaining to America*, XXIII, 495).

|          |   |     |                                     |
|----------|---|-----|-------------------------------------|
| Jan. 17  | Theatrical Review No. III                       | 21  | D <sup>r</sup> Stock                |
| Jan. 24  | Theatrical Review No. IV.                       | 27  | Stock                               |
| Jan. 31  | Theatrical Review. No. V.<br>Foreign Literature | 36  | [Stock? (obscure)]                  |
| Feb. 14  | Levity  | 37  | Stock                               |
| Feb. 21  | Musical Review                                  | 52  | Stock                               |
|          | Theatrical Review. No. VIII.                    | 59  | Stock                               |
| March 21 | Theatrical Review. No. X                        | 60  | Stock                               |
| April 11 | Literary Intelligence                           | 93  | Stock & Dennie                      |
|          | Music   | 116 | Stock                               |
| June 6   | Ballad [verse]                                  | 117 | Stock                               |
| Oct. 3   | Levity  | 184 | Stock                               |
| Nov. 28  | Polite Literature                               | 314 | D <sup>r</sup> Stock                |
| Dec. 5   | The Drama                                       | 381 | Stock                               |
| Dec. 19  | Montauban [verse]                               | 390 | S JD <sup>96</sup>                  |
| Dec. 26  | Edric and Sir Albert the<br>Brave [verse]       | 407 | D <sup>r</sup> . Stock              |
|          |   | 414 | D <sup>r</sup> . Stock              |
| 1802     |   |     |                                     |
| Jan. 16  | The American Lounger, by<br>Samuel Saunter Esq. | 1   | D <sup>r</sup> . Stock              |
|          | Musical Review                                  | 5   | Stock                               |
|          | Song to Echo [verse]                            | 8   | Stock                               |
| Jan. 23  | The Drama                                       | 17  | Stock & Dennie                      |
| Jan. 30  | The British Classics                            | 26  | Stock                               |
|          | The Drama                                       | 26  | Stock                               |
| Feb. 13  | The American Lounger                            | 41  | D <sup>r</sup> . Stock              |
|          | Kotzebue Vindicated                             | 42  | Stock                               |
|          | [Footnote for "Kotzebue<br>Vindicated"]         | 42  | Stock                               |
|          | The Drama                                       | 42  | S & D Dennie <sup>97</sup>          |
| Feb. 20  | The American Lounger                            | 49  | Stock                               |
| April 10 | The American Lounger.<br>No. XIII               | 105 | D <sup>r</sup> . Stock              |
| April 17 | The Drama                                       | 113 | D <sup>r</sup> . [Stock? (obscure)] |
|          | ALEXANDER THOMAS (1774-1809) <sup>98</sup>      |     |                                     |
| 1802     |   |     |                                     |
| July 10  | [A Dialogue] [verse]                            | 216 | A. Thomas Walpole N H               |

1801 JOHN HANSON THOMAS (?-1815)<sup>99</sup><sup>96</sup> That is, Stock and Joseph Dennie. <sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, Stock and Dennie.<sup>98</sup> Joseph T. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature: With Personal Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Reminiscences* (Boston, 1850), II, 181, 193.<sup>99</sup> J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland . . .* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 611 n.

John Hanson Thomas, the son of Dr. Philip Thomas and Jane Contee Hanson, was

|          |   |     |                          |
|----------|---|-----|--------------------------|
| April 18 | Character of Edmund Burke                             | 122 | J Hanson Thomas          |
| 1804     | JOHN TRUMBULL (1750-1831)                             |     |                          |
| July 14  | A Poetical Letter, from Lovessick Jacob to Coy Nancy* |     |                          |
|          | [verse]   | 224 | Trumbull                 |
| 1801     | ROYALL TYLER (1757-1826)                              |     |                          |
| March 14 | The Rural Beauty, A Village                           |     |                          |
|          | Ode. [verse]*   | 87  | R. Tyler                 |
| July 11  | Ejaculatory Sonnet [verse]*                           | 224 | Tyler                    |
| Oct. 24  | Messrs. Colon and Spondee to Their Kind Customers*    | 338 | Tyler                    |
| Nov. 14  | The Properties of a Good Wife [verse]*                | 368 | Tyler                    |
| Nov. 21  | Logic*  | 371 | Tyler                    |
|          | A Consolatory Ode, on the Death of an Infant [verse]* | 376 | Tyler                    |
| 1802     |   |     |                          |
| Jan. 21  | An Author's Evenings*                                 | 9   | Tyler                    |
| Feb. 27  | An Author's Evenings*                                 | 57  | Tyler                    |
| May 15   | An Author's Evenings*                                 | 148 | Tyler                    |
| 1803     |   |     |                          |
| May 21   | Hymn to the Supreme Being                             |     |                          |
|          | [verse]*  | 168 | Tyler                    |
| 1801     | E. J. WALE? <sup>100</sup>                            |     |                          |
| Feb. 14  | Definitions of Wit                                    | 49  | E. J. [W? (obscure)] ale |
| 1807     | EDMUND WALLER (1606-1687)                             |     |                          |
| Aug. 29  | Song [verse] <sup>101</sup>                           | 142 | Waller                   |
| 1803     | ROBERT WALSH (1784-1859)                              |     |                          |
| Sept. 17 | The American Lounger                                  | 297 | R Walsh                  |
|          |   |     | R. Walsh                 |

born in Frederick, Md. In 1809 he married Mary Isham Colston. He was retained to defend General James Wilkinson at the trial of Aaron Burr. In 1808 he was elected to the House of Delegates by the Federalists (Edward S. Delaplaine, "Chief Justice Roger B. Taney—His Career at the Frederick Bar," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIII, 125, 134 ff., June, 1918). Thomas was a student at St. John's College, Annapolis, 1793-1795 ("St. John's College, Annapolis," *ibid.*, XXIX, 308, Dec., 1934).

<sup>100</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>101</sup> The poem is Waller's "Go Lovely Rose." See *Poems*, ed. Drury (London, n.d.), I, 128.

1804

Feb. 11 The American Lounger  
 March 10 The American Lounger  
 May 19 The American Lounger  
 May 26 The American Lounger  
 June 16 The American Lounger  
 Sept. 1 The American Lounger

41 R. Walsh  
 73 R. Walsh  
 153 Walsh  
 161 Walsh  
 185 Walsh  
 273 Walsh

F. WHARTON<sup>102</sup>

1803 Jan. 15 Politics

17 F. Wharton

T. WILLIAMS<sup>103</sup>

1801 Feb. 7 Levity

44 T. Williams

ALEXANDER WILSON (1766-1813)

1805 April 27 A Rural Walk [verse]

126 A. Wilson—The  
 Ornithologist

1809

June On the Study of Natural  
 History

511 Alexander Wilson author  
 of American Ornithology  
 &c.

The Foresters; a Poem: De-  
 scriptive of a Pedestrian  
 Journey to the Falls of  
 Niagara, in the Autumn of  
 1803. [verse]

538 A. Wilson

JAMES P. WILSON (1769-1830)<sup>104</sup>

1816 March Biblical Criticism

222 Dr. J. P. Wilson

CHARLES JONES WISTER (1782-1865)<sup>105</sup>

1809 Feb. For the Port Folio [Poem  
 signed Llewellyn]

<sup>102</sup> Unidentified. Possibly Franklin Wharton, 1767-1818 (Anne H. Wharton, "The Wharton Family," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II, 55-56, No. 1, 1878).

<sup>103</sup> Probably Timothy Williams, to whom Dennie refers in a letter of April 17, 1792. He was graduated from Harvard in 1784, and died in 1846 (Pedder, *op. cit.*, 106, 106 n.).

<sup>104</sup> William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, . . . (New York, 1857-69), IV, 353-364.

<sup>105</sup> Charles J. Wister, Jr., *The Labour of a Long Life: A Memoir of Charles J. Wister* (Germantown, Vol. I, 1866, Vol. II, 1886).

|          |  |     |  |
|----------|--|-----|--|
|          | Germantown]  | 183 | Wister [at beginning]<br>Mr C Wistar [ <i>sic</i> ]<br>[Footnote for<br>"Llewellyn"] |
| 1801     | ELIZABETH WISTER (1764-1812) <sup>106</sup>  |     |  |
| Jan. 24  | On Leaving the Country in<br>Autumn [verse]  | 31  | [Miss? (obscure)] Wister   |
| 1803     |  |     |  |
| May 14   | On the Flight of a Bird from a<br>Retired Path [verse]                               | 160 | Miss Wister  |
| June 25  | Addressed to a Young Gentle-<br>man Who Had Deviated<br>from Moral Propriety [verse] | 208 | Miss Wister  |
| 1804     |  |     |  |
| Jan. 14  | Address to W——, in<br>Autumn [verse]   | 16  | Wister   |
| July 7   | Vernal Address to W. [verse]   | 216 | [Miss Wister? (obscure)]   |
| Aug. 25  | Retrospect. Addressed to<br>W***** [verse]   | 272 | Wister   |
| Dec. 15  | [Poem beginning: On Earth<br>there's nothing worth<br>possessing,] [verse]           | 400 | Miss Wister  |
| 1805     |  |     |  |
| March 30 | [Poem beginning: 'Read in<br>one island—in one age<br>forgot,']                      | 96  | Miss E Wister  |
| 1807     |  |     |  |
| Sept. 12 | Address to Lieutenant J....<br>[verse]   | 176 | Nonsense by Miss W.  |
| 1809     |  |     |  |
| Jan.     | Address to ——— [verse]<br>The Transit of the Exotic<br>[verse]                       | 87  | by E. Wistar [ <i>sic</i> ]  |
|          |  | 88  | by E W   |

<sup>106</sup> A transcript of "Permits for Internments, Friends Burial Ground, Philadelphia" (MS, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania), p. 172. See also Sarah Wister, *Sally Wister's Journal*, ed. A. S. Myers (Philadelphia, 1902).

Elizabeth Wister was the sister of Charles J. Wister (above), and Sarah Wister (1761-1804), who wrote, during the Revolution, the well-known journal. Elizabeth Wister is the "Betsy" or "Eliza" (not to be confused with "Betsy J.") of the *Journal* and of Charles J. Wister, Jr.'s, *Memoir*. The Wisters were Friends who lived in Philadelphia, but, during Elizabeth Wister's lifetime, spent their summers at their home in Germantown. Charles J. Wister, Jr. (*op. cit.*, I, 99 n., 128) states that Elizabeth Wister used the pen name "Elvira"; but "E." and "E. W." are her usual signatures for the poems of the *Memoir* and for the pieces endorsed as written by her in the Hall files of the *Port Folio*.

MANUSCRIPT INDEXING IN THE HALL FILES OF THE *Port Folio*<sup>107</sup>

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A—o Dr. Rose

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<sup>107</sup> In addition to the endorsement of authors' names beside the pieces themselves, there are in the Hall files, endorsements beside titles in some of the indexes and tables of contents. There is also some handwritten indexing on the inside of the covers and on some flyleaves. These endorsements disclose the authorship of many pieces not endorsed in the text, and they help to clarify the authorship of some of the writings which are endorsed in the text, but which have endorsements that would not be decipherable or understandable except for the help of those in the indexes. Of the 121 index references involving handwriting and therefore listed under this heading, fifty of the pieces referred to are not endorsed in the text.

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M<sup>rs</sup> Hall

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H[arrison] H[all]

J[ames] Hall

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J E H[all]

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<sup>108</sup> The reference is probably to "Lines Written in a Lady's Album," XX, 80-81. See the headnote for this poem, which has "by a lady of Philadelphia" underlined in pencil.

# RICHARD HENRY STODDARD'S CHINESE POEMS

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RICHARD HENRY STODDARD'S interest in Oriental poetry was, in one respect, merely a typical expression of American exoticism of the mid-nineteenth century. He was neither the originator of the movement nor its chief exemplar; the first half of the century had already produced much pseudo-Oriental verse, and Alger's *Poetry of the East* was the accepted authority of the second half.<sup>1</sup> In another respect, however, Stoddard's Oriental poems have some claim to uniqueness and consequent importance: they included the first considerable collection of translations from the Chinese to appear in American letters.<sup>2</sup>

It would be interesting to know what turned Stoddard to Chinese poetry; but to this question I can give only an inconclusive answer. One of the soundest of the early critics offered two suggestions: that Stoddard was "perhaps won by the simplicity of Ori-

<sup>1</sup> American interest in the Orient was in part at least a reflection of French and English Orientalism. The former has been treated in part in William Leonard Schwartz's *The Imaginative Interpretation of the Far East in Modern French Literature* (1927); the latter, in part in Martha Conant's *The Oriental Talc in England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1908) and Edna Pearlé Osborne's *Oriental Diction and Theme in English Verse 1740-1820* (University of Kansas, 1916).

The translations in such publications as the *Journal Asiatique*, the *Asiatic Journal*, the *Chinese Repository*, the *Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and even in less specialized publications such as *Blackwood's* and the *Edinburgh Review* in England and *Graham's* and the *North American Review* in the United States, reflect a very considerable interest in Oriental Literature.

It is impossible to do more than suggest the quantity of Oriental and pseudo-Oriental verse appearing in America during the nineteenth century, for a bibliography of the verse dealing with China alone would run to several hundred items. Outstanding volumes were Bayard Taylor's *Poems of the Orient* (1854), William Alger's *Poetry of the East* (1856), and Charles Godfrey Leland's *Pidgin English Sing-Song* (1876). For studies of the treatment of Chinese themes in American literature, see William P. Fenn's *Ah Sin and His Brethren in American Literature* (1933) and William Robert North's *Chinese Themes in American Verse* (Philadelphia, 1937).

<sup>2</sup> In 1878 Longfellow found Stoddard's *The Book of the East* the best source for the Chinese section of his *Poems of Places*. He expressed his indebtedness to Stoddard in a letter dated May 19, 1878, in which he wrote, "When I send you the volume of *Poems of Places* containing *China*, which I will do as soon as it is published, I hope you will not think I have taken too many of your 'Chinese Songs'" (Stoddard, *Recollections, Personal and Literary*, ed. Ripley Hitchcock, New York, 1903, p. 282).

ental themes, or by their bold speculations on the unseen," and "that the spoils of travel brought home by Taylor tempted him, too, to visit that ancient treasure-house of legend."<sup>3</sup> But there is too little evidence in Stoddard's own original verse of his having been drawn either by the unseen or by simplicity. And, though there is considerable ground for the second suggestion, Taylor's trip was too late to have furnished the original impulse, however much it may have quickened an already awakened interest. In June, 1850, Boker wrote as follows:

I am delighted to hear that you are engaged in writing Songs for the Chinese. How do the Celestials like your poetry? Have you a large and appreciative set of readers in the Central Flowery Land? Do they sing your songs at Pekin? And are they set to gongs, or to those small bells of silver in which the natives do most delight?<sup>4</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that as early as the summer of 1850 Stoddard was engaged in some sort of treatment of Chinese themes or handling of Chinese poetry. That his interest reflected the current interest in things Oriental goes almost without saying. But whether some returned traveler, some special event, or casual reading first awoke that interest, I cannot say.

The first mention of China in Stoddard's poetry is to be found in a short passage in "Castles in the Air," in the *Poems* of 1851. It seems clearly to have been inspired by his reading, but too many pictures and descriptions of similar scenes were readily available to make determination of the exact source more than mere guesswork. Stoddard's own opinion of the passage is indicated by the fact that the "picture" was omitted from the *Poems* of 1880. The fragment is of interest only because of its chronological position.

The 1851 *Poems* also contained two short poems, "Lu Lu" and "Kam Pou," which have been called Chinese.<sup>5</sup> The first, however, is obviously Near Eastern rather than Far Eastern; and the second is only slightly Chinese: Pou Tsi has a Chinese tone, but Kam Pou sounds Tartar and Vula might well be Indian; and, though Vula owns "junks of tea," Kam Pou has blue eyes and the heroine calls for her veil. The emotional tone of both poems is certainly Near Eastern in its lushness.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Macdonough, "Richard Henry Stoddard," *Scribner's Monthly*, XX, 693 (Sept., 1880).

<sup>4</sup> Stoddard, *Recollections*, p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> North, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

In Stoddard's *Songs of Summer* (1857) appeared the far more significant "Serenade of Ma-Han-Shan," a poem which is clearly Chinese in setting if not entirely so in tone and spirit. This was apparently the first of Stoddard's "Songs for the Chinese" and the only one to appear before 1861,<sup>6</sup> eleven years after Boker's letter. Then, in 1871, came *The Book of the East* with its fifteen "Chinese Songs." These, together with two more songs included in the 1880 *Poems*, completed Stoddard's "translations" from the Chinese. This volume also contains a lengthy description of China in the long poem, "Guests of the State (1876)."

Extending from 1851 to 1876 and including at least nineteen poems, this production shows not only an intensity but also a continuity of interest which gives it significance in the study of Oriental influences on American verse. This essay attempts to discover the sources of Stoddard's inspiration and information and to evaluate his achievement.

## I

The question of the sources of Stoddard's "Chinese Songs" is not a new one. One of the earliest critics of *The Book of the East* wrote that "we do not know precisely how much in them is of Mr. Stoddard's invention and how much of his discovery."<sup>7</sup> Nine years later, however, a reviewer of the *Poems* of 1880 stated: "They are made from translations in many kinds, and not themselves translations at first hand."<sup>8</sup> But, as late as 1937, they were referred to as containing "enough original elements to remove them from a strict classification as translations."<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Stoddard herself is quoted as having written that "They [his Oriental poems] usually spring from a line, a phrase, a paragraph or a picture, but all his poems are as original as Shakespeare's are."<sup>10</sup> No one, however, has attempted to answer the question by determining whether or not there exist exact sources for these songs.

In such an attempt we may take it for granted, first of all, that Stoddard worked entirely from secondary sources rather than di-

<sup>6</sup> There seems to be no satisfactory answer to the question as to why the interest of 1850 should have borne no fruit before 1857. The "Serenade" was, as we shall see later, not the only Chinese poem Stoddard had completed by 1857. As the others were translations, it is possible that he was saving them for the collection of translations which appeared as "Chinese Songs" in *The Book of the East*.

<sup>7</sup> *Nation*, XIII, 341 (Nov. 23, 1871).

<sup>8</sup> *Appleton's*, IX, 230 (1880).

<sup>9</sup> North, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>10</sup> Susan Hayes Ward, "The Last of the Stoddards," *Independent*, LV, 1205 (1903).

rectly from Chinese originals. There is no evidence to indicate either that he knew Chinese himself or that he was in close touch with anyone acquainted with the language. In the latter case, acknowledgment of indebtedness would surely have been made to a scholar of his own race,<sup>11</sup> and the existence of a Chinese helper could hardly have escaped comment. The problem thus resolves itself into search for the secondary sources with which he worked, and, in the case of discovery, comparison of the two versions.

The present writer has succeeded in locating the following sources for Stoddard's Chinese poems.<sup>12</sup>

### I. "THE SERENADE OF MA-HAN-SHAN (CHINA)"

This poem is neither a "translation" nor an adaptation of some Chinese poem; but rather an original poem, the inspiration and material for which were supplied by Stoddard's reading. It has been possible to determine, with a fair degree of certainty, three sources.

Thoms's translation of *The Flowers' Leaf*<sup>13</sup> offers a possible source for the title of the poem. In that long and prosaic translation, there is the line, "But he plainly perceived that the tune was Man-kwan-shan,"<sup>14</sup> and it is possible that Stoddard may have altered the name to make it more pleasing phonetically to Occidental ears.<sup>15</sup> Such a theory would hardly be acceptable were it not that *The Flowers' Leaf* was clearly the source for other elements in the poem. Very interesting is the repeated reference to "golden" drinking vessels;<sup>16</sup> still more suggestive is the presence of innumerable references to "windows,"<sup>17</sup> "the bright moon,"<sup>18</sup> "lilies" and "lily ponds,"<sup>19</sup> "the flower of the peach,"<sup>20</sup> and "bleating deer."<sup>21</sup> Most significant, however, is the wall-ascending rose of both poems. *The Flowers' Leaf* has

<sup>11</sup> Compare, however, the case of Sir John Bowring. See note 66.

<sup>12</sup> The 1852 poems are omitted for the reasons already given. The 1876 "Guests" is not considered in this study because it is in no sense a "Chinese poem" but rather a bit of description of China introduced into a long poem. However, anyone who cares to look up the elements of the picture Stoddard painted—customs, products, etc.—will find them all in suggestively similar form in Williams and Davis. See notes 27 and 28.

<sup>13</sup> *Hwa-ts'een: The Flowers' Leaf, Chinese Courtship in Verse*, trans. P. P. Thoms (Macao and London, 1824).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>15</sup> While realizing that the argument is not scientific, the present writer cannot refrain from pointing out that the name *Ma-Han-Shan* relieves the monotony of the final *n*'s and repeated narrow *a*'s and removes the un-English *kw*.

<sup>16</sup> Thoms, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 116, *et passim*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 50.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 86.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15, 60.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161 n.

And the spreading branches of the Tseang-we,\* ascended above the lofty wall.

(\* Tseang-we, or Too-we, a rose that grows large, like a vine, and bears flowers in clusters.)<sup>22</sup>

In the "Serenade" we find

The rose looks over the wall  
To see who passes near:

Indeed, the moon-drenched romanticism of the "Serenade" is strikingly paralleled by that of *The Flowers' Leaf*.<sup>23</sup>

Another translation is the source of the other Chinese names in the poem. In *The Rambles of the Emperor Ching Tih*<sup>24</sup> we find (1) Yu Ying,<sup>25</sup> the name of the heroine, (2) the marvelous keung-flower,<sup>26</sup> and (3) many references to Keangnan.

*The Flowers' Leaf* and *The Rambles*, however, did not provide all the Chinese coloring for this poem; much is traceable to Davis's *The Chinese*<sup>27</sup> and Williams's *Middle Kingdom*,<sup>28</sup> two books on China which Stoddard is known to have possessed.<sup>29</sup> The "pheasant's feather,"<sup>30</sup> the "deer . . . in the parks,"<sup>31</sup> the "cages of loories, macaws,"<sup>32</sup> the "lakes of Mandarin ducks,"<sup>33</sup> the "wedding lanterns,"<sup>34</sup> and the "flowery chair"<sup>35</sup> are all clearly derived from those two sources.

While it would not be safe to conclude that Stoddard used only these four works, it is not unreasonable to assume that they were his chief sources. The poem is an original one, the coloring for

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> There are also enough points of similarity between Stoddard's "Serenade" and portions of Tennyson's "Maud" to suggest a possible connection. Both poems

(1) deal with the same subject: a young man waiting at night in a garden for his love;  
(2) personify the flowers, particularly the rose, making them actors in the drama;  
(3) refer to the father and brother of the loved one, to a feast, to a garden lake or pond, and to pearls;

(4) are filled with moonlight.

Have we here a "Come into the garden, Maud," in Chinese setting?

<sup>24</sup> *The Rambles of the Emperor Ching Tih in Keang Nan: A Chinese Tale*, trans. Tkin Shen, with a preface by James Legge (London, 1843).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 110.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 245.

<sup>27</sup> Sir John Francis Davis, *The Chinese* (London, 1836).

<sup>28</sup> S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1853).

<sup>29</sup> See catalogues of portions of Stoddard's library sold at auction in 1874 and 1875 by Bays, Merwin & Co. of New York.

<sup>30</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, I, 261, 262.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 252.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 261, 265.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 264.

<sup>34</sup> Davis, *op. cit.*, I, 329; Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 59.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 57; Davis, *op. cit.*, I, 329, 424.

which was derived from the translation of a long Chinese poem, from a Chinese romance, and from two treatises on China.

In this poem, Stoddard employed a twelve-line stanza which is basically three-stress, though the first two and last two lines of each stanza are roughly six-stress. It is unrhymed throughout.

Although the "Serenade" is, in its sureness of touch, a distinct improvement on such earlier poems as "Lu Lu" and "Kam Pou" and, indeed, on many of the later "translations," its excessive romanticism strikes the reader as foreign to Chinese setting. *The Flowers' Leaf* undoubtedly set Stoddard a poor example in this respect, but even its extreme romanticism is different—it is less exuberant, less personal, and more conventional. The "Serenade," however, remains an unusually successful treatment of a Chinese theme in American verse.

## 2. "UP IN AN OLD PAGODA'S HIGHEST TOWER"

This poem, to which Stoddard gave no title, is his adaptation of "On an Absent Friend (From the Chinese)," a translation which appeared in the *Asiatic Journal*<sup>36</sup> for 1831. Both because this is the first example of Stoddard's "translations" and because it was an especially successful effort, each poem is quoted in full.

### ON AN ABSENT FRIEND (From the Chinese.\*))

In the upper room of a Seaou\*\* temple, I sat watching the fall of  
the evening shades;  
While the curling smoke and the distant sounds of the king-stone\*\*\*  
music spread through the lonely wood;  
The zephyrs, softly blowing over the cool stream agitated the leaves  
of the white pin flowers;\*\*\*\*  
And the hoar-frost was falling on the autumnal hills, thickly strewed  
with faded leaves.

\* *Canton Register*

\*\* A Chinese monarch, named Seaou, having built numerous temples to Bud'h, caused them all to be named after himself.

\*\*\* A certain stone used as a musical instrument.

\*\*\*\* A flower similar to the water-lily.

<sup>36</sup> *Asiatic Journal*, V, 122 (1831). This poem had appeared first in the *Canton Register*, to which the *Asiatic Journal* gave due credit. In view, however, of the relative inaccessibility of the *Register* and the fact (which will appear in the course of this article) that Stoddard was familiar with the *Journal*, it appears safe to conclude that he was indebted to the latter rather than to the former.

Looking at the cloudless sky, nought could I see but the wildgoose  
flying in the clear horizon.  
Under the bright moon-shine, I listened to the distant sound of  
villagers beating out their rice;  
Then, thinking of the friend, whom I had not seen for more than  
a year gone-by,  
I sat at a window, shaded with pine-trees, striking the cords of an  
harmonious king.\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\* A stringed instrument held in great repute among the ancients.

[“UP IN AN OLD PAGODA’s HIGHEST TOWER”]

Up in an old pagoda’s highest tower  
I sat, and watched the falling shades of eve.  
Long curls of smoke, and sounds of distant lutes  
As faint as smoke, spread through the lonely wood.  
The evening wind blew over the cool stream,  
Troubling the pallid pin-flowers on its bank;  
And where the autumnal hills were thickly strewn  
With faded, fallen leaves the hoar-frost fell.  
Naught could I see in all that cloudless sky  
Except the wild goose flying to the South.  
Hearkening in bright moonshine I heard the sound  
Of distant villagers beating out their rice.  
Then, thinking of the friend, whose absent face  
The long year through, not once has brightened mine,  
I sought the window shaded o’er with pines,  
And struck the strings of my melodious lute.

Here we see how closely Stoddard followed his source. The “Seaou temple” becomes (without justification) a pagoda; the “king-stone” becomes, like the “king” itself, a lute; and the “clear horizon” is logically referred to as the “South.” But there are few important changes, and the close parallelism in phrasing is far more impressive, varying from such slight shifts as “curls of smoke” for “curling smoke” and “distant sound of villagers” for “sound of distant villagers” to the word for word use of “spread through the lonely wood” and “then, thinking of the friend.” On the whole, little has been added or taken away, and we have here a very close paraphrase and, at times, an exact copy.

Almost without exception, however, the changes made are an improvement, and Stoddard's poem is a more poetic and pleasing effort than the original translation from which he worked. This effect is the result both of more poetic phrasing and of a more poetic verse form. The unrhymed iambic five-stress couplets avoid the artificiality of some later verse forms and succeed admirably in conveying the restraint and dignity of the Chinese. This use of an unrhymed and relatively free rhythm for translation of Chinese poetry preceded by half a century the "pioneer" efforts of Miss Amy Lowell and Mr. Arthur Waley.

### 3. "(Soo Hwuy.)"<sup>37</sup>

This poem presents a more difficult problem than No. 2 because of the existence of several translations which might have been known to Stoddard. These are: (1) P. P. Thoms: "Soo Hwuy's Ode" in *The Flowers' Leaf* (1824), (2) R. Morrison: "Soo Hwuy" in "Horae Sinicae," *Fraser's* (1824), (3) (?) Bridgeman: "Soo Hwuy's Ode" in *Chinese Repository* (1841), quoted as "Su Hwui" in Williams, *Middle Kingdom* (1848) and as "Su Hwuie" in Sirr, *China and the Chinese* (1849). There is no evidence that Stoddard was acquainted with Morrison's version.

The phrasing throughout the poem is very clearly a refinement of Thoms's rough lines; but there is also evidence to prove that Stoddard was also acquainted with the *Chinese Repository* version.<sup>38</sup> In the following passages he is obviously paraphrasing Thoms:

The flute that you blew, I have placed in the hall.—

You not being at home as usual to sing a cheerful [sic] song. (Thoms)

Taking the lute of Tsun in my arms I turn me to the pictured hall,  
Where for your sake, I try to thrum the ballad of departed friends.

(*Chinese Repository*)

My husband's flute hangs idle in the hall;

He sings no more the songs of Keang-nan. (Stoddard)

In others, like the following, he as clearly depends upon the *Chinese Repository*:

My attire and pillow, from grief are bedewed with tears,  
While my rich dresses of flowers and embroidery are permitted to  
spoil. (Thoms)

<sup>37</sup> First published as "The Wife's Lament" in *Knickerbocker*, LVII, 195-196 (1861).

<sup>38</sup> The spelling of the title suggests that Stoddard did not use either Williams or Sirr.

My silvery dress, upon my pillow, with tears is deeply dyed,  
And on my gilded robe and satin coat, the flowers are wholly spoiled.  
(C.R.)

My silver dress that on my pillow lies  
Is dyed with tears, and tears have spoiled the flowers  
Broidered in gold upon my satin robe. (Stoddard)

It is clear that Stoddard succeeded in imparting to his version a felicity of phrasing and a polish of form which were not present in either of his sources. This success was only in part the result of original wording; it was much more the effect of careful elimination. An idea of the extent of this condensation can be gained from the fact that, while Thoms used 494 words and the *Chinese Repository* 512, Stoddard required only 316.

The most important addition in Stoddard's version is the word "Keang-nan." This reminds us of his use of the same name in the "Serenade" and suggests that the same reading which had preceded that poem had also preceded this. As a matter of fact, it is probable that "Soo Hwuy" was actually the earlier of the two, for it is extremely unlikely that Stoddard was familiar with the *Middle Kingdom* when he was working on "Soo Hwuy." Aside from the evidence of the spelling, it is improbable that he would have adapted a poem so recently and widely introduced to the public; for another, he used none of the other poetic material so plentiful in Williams. Although the *Middle Kingdom* first appeared in 1848, Stoddard's own copy was of the 1853 edition,<sup>39</sup> and there is no evidence that he was familiar with the book before that time. On the other hand, the present writer possesses evidence<sup>40</sup> to prove that Stoddard was thoroughly acquainted with the *Middle Kingdom* in 1855. We may conclude, therefore, that "Soo Hwuy" was written before the year 1854.

The form Stoddard chose for this second "translation" was again a rough blank verse. His success, however, was not so great as in the case of No. 2, for the verse stumbles more frequently and is often stiff. Still, it is an unquestioned improvement over his sources, neither of which is much more than doggerel.

<sup>39</sup> See catalogues of portions of Stoddard's library sold at auction in 1874 and 1875 by Bays, Merwin & Co., of New York.

<sup>40</sup> Which he hopes to present in a separate article.

## 4. "KANG CHI"

This is another poem for which there is more than one possible source. The well-known story here told was first translated into English in the *Canton Press*, from which it was reprinted in the *Asiatic Journal*<sup>41</sup> for 1837. But there had already been a French translation in the *Journal Asiatique*<sup>42</sup> for 1824, which was frequently reprinted.<sup>43</sup>

One will look in vain for the Chinese original of the title for the simple reason that the "K" in "Kang" is a mistake for "T" (or "Th" in the French). The error was not Stoddard's, however, for it appears in a note to the poem in the *Asiatic Journal* which reads, "From 'Supplement to the Chinese Anthology,' named *Kang Chi*, that is to say, verses of the Thang dynasty." This curious typographical error makes it unnecessary to examine other versions, for it clearly indicates that the *Asiatic Journal* was Stoddard's source. We have, therefore, in this poem an adaptation of an English translation of a French translation from the Chinese.

The poem is too long for complete quotation, but the following passages indicate how closely Stoddard's "translation" followed its "original."

She buys a swift horse at the eastern market,  
A saddle and a horse-cloth at the western,  
And at the southern a long horseman's whip. (Stoddard)

At the eastern market she purchases a swift horse;  
at the western market she purchases a saddle and a  
horse-cloth; at the southern market she purchases a long  
whip. (C.R.)

Again, Stoddard's chief contribution to the translation is compactness and poetic form. The original in this case was prose, which Stoddard transformed into his favorite blank verse. Condensation was aided by omitting the Chinese moral of the original:

<sup>41</sup> *Asiatic Journal*, XXIII, 104 (1837).

<sup>42</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, IV, 100 (1824). An interesting problem is raised by the similarity between the preface of the translation in the *Asiatic Journal* and the preface to that in the *Journal Asiatique*. The parallelism is such as could hardly have resulted from independent translation of a possible Chinese (or other) source. We are forced to conclude, therefore, that the translation which the *Asiatic Journal* borrowed from the *Canton Press* had been taken by that journal from the *Journal Asiatique*—without acknowledgment.

<sup>43</sup> In S. Julien, *Tchao-Chi-Kou-Eu* (1834), pp. 327-331, in Julien, "De Poésies Chinoises," *Contes* (Paris, 1860), Vol. II, and in Julien, *Les Avadanas* (Paris, 1859), III, 158-159.

The hare which stumbles as it runs may be known; his companion may be discovered by its eyes of alarm; but if they trot side by side; who is to distinguish their sex?

Even without the moral, the original version had 535 words to Stoddard's 453.

#### 5. "(YUEN YUEN)"

In this poem Stoddard adapted one of a pair of "sonnets" by the modern Chinese poet Yuen Yuen, which appeared in the *Chinese Repository*<sup>44</sup> for 1842. The original was already in fair poetic form, being composed of irregular five-stress, six-stress, and seven-stress lines. The style, however, is extremely stiff. As usual, Stoddard polished the phrasing and put the poem into blank verse. Although he retained the eighteen lines of the original, without trying to force the poem into sonnet form, he again succeeded in compressing the 193 words of the source into 150. The result is an improvement. Typical of the changes made are these lines:

West of his house we see great stacks of straw. (Stoddard)

Many strawy stacks on the west of his hut are seen piled up. (C.R.)

#### 6. "(KEAA)"

This poem involves another typographical error, but in this case the fault is Stoddard's and does not appear in his source, which is the *Asiatic Journal*<sup>45</sup> for 1839. The *Journal* gives the poem the title of "The Seasons," but in a note states that "It is attributed to a literary man, named Keae." This word, Stoddard turned into *Keaa*.

The poem is interesting because it illustrates clearly the manner in which Stoddard avoided any show of erudition in his translations.<sup>46</sup> The original used the term "peih tree," explaining in a note that the term was untranslatable. Stoddard, with probably unconscious humor, turned it into "plane tree." Another note explained that the "laurel" was a "kwei, or Chinese cinnamong," and Stod-

<sup>44</sup> *Chinese Repository*, XI, 328 (1842). Though the *Repository* credits the verses to the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, there is no evidence that Stoddard was familiar with that journal, and everything points to the fact that he found these verses in the *Repository*.

<sup>45</sup> *Asiatic Journal*, XXIX, 25 (1839).

<sup>46</sup> See also poems Nos. 1, 2, 6, and 8. This conversion of names for certain objects from romanized Chinese, which is meaningless to the average reader, to English equivalents which, though only approximations, convey some meaning, is perhaps as far as Stoddard went in adapting most poems to his audience. Note, however, No. 10.

dard, resisting the temptation to adopt the *kwei*, used the latter term.<sup>47</sup>

In general, Stoddard followed his source closely, as in

Fast falls the snow upon the balustrade,  
Like dying petals; while the icicle  
Hangs like a pendant gem. (*Asiatic Journal*)

The snow is falling on the balustrade  
Like dying petals, and the icicle  
Hangs like a gem. (Stoddard)

The form is again blank verse. In this case, Stoddard's choice of that form may have been influenced by a note which stated, "The original is in an inflated prose very analogous to our blank-verse."<sup>48</sup> The result is an uninspired but pleasant and accurate "translation."

#### 7. "(Too-Mo.)"

The present writer has been unable to discover the source of this poem. He has no doubt, however, that it is to be found in some translation similar to those which provided the sources for the other poems. The title refers to the eighth-century poet Tu Mu.

#### 8. "(He-Kwan.)"

This poem, like Nos. 4 and 6, is marked by a typographical error. The source was "The Country Cottage"<sup>49</sup> by He-Hwan, which appeared in the *Asiatic Journal*<sup>50</sup> for 1816.

##### (HE-KWAN.)

The farmer cuts the So leaves,  
And weaves his rainy cloak;  
His cot is on the hillside,  
You see it by the smoke.

His rustic wife soon hails him,  
"The nice boiled pears are done."  
The children from the pea-field  
To meet their daddy run.

<sup>47</sup> Still another note, which translated *tung-kin* as "lute, made of tung-wood," may have been the authority on which, in No. 2, he translated *king* as "lute."

<sup>48</sup> It is possible, of course, that Stoddard's use of blank verse in all these early poems may have been the result of this note. In that case, it is likely that this was one of the first poems adapted.

<sup>49</sup> "The Country Cottage" was later quoted in Mogridge, *The Celestial Empire*, p. 252.

<sup>50</sup> *Asiatic Journal*, I, 252 (1816). The translator was Morrison.

In the shaded lake the fishes  
 Are swimming to and fro;  
 The little birds brush each other,  
 As back to the hills they go.

Crowds will be going and coming,  
 In the happy season of flowers,  
 But could I find the philosopher's stone,  
 I'd fish in the brook for hours.

Certain points are of interest. In the first place, Stoddard has made use of the notes in two of the most important verbal changes. In the second place, Stoddard's choice of words is not as effective as in previous translations: "nice" and "daddy" are jarring notes. In the third place, the original was already so compact that Stoddard's version is actually slightly the longer.

Stoddard's poem is the more polished of the two, but the effect of the new metric form is so jingly as to produce a far less happy result than the blank verse of the earlier translations. It is difficult to understand why Stoddard should have shifted to this skipping three-stress line with rhymes; for the form not only fails to convey the placidity and restraint of Chinese poetry but is also poor English verse. Such a poem is a distinct letdown from the high level of No. 2.

#### 9. "EAST, OR WEST TO THE PASTURES"<sup>51</sup>

The source for this poem is "The Herdboy's Song" in the *Chinese Repository*<sup>52</sup> for 1840. Although Stoddard's version follows this translation very closely, two points are of interest.

In one place Stoddard misinterpreted his source when he changed

Calling to each other to cut the green bamboo, and make our new  
 style pipes;

to

In the green bamboos together  
 We cut our reeds, and play;

The Chinese herdboy's pipes were of bamboo and not, like those of his Grecian brother, of reed.

<sup>51</sup> Published first as "Herdsman's Song" in *Knickerbocker*, LVII, 196 (1861).

<sup>52</sup> *Chinese Repository*, IX, 510 (1840). "The Herdboy's Song" is followed by "The Cow's Complaint," which Stoddard did not use.

Again, when he changed

Or thus, at our ease, with wetted hands, we twist the heifer's cord;  
to

Or twist the ropes of the heifer,  
And make them stout and long,

one suspects that one colorful phrase was omitted and a new phrase added purely for the sake of rhyme.

The verse form, which is fundamentally the same as that of No. 8, is somewhat more successful, perhaps because of the greater anapestic variation to the iambs.

#### 10. "HE SAW IN SIGHT OF HIS HOUSE"

This poem is of peculiar interest because it is rather an original retelling in verse of an old story than the reworking of a previously translated poem. It is a poetic version of a prose story which appeared in the *Chinese Repository*<sup>58</sup> for 1840. The tale is of an official who, after years of absence, is attracted by the sight of a woman working near his home. He tempts her with gold, but without success, and goes on to his home, where he turns his money over to his mother. When his wife comes in, she upbraids him, not for having tempted her, but for having thought to squander the money he should give to his mother. She then goes to the river and drowns herself, leaving a poem for her unfilial husband.

Of this extremely Chinese story, Stoddard used only a part, and that the least Chinese. He expanded the encounter of husband and wife in the fields but left out entirely the climax and denouement of the Chinese tale. The result is an incident which is Chinese only in its setting and a poem which is something less Chinese than his other translations.

To be sure, Stoddard appropriated directly an extraordinary quantity of the phrasing of his source; many phrases vary only in an unimportant word or two. But much of the phraseology and the point of view, original with Stoddard, are distinctly Western. It is difficult, for example, to conceive of a Chinese poem which ended with the lines:

She scratched his face with her nails,  
Till he turned and fled for life.

<sup>58</sup> *Chinese Repository*, IX, 550 (1840).

The poem entirely misses the point of the Chinese tale and turns tragedy into farce.

The verse form is the same three-stress quatrain, now evidently firmly a habit.

- 11. "BEFORE THE SCREAM O' THE HAWK"<sup>54</sup>
- 13. "STRETCHED IN FLOWERS AND MOONLIGHT"
- 14. "IT GRIEVES THE BEE AND BUTTERFLY"
- 15. "NOW THE WIND IS SOFTEST"<sup>55</sup>
- 16. "THE GROVE IS CROWNED WITH HOAR-FROST"<sup>56</sup>

For the originals of these five poems Stoddard was indebted to the Chinese novel, *Iu Kiao Li*. Of this work there were available three translations: (1) that in French by the famous sinologue Remusat;<sup>57</sup> (2) an anonymous English version<sup>58</sup> which was a literal translation, not from the Chinese but from Remusat's French; and (3) a second French translation by Julien.<sup>59</sup>

Since Stoddard's translations were not published until 1869-70, it would have been possible for him to have used any or all of these versions. But that he did not use Julien is clear from the most cursory comparison; the following lines, taken from No. 11, are typical:

Au milieu des beautés du printemps, on cause en riant et on lance  
du pied le ballon. (Julien)

We sit in the tennis court where the beautiful sunlight falls. (Stoddard)

In most cases the English version is such a literal, word-for-word translation of Remusat's French that it is difficult if not im-

<sup>54</sup> First published as "Summer. From the Chinese" in *Hours at Home*, XI, 188 (June, 1870).

<sup>55</sup> First published as "A Chinese Love Song" in *ibid.*, IX, 540 (Oct., 1869).

<sup>56</sup> First published as "Spring" in *ibid.*, X, 541 (April, 1870).

<sup>57</sup> *Iu-kiao-li, ou, les deux cousins; roman chinois*, trans. J. P. A. Remusat (Paris, 1826).

<sup>58</sup> *Iu-kaio-li; or, The Two Fair Cousins*. A Chinese novel, from the French version of J. P. A. Remusat (London, 1827).

<sup>59</sup> *Yu Kiao Li: Les deux cousins, roman chinois*, trans. Stanislas Julien (Paris, 1864).

Two other possible sources for No. 13 are of interest largely because they suggest how Stoddard's attention may have been drawn to the English translation of this work. In the *Foreign Review*, I, 380 (1828), appeared a review of Remusat's translation, which contained another English version of No. 13; but the wording differs so from Stoddard's that it is unlikely that he knew the version. However, in the *Asiatic Journal*, XXIII, 292 (1827), the version he did use was printed in a review of the English *Iu-kiao-li*. Moreover, a few pages before this review was printed a poem, "To a Chrysanthemum," which was credited to the *Yuh-keao-w-le*. As we know that Stoddard must have ransacked the *Asiatic Journal* for his Chinese poems, we can safely assume that this review suggested to him the sources for five more of these.

possible to determine which version was Stoddard's source. In No. 15, however, two lines of the English vary sufficiently from the French to provide an illuminating comparison.

Mes sentiments s'envolent en vers legers commes ces brumes qui  
colorent les arches du pont. (Remusat)

Like mists that cling to the arch of yonder bridge, are the thoughts  
that now issue in light verses. (English)

Happy thoughts are brooding  
On the song I sing,  
As to the arch of yonder bridge  
The mists of morning cling. (Stoddard)

Qu'elle apprenne qu'on avait plus tôt compte les touffes de soie qui  
sont suspendues à ces arbres. (Remusat)

I would say to her—"Go and count the silken fibres that hang from  
yonder tree." (English)

"Go count the silken tresses  
That hang on yonder tree;  
So many are my loving thoughts,  
And so they cling to thee!" (Stoddard)

The phrases in Stoddard's poem which have exact equivalents in the English version and not in the French, while they do not preclude the possibility of Stoddard's having used the latter, make it certain that he depended largely on the former. This certainty is strengthened by the fact that Stoddard's own copy<sup>60</sup> of the *Iu Kiao Li* was the English and not the French version. We have, therefore, five more poems in which Stoddard worked from an English translation of a French translation of a Chinese original.

These poems not only make clear the unscientific nature of Stoddard's work but also provide an indication of a growing tendency to develop and forsake his source. In No. 14, for example, the first two long lines of Remusat become two quatrains in Stoddard. While Stoddard's lines are shorter than Remusat's, the result of the adaptation is that Stoddard requires forty-five words to express what the original presented in twenty-eight. In the next poem, No. 15, Stoddard's last two lines,

<sup>60</sup> See catalogues of portions of Stoddard's library sold at auction in 1874 and 1875 by Bays, Merwin & Co., of New York.

So many are my loving thoughts,  
And so they cling to thee!

are not only lacking in Remusat but are also a most un-Chinese tacking on of a moral or explanation.

A final picture of the extent to which Stoddard was now altering his sources is best given by an analysis of No. 16. In adapting Remusat, Stoddard (1) expanded the first line into a quatrain; (2) expanded the second line into a quatrain; (3) omitted the third line; (4) made a quatrain out of the fourth and fifth lines; (5) substituted for the sixth and seventh lines, which disappeared almost completely, a half quatrain inspired by two words in those lines; and (6) turned the eighth line into a half-quatrain.

The verse form employed in all five poems is, with one unimportant exception, the same three-stress iambic quatrain of the preceding poems. The effect is also the same.

## 12. "THE DARK AND RAINY WEATHER"

This poem was an adaptation of some Chinese verses which were first translated, in French, in 1735.<sup>61</sup> An English version of this French work was made in the following year.<sup>62</sup> This version of the poem was then reprinted, with slight variations, in 1761.<sup>63</sup>

Three facts make it evident that Stoddard relied on Percy's version. First, the verbal similarity between Stoddard and the two English versions is extremely close, too close to have been the result of independent translation of the French. Secondly, Stoddard is, in one of two phrases, closer to Percy than to the English version of du Halde. For example, while du Halde has "The dark and rainy days," Stoddard and Percy both have "The dark and rainy weather." Finally, Stoddard owned a copy of Percy.<sup>64</sup>

In his adaptation Stoddard was unusually free, there being few exact parallels between his poem and Percy's version. A comparison of

<sup>61</sup> Jean Baptiste du Halde, *Description géographique . . . de la Chine* (Paris, 1735).

<sup>62</sup> P. du Halde, *A Description of the Empire of China* (London, 1736).

<sup>63</sup> Bishop Percy, *Hau kiong chouan; or the Pleasing History* (London, 1761). This volume was edited "from a ms. partly English and partly Portuguese, supposed to have been written in China early in the last century, by a gentleman of the name of Wilkinson" (Staunton, *Embassy to China*). To the novel were appended some poems taken from du Halde.

<sup>64</sup> See catalogues of portions of Stoddard's library sold at auction in 1874 and 1875 by Bays, Merwin & Co., of New York.

The dark and rainy weather, which preceded, gave a new lustre to  
the sun; who had not been seen for many days.

and

The dark and rainy weather  
That now has taken flight  
Has made the sunshine brighter,  
And filled our hearts with light.

shows not only how Stoddard appropriated the exact wording in one line but also how he transformed his source, embroidering it with his fancy and putting the prose into his favorite quatrain. The result is too jingly and too trite to be either very pleasing or good Chinese poetry.

#### 17. " (FROM THE 'SHI KING.')"

For this poem there were at least four possible sources: (1) "The Harmonious Water-birds," in the *Chinese Repository*,<sup>65</sup> (2) a "translation" by Sir John Bowring;<sup>66</sup> (3) "Kwan Ts'eu" by James Legge;<sup>67</sup> and (4) a second version by Legge.<sup>68</sup> Chalmers's "Song of the Ospreys"<sup>69</sup> appeared too late to have influenced Stoddard's version.

Comparison makes it clear that Stoddard's source was the *Chinese Repository*, for there are five almost literal parallels in wording. But it is sufficient to note that only from the *Chinese Repository* could he have learned the term "Hang plant" which he used twice in his poem.

In spite of his word-for-word borrowing of phrases, Stoddard's version is on the whole a very free treatment of his source. He secured brevity by discarding the refrain and the insistent repetition of the Chinese poem but, in so doing, produced a pleasant jingle which conveys the thought of the original but which is entirely different in tone.

<sup>65</sup> *Chinese Repository*, XVI, 455-456 (1846). This was reprinted in Loomis, *Confucius and the Chinese Classics* in 1867.

<sup>66</sup> Sir John Bowring, *Hua Tsien Ki. The Flowery Scroll. A Chinese Novel* (London, 1868). Sir John's version was apparently an adaptation of "The Harmonious Water-birds" rather than a direct translation from the Chinese. Indeed, Chinese was one language which, in spite of pretensions, the learned hymn-writer did not know, and the entire *Flowery Scroll* has been shown to have been translated, not from the Chinese, but from the Dutch. See *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, III, 15 (1869).

<sup>67</sup> *The Chinese Classics* (Worcester, 1866), IV, 2-4.

<sup>68</sup> *The Chinese Classics* (London, 1867-76), III, 59.

<sup>69</sup> *China Review*, II, 49 (1873).

## 18. "SHALL WE, O MASTER"

This poem is not a translation or adaptation of a Chinese poem but the putting into poetic form of two passages from the Confucian *Analects* (*Lun Yu*). There is no difficulty in locating these passages; but it is not easy to discover the particular version used by Stoddard.

The wording is clearly not that of either of the earliest translations,<sup>70</sup> but rather that of the standard translation by Legge.<sup>71</sup> The parallelism is so close that I quote both source and poem:

Ke Loo asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?" Ke Loo added, "I venture to ask about death?" He was answered, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" (*Analects*, XI, 11.)

1. The Master said, "I would prefer not speaking."
2. Tsze-kung said, "If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?"
3. The Master said, "Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?" (*Analects*, XVII, 19.)

"Shall we, O Master," Ke Loo said,  
 "Still serve the spirits of the dead?"  
 "To serve the dead why should we strive,  
 Who could not serve them when alive?"

"Tell me what death is," said Ke Loo.  
 To whom again Confucius saith:  
 "While life we do not, cannot know,  
 What can we hope to know of death?"  
 And further, since he still would seek:  
 "Ke Loo, I do not care to speak."

"If you, the Master, speak not, then,  
 What shall your scholars say to men?"  
 "Does Heaven speak?" the sage replied,  
 And as he spoke his spirit sighed:  
 "The seasons run their endless ways,  
 The days go by with tireless wing,

<sup>70</sup> David Collie, *Four Books* (Malacca, 1828), and Joshua Marshmann, *The Works of Confucius* (Serampore, 1809).

<sup>71</sup> James Legge, *Chinese Classics* (Worcester, 1866).

And all things come in all the days,  
But Heaven—does Heaven say anything?"

The question immediately arises: How did Stoddard happen to associate two such widely separated passages, choosing these and no others from the entire Confucian classics? The most likely answer is that he met both passages in closer contact, possibly in some review, and perhaps with Tsze-Kung's name omitted. Unfortunately, among the many reviews of Legge's translation and articles on Confucius which use his translation, it has not been possible to discover one in which both incidents occur without variation in the spelling of the name Ke Loo. In the absence of further evidence one can only say that Stoddard based his poem on Legge's translation, which he met either in *The Chinese Classics* itself or in some review or article or book which quoted that version.

Stoddard's success, however, is clear, for this poem stands high among his Chinese verses. Not only is its fidelity to the original remarkable considering the fact that prose is being transformed into verse; but the poetic form has been imposed on this prose conversation without destroying either the dignity or the epigrammatic nature of the questions and statements. The form, which is basically iambic four-stress couplets, is new to Stoddard and serves far better than his quatrains could have served. It is strange, perhaps, that he did not return to blank verse; but the couplet form with its rhyme seems to enhance the brevity and pithiness of the conversations, and it is to be doubted whether, in blank verse, he could have achieved the same degree of compactness.

## II

It should be evident from this study that Stoddard was in no sense a translator, but rather an adapter of translations. His interest somehow attracted by Chinese poetry, he went to the two most likely reservoirs of translations, the *Asiatic Journal* and the *Chinese Repository*, and to a novel somehow stumbled upon, and drew from them fifteen versions in English (at least seven of which had reached that language by way of the French) to which he proceeded to give a new, and in most cases an improved, wording and form. To these he added two poems gleaned elsewhere. In addition, inspired by his reading of two Chinese tales, one in prose and

one in verse, and drawing coloring from two standard treatises on China, he produced one original pseudo-Chinese love poem.

These eighteen poems were produced between about 1850 and 1880. Five of them appeared first in periodicals; the others were first published in *Songs of Summer* (1857), *The Book of the East* (1871), and *Poems* (1880). There is unfortunately too little evidence, internal or external, to make possible an accurate chronology of these poems, but such evidence as we possess indicates that the order followed in the 1880 *Poems* is generally that of appearance. Poem No. 3, which was one of the first two to be published and has been shown to have been written before 1855, is actually the second of the "Songs of China." We also know that Nos. 10 and 18 were not completed until after 1871. Furthermore, the fact that three of the five translations from the *Iu Kiao Li* were published in *Hours at Home* only a year before appearing in *The Book of the East*, suggests that these must have been among the last poems translated, just as they are among the last in order.

The accuracy of Stoddard's "translations" of course depended upon the accuracy of his sources and the closeness with which he followed those, rather than upon any matters of scholarship. In his earlier efforts he rarely strayed from the sense or even the wording of his sources, and it was in these poems that he achieved his greatest success. In the later poems a tendency to expand and to wander into new fields affected both the accuracy and the flavor of his attempts. With one exception, however, his "translations" cannot be considered as fundamentally false to the content of their sources.

Stoddard's success in form follows very closely his success in conveying content. The earlier adaptations were in blank verse, notably compact and very close to their originals; the later adaptations, increasingly free and often expanded, were in shorter lines and in stanzas. The result of this later development was most unfortunate, and the poems so treated are mostly jingles which retain little of the spirit of the Chinese. In one or two of the earlier poems, however, he succeeded extraordinarily well in conveying both the form and the spirit of the Chinese.

Considering the fact that Stoddard was in no sense a sinologue, that he made no translation direct from the Chinese, and that he had only a very superficial and bookish knowledge of Chinese life

and culture, he succeeded remarkably well in his "translations" of Chinese poetry. Though this effect was due in large part to Stoddard's faithfulness to literal translations, such poems as Nos. 2, 3, and 18 convey, both in their use of details of Chinese life and in their restraint and sincerity, a feeling that the author has caught the spirit of the original. And in these same poems particularly, Stoddard successfully eliminated, both in wording and in form, the rough crudeness so apparent in his sources.

Therefore, rather than criticize him for his unacknowledged borrowing and his failures, or condemn his work for being second-hand and not showing a profound understanding of either Chinese life or Chinese poetry, let us recognize that Stoddard almost always improved on his sources and that he succeeded, in a few instances, in producing poems which can still be read with pleasure. It may be that, in the long run, Stoddard will be best remembered, not as a writer of original verses, but as the first considerable adapter of Chinese poetry in American literature.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### PROBLEMS CONCERNING FRANKLIN'S "A DIALOGUE BETWEEN BRITAIN, FRANCE, SPAIN, HOLLAND, SAXONY, AND AMERICA"\*

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CONCERNING "A Dialogue between Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Saxony, and America," one of Franklin's short but important Revolutionary-War propaganda pieces, the problems of date, place of composition, and "audience" have not hitherto been satisfactorily solved. The solution of one of these virtually solves the other two. Instead of having been written in 1777, in France, for continental readers, the "Dialogue"—on the basis of all available evidence—was written early in 1775, in England, to influence British public opinion.

All the important editors, biographers, and bibliographers (Sparks, Smyth, Mott and Jorgenson, Parton, McMaster, Van Doren, W. C. Ford, Hays)<sup>1</sup> have followed William Temple Franklin (Franklin's grandson), who apparently first printed the "Dialogue" in 1819 (at least forty years after its composition) with the note that it was "a political squib, written by Dr. Franklin shortly after his arrival in France [December, 1776], as Commissioner

\* Acknowledgments: to the American Philosophical Society, and its Librarian, Miss Laura E. Hanson, for microfilm copies of pertinent materials there; to Professor R. S. Crane for obtaining a photostat copy of the manuscript of the "Dialogue" from the Library of Congress; and to Professor C. H. Faust for valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Jared Sparks, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston, 1840), V, 116; Albert Henry Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York and London, 1907), VII, 82 n. (a letter from Reinier Arrenberg to Franklin, May 24, 1777, used as probable evidence for date by Smyth, *op. cit.*, VII, 82 n., has no bearing on the "Dialogue"); X, 315; Franklin Luther Mott and Chester E. Jorgenson, *Benjamin Franklin, Representative Selections* (New York, Cincinnati, etc., c. 1936), p. 538; James Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, etc., 1864), II, 237; John Bach McMaster, *Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters* (Boston and New York, 1887), pp. 225, 226; Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards, Selections from Their Writings* (New York, etc., c. 1920), pp. xxxii, 127 (Mr. Van Doren's new biography, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1938, contains no mention of the "Dialogue"); Worthington Chauncy Ford (comp.), *List of the Benjamin Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1905), p. 46; I. Minis Hays, *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1908), III, 505.

Plenipotentiary from the United States of America.”<sup>2</sup> Some of the commentators have hazarded the guess that the purpose of the “Dialogue” was to secure arms and ammunition from the continental countries for the use of the rebellious colonies.

All the internal evidence, however (there is no external evidence), points to early 1775—not 1777—as the date, a fact clearly shown when certain significant passages in the “Dialogue” are set against their historical background. Indeed, the whole tone of the work is indicative of its having been composed before the actual outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the Colonies.<sup>3</sup>

1. Britain’s first speech: “My subjects in America are disobedient, and I am about to chastize them.” “About to chastize them” clearly means that no military attempts had yet been made. Yet by 1777, the battles of Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill had been fought; Boston had been evacuated after a year’s siege; Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been captured; Canada had been won from, and later lost to, the British; Charleston, South Carolina, had repulsed a British attack; the Colonials had lost the Battle of Long Island; their forts, Washington and Lee, with heavy losses in men and munitions had been captured, New York was in British possession, and Washington’s army had swiftly retreated across New Jersey to the comparative safety of the west banks of the Delaware; Philadelphia was preparing for a British attack; Washington had written that “the game is pretty near up,” on December 18, 1776; and the following day is dated the first of Thomas Paine’s *Crisis* papers, with its famous beginning: “These are the times that try men’s souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.”<sup>4</sup> Surely Franklin, had he been writing the “Dialogue” in 1777, would not have made Britain say she was *about to chastize* her disobedient subjects in America.

<sup>2</sup> William Temple Franklin, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. V, *Posthumous and Other Writings* (3d ed.; London, 1819), p. 457 n.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the tone of the “Dialogue” with the tone of Franklin’s celebrated letter to William Strahan of July 5, 1775 (Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, 407), his letter to Priestley of July 7, 1775 (*ibid.*, VI, 408), and his letter to Lord Howe of July 30, 1776 (*ibid.*, VI, 459).

<sup>4</sup> See any good general American history; also, *The Writings of George Washington* (Bicentennial ed.), VI, 398; Thomas Paine, *The Crisis*, No. 1; Thomas Pemberton, *Historical Journal of the American War* (under Dec. 15, 1776), in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections* (for 1793), p. 86.

2. The first third of the "Dialogue" centers around Britain's request to Spain, France, and Holland, to refuse to sell *any* (not, any *more*) arms and ammunition to America. The historical evidence is overwhelming that England was making such requests in the opening months of 1775, and that, despite these requests, France, Spain, and Holland supplied the Colonies with huge quantities of war materials even before the actual outbreak of hostilities.<sup>5</sup>

3. "You who have been everywhere vaunting your own Prowess, and defaming the Americans as poltroons! You who have boasted of being able to march over all their Bellies with a single Regiment!"—America to Britain, in the "Dialogue." These statements well describe the situation in England in the first four months of 1775, not afterward. Before the war began, even the friends of the Colonies in England, such as Colonel Barré and Edmund Burke, were convinced that the Colonials could not stand up against the British troops.<sup>6</sup> The friends of Administration were boastful, and stressed the cowardice of the Americans, an attack made memorable by the vicious remarks by Colonel Grant in the House of Commons on February 2, 1775, and by Lord Sandwich in the House of Lords on March 16, 1775.<sup>7</sup> And then came the battles of Lex-

<sup>5</sup> For bibliographical materials, see A. P. C. Griffin's *List of Works Relating to the French Alliance in the American Revolution* (Washington, 1907), and Samuel Flagg Bemis and Grace Gardner Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775-1921* (Washington, 1935), Pt. 1, chap. i, "The Revolution, 1775-1783."

For secondary materials based on primary sources, see Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, c. 1936), chap. ii; John H. Latané, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, revised and enlarged by David W. Wainhouse (Garden City, N. Y., c. 1934); Orlando W. Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder in 1776," *American Historical Review*, XXX, 277, 279 (1924-25); J. Franklin Jameson, "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution," *American Historical Review*, VIII, 683-708 (1903); Friedrich Edler, *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution* ("Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," Vol. XXIX, No. 2, Baltimore, 1911), chap. iii.

For primary sources, see: *Sparks MSS*, Nos. lxi and lxxii (for a guide, see Justin Winsor's *Calendar of the Sparks Manuscripts in Harvard College Library*, Cambridge, Mass., 1889, pp. 51, 52, 68, 69); *Bancroft MSS* at the Lenox Library; W. C. Ford (ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress* (for 1775 and 1776), Vols. II to V, *passim*; Francis Wharton (ed.), *The Revolutionary Correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889), Vol. I, *passim*; B. F. Stevens's *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783* (London, 1889-98), Vols. XIII and XIV; George Grey Butler, *Colonel St. Paul of Ewart, Soldier and Diplomat* (2 vols.; London, 1911), I, 284, 292-293, 305-306; *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard, of South Carolina* (New York, 1884), I, 94, 95; Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, 451, 474, 475, 477; VII, 34; and "Letters of Benjamin Franklin," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XL, 482, 483 (1916).

<sup>6</sup> *The Parliamentary History of England* (for 1771 to 1774), XVII, 1206, 1307, 1315.

<sup>7</sup> *Parliamentary History* (for 1774 to 1777), XVIII, 226, 227, 446, 447; Richard Price's letter to Josiah Quincy, Jr., of April or May, 1775, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts*

ington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. Lecky writes that after the last-mentioned battle "the ignoble taunts which had been directed against the Americans were for ever silenced," and this is in general true, as a wealth of evidence attests.<sup>8</sup> Franklin was in London, and was sometimes present in Parliament<sup>9</sup> or at social gatherings when such charges of cowardice were made. Of one of the latter, Franklin wrote, years later, on August 19, 1784, to William Strahan, from Passy:

The Word *general* puts me in mind of a General, your General Clarke, who had the Folly to say in my hearing at Sir John Pringle's [a London physician; Franklin had not been in London since late March, 1775] that, with a Thousand British grenadiers, he would undertake to go from one end of America to the other, and geld all the Males, partly by force and partly by a little Coaxing. It is plain he took us for a species of Animals very little superior to Brutes. The Parliament too believ'd the stories of another foolish General, I forget his Name, that the Yankeys never *felt bold*. Yankey was understood to be a sort of Yahoo, and the Parliament did not think the Petitions of such Creatures were fit to be received and read in so wise an Assembly.<sup>10</sup>

4. "You who by Fraud have possessed yourself of their strongest Fortress, and all the arms they had stored up in it"—America to Britain, in the "Dialogue." This reference is undoubtedly to Castle William, in Boston Harbor<sup>11</sup>—built and maintained by provincial

*Historical Society*, Ser. 2 (May, 1903), XVII, 287; *London Chronicle* (for Oct. 31-Nov. 2, 1776), XL, 429. For some of the boasts that Britain, with four or five thousand men, would easily conquer the Colonies, see: *Pennsylvania Packet* of June 12, 1775, quoting a London paper of the preceding April 15 (from Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, New York and London, 1860, I, 96); Horace Walpole, *Last Journals*, ed. A. Francis Steuart (New York, 1910), II, 118, 119; Thomas Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, ed. Peter Orlando Hutchinson (London, 1882), I, 461.

<sup>8</sup> William E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (2d ed.; London, 1883), III, 428; *Letters of Hugh, Earl Percy, from Boston and New York, 1774-1776*, ed. Charles Knowles Bolton (Boston, 1902), pp. 52, 53; John Wesley's almost identical letters, on June 15, 1775, to the Earl of Dartmouth and to Lord North, in *The Letters of John Wesley*, ed. John Telford (London, 1931), VI, 155-164; *Correspondence of Ralph Izard*, I, 102; General Gage's letter to Lord Dartmouth, from Boston, June 25, 1775, in *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, ed. Clarence Edwin Carter (New Haven, 1931), I, 407; II, 686; Horace Walpole's letter to Sir Horace Mann, Aug. 3, 1775, in *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1904), IX, 225.

<sup>9</sup> See Franklin's "An Account of Negotiations in London for Effecting a Reconciliation between Great Britain and the American Colonies" (1775) (Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, *passim*.)

<sup>10</sup> Smyth, *op. cit.*, IX, 261.

<sup>11</sup> The only other possibility is Fort Washington, in New York, captured by the British—through a deserter's information—on Nov. 16, 1776. That Franklin's reference is not to Fort Washington is clear from the facts presented in E. F. DeLancey's "Mount Wash-

funds, garrisoned by provincial troops, taken over by the British in 1770 (amid much Colonial protest), frequently mentioned by Franklin in his attempts at reconciliation during the opening months of 1775 in London, and retained in the control of the British until they evacuated Boston, on March 19 and 20, 1776, when they demolished the fortifications and blew up the Castle.<sup>12</sup> Hence, the "Dialogue" must have been written prior to March 20, 1776.

5. "You who have a disciplin'd Army in their Country, intrench'd to the Teeth, and provided with everything."—America to Britain. The "disciplin'd Army" and "intrench'd to the Teeth" undoubtedly refer to the concentration of the British army in Boston, and to the fortifications, including intrenchments, begun at Boston Neck on September 3, 1774, by General Gage, and completed in early October. Numerous protests in the Colonies and in England made them common knowledge.<sup>13</sup>

6. "Do *you* run about begging all Europe not to supply those poor people with a little Powder and Shot?"—America to Britain. England was actually seeking to accomplish this in the winter of 1774 and 1775, in two ways: by publishing warnings in various

ingon and Its Capture on the 16th of November, 1776," *Magazine of American History*, I, 65-90 (1877).

<sup>12</sup> For the Colonial view of the seizure, see *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, ed. Harry Alonzo Cushing (New York and London, 1906), II, 49, 63, 76, 182, 203, 266, 267, 308, and 365; and J. K. Hosmer, *Life of Thomas Hutchinson* (Boston and New York, 1896), pp. 182, 183. For the British view, see *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, I, 263, 271, 299; II, 560, 561, 564; Thomas Hutchinson's *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), III, 122 n., 197, 221-224; and Hutchinson's *Diary and Letters*, I, 27-30.

For Franklin's complete familiarity with the circumstances of Castle William, see *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, II, 49, 182; Franklin's letters, Smyth, *op. cit.*, V, 366, 369; Rule XVIII of the "Rules by Which a Great Empire May be Reduced to a Small One," *ibid.*, VI, 136; Franklin's "An Account of Negotiations in London," etc., *ibid.*, VI, 330, 337, 358, 373, 376.

For the destruction of Castle William by the British, see *General Sir William Howe's Orderly Book at Charlestown, Boston, and Halifax*, ed. Benjamin F. Stevens (London, 1890), p. 319; "Journal of Chief Justice Oliver," in *The Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, II, 47; Abigail Adams to John Adams, *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams, during the Revolution*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (New York, 1876), p. 156; *The Writings of George Washington* (Bicentennial ed.), IV, 424, 425; *Journals of the Continental Congress* (for 1776), IV, 247.

<sup>13</sup> John Boyle, "Journal of Occurrences in Boston, 1759-1778," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXXIV, 379 (1930); *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, I, 377-379; Thomas Newell's "Diary," in Appendix No. 3, Richard Frothingham's *History of the Siege of Boston* (Boston, 1849), p. 364; *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, I, 314; *Journals of the Continental Congress* (for 1774), I, 34, 37, 55-61; *Parliamentary History*, XVIII, 70, 74, 190, 393.

countries to merchants not to ship contraband goods to America, including warlike stores, as they would be seized by British ships, and by having the various governments publish such warnings and see that they were carried into effect.<sup>14</sup> Such British requests were openly discussed in Parliament,<sup>15</sup> the sessions of which Franklin sometimes attended, and he was also on intimate terms with certain members of Parliament and with both the Spanish and the French ambassadors.<sup>16</sup>

7. "Oh! you wicked—Whig—Presbyterian—Serpent!"—Britain's first reply to America, in the "Dialogue." The religion and politics, as well as the bravery, of the Americans were under attack by the Tories in the opening months of 1775, especially by Colonel Grant in the House of Commons on February 2, and by Lord Sandwich in the House of Lords on February 1 and March 16 (Franklin was present at both the Sandwich speeches).<sup>17</sup>

8. America's second speech in the "Dialogue," her own defense, uses the same arguments that were being used by friends of the Colonies on both sides of the water (many of Franklin's other writings are filled with them) until the war began: that America was not planted at British expense; that she was not protected in her infancy by Britain; that she had not refused to join with Britain in the common defense of the nation; that Britain should be content with her monopoly of American commerce. These very same arguments, in the same order, each one expanded to a paragraph, form the subject matter of Franklin's "Vindication and Offer from Congress to Parliament," written sometime before late July, 1775.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "Monthly Intelligence" from London, Nov. 2, 1774, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, I, 47 (Jan., 1775); *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIV, 591 (1774); *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1775, printing from a London dispatch of the preceding Nov. 15; *British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789*, Vol. VII, *France*, Pt. IV, 1745-1789, ed. for the Royal Historical Society by L. G. Wickham Legg, Camden Publications, 3d Series (London, 1934), XLIX, 148, 149; Henri Doniol, *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique—Correspondance Diplomatique et Documents* (Paris, 1886), I, 63; Edler, *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution*, p. 25 (based on the Sparks MSS, CIII, and the Bancroft MSS).

<sup>15</sup> *Parliamentary History*, XVIII, 251, 280, 286.

<sup>16</sup> "Journal of Josiah Quincy, Junior," in Josiah Quincy, *Memoirs of the Life of Josiah Quincy* (Boston, 1825), p. 341.

<sup>17</sup> Bancroft, *History of the United States* (c. 1886), IV, 117, 118, 137, 138; *Parliamentary History*, XVIII, 198-215; Franklin, "An Account of Negotiations in London," etc., Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, 368, 369, 396; Richard Price to Josiah Quincy, Jr., *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, Ser. 2, XVII, 287. Cf. also Franklin's letter to James Bowdoin, Feb. 25, 1775 (Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, 309).

<sup>18</sup> Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, 412-419.

On the other hand, evidence is available that the friends of Administration were making these very charges.<sup>19</sup>

9. The Manuscripts. Footnotes in the manuscripts definitely prove that the "Dialogue" was intended for British readers, and not for French and continental readers. America in the "Dialogue" asserts that "It is not true, that my Country was planted at your expense. Your own Records refute that Falshood to your Face." The two manuscript copies<sup>20</sup> of the "Dialogue" have each a footnote here (which has been omitted from the printed editions by some editors). The earlier draft has: "A Note. \*see the Journals of the House of Commons, 1640, viz. where it is resolv'd that New England has been settled *without any Expense to this Kingdom*." The latter part of this note is crossed out, and in the later manuscript the reference to the House of Commons Journals is made definite, and the entire resolution quoted, beginning: "Whereas the Plantations in New England have, by the Blessing of Almighty God, had good and prosperous Success, *without any Public Charge to this State*," etc. The italicized phrases are in the manuscripts, but no words are italicized in the House of Commons Journal.<sup>21</sup>

All these numerous pieces of evidence, considered also in the light of Franklin's "An Account of Negotiations in London," in which Franklin says that he spent the winter of 1774-1775 conferring with David Barclay, John Fothergill, the Earl of Chatham, and Lord Hyde, and attending the various sessions of Parliament, make convincingly possible the belief that the "Dialogue" was written sometime during the winter or spring of 1775, in London, for British readers, and most probably between March 16, the date of Sandwich's vicious attack on America in the House of Lords, and June 17, the date of the Battle of Bunker Hill, when every hope of reconciliation between America and Great Britain had all but disappeared.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For example, Lord Hyde, in "An Account of Negotiations in London," etc., Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, 391, 392.

<sup>20</sup> One manuscript is in the Library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, and gives evidence of being an early draft; the other is in the Library of Congress, and gives the impression of being a final copy intended for the printer. Neither manuscript has been *exactly* printed by any editor. No evidence has as yet been found to show that the "Dialogue" was published in Franklin's lifetime, or even before its appearance in William Temple Franklin's edition in 1819.

<sup>21</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons, 1640-1642*, under date of March 10, 1642, II, 1002.

<sup>22</sup> Moses Coit Tyler has an excellent paragraph on the "dividing line" in Franklin's

Considered purely as rhetoric, the "Dialogue" offers further evidence of having been intended for British readers only.

In his *Autobiography*, Franklin tells how, as early as the age of sixteen, he had discovered the dialogue form and found it useful for argumentative and propaganda purposes.<sup>23</sup> He had used it successfully to promote the organization of a militia in 1755, in "A Dialogue between X, Y, and Z, concerning the Present State of Affairs in Pennsylvania,"<sup>24</sup> and not quite so successfully to justify the inconsistency of slavery in the American colonies, in "A Conversation between an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an American, on the Subject of Slavery" (1770).<sup>25</sup> It was almost inevitable that he should turn to the form again in seeking to influence British public opinion toward the Colonies, since of such devices as the "Edict" and the "Rules" he had written: "These odd ways of presenting Matters to the publick View sometimes occasion them to be more read, talk'd of, and more attended to."<sup>26</sup>

In "A Dialogue between Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Saxony, and America," Franklin used the familiar "family of nations" idea. The problem of rhetoric here involves two things: the argument and the audience. The argument is developed by having the different speakers stress, at different times, the major or the minor premise of the following unexpressed syllogism: "Rebellious children should not be given aid against their parents; America is a rebellious child; therefore, America should not be given aid." France and Spain deny the truth of the major premise by showing that Britain herself has violated it. With Holland, Britain speciously shifts the argument to one of gratitude, and is answered that accounts are balanced, and that, even if the major premise were true, Holland would not observe it since commercial profit is involved. America's denial of the truth of the minor premise is such that Britain is left virtually speechless. Saxony completes the turning

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writings—those on reconciliation and those on the prosecution of the war—a line of division which falls "across the spring and early summer of 1775" (*Literary History of the American Revolution*, New York and London, 1897, II, 372, 373).

<sup>23</sup> Smyth, *op. cit.*, I, 243-245, 251, 343.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 307-320; cf. also Franklin's comment in the *Autobiography*, I, 407, 414.

<sup>25</sup> A recent attribution to Franklin by Verner W. Crane, "Certain Writings of Benjamin Franklin," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXVIII, 19 (1934).

<sup>26</sup> Letter to Thomas Cushing, Sept. 23, 1773 (Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, 137). Cf. also Franklin's letters to William Franklin of Oct. 6 and Nov. 3, 1773 (*ibid.*, VI, 145, 152, 153).

of the tables by showing that the charge of ingratitude fits not America but Britain.

The audience for which the argument of the "Dialogue" was intended was clearly British. The fact that Spain, France, and Holland were aiding the Colonies would make superfluous an appeal to those countries to grant such aid. Holland's willingness to trade in Hell with the devil on the prospect of gain, and America's confession of having warred against Spain, France, and Holland in the past were not the materials for arguments to conciliate continental opinion and win continental aid. Nor is the "Dialogue" completely an appeal for such aid, since about two thirds of it consists of America's self-justification and of Saxony's attack on Britain. Hence, instead of being a piece of deliberative rhetoric seeking to bring about favorable action on the matter of arms, the "Dialogue" is a combination of deliberative and epideictic or demonstrative rhetoric: epideictic, in blackening the character of Britain by showing her past and present attitude and actions toward France, Spain, Holland, Saxony, and America (the arms appeal is a skilful part of the epideictic process); deliberative, in showing that Britain, to change the unfavorable attitudes towards her, must change her actions. The two types of rhetoric are well brought together in the closing speeches:

*Britain. O Lord! Where are my friends?*

*France, Spain, Holland, and Saxony, all together.* Friends! Believe us, you have none, nor ever will have any, 'till you mend your Manners. How can we, who are your Neighbours, have any regard for you, or expect any Equity from you, should your Power increase, when we see how basely and unjustly you have us'd both your *own Mother* and your *own Children*?<sup>27</sup>

Thus, instead of being a work un-unified rhetorically by containing an appeal to continental countries to sell arms to America and an unrelated attack upon Britain, the "Dialogue" is in reality a skilfully wrought, well-unified piece of writing, seeking through

<sup>27</sup> Historically, the continental countries, especially France and Spain, were exceedingly alarmed at England's power and growth. The works dealing with France and Spain in the American Revolution show how vigilantly these countries were watching for opportunities to humble the British. Warnings of the French and Spanish attitude were given in the House of Commons in 1775 by Captain Luttrell on Feb. 2 and by Lord Irnham on Feb. 6; and in the House of Lords in 1775 by the Earl of Shelburne on Feb. 1, by the Duke of Richmond on Feb. 7, and by Lord Camden on March 12 (*Parliamentary History*, XVIII, 207, 231, 251, 286, 442).

its combination of epideictic and deliberative rhetoric the end desired: the blackening of Britain's character that she may change her ways and mend her manners.

And though the attack on Britain in the "Dialogue" may have seemed to be unduly severe and not likely to aid in attaining the end intended, a change in British policy, Franklin's attitude, as seen from his remarks on the "Edict" and "Rules," was this: "Such papers may seem to have a tendency to increase our divisions; but I intend a contrary effect, and hope by comprising in little room, and setting in a strong light the grievances of the colonies, more attention will be paid to them by our administration, and that when their unreasonableness is generally seen, some of them will be removed to the restoration of harmony between us."<sup>28</sup>

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THE ORIGINAL OF MELVILLE'S APPLE-TREE TABLE

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THE FOLLOWING paragraphs from *Travels in New England and New York*<sup>1</sup> by the Reverend Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, recall at once Herman Melville's short story, "The Apple-Tree Table or Original Spiritual Manifestations,"<sup>2</sup> which was first published in *Putnam's Magazine*:

In September, 1806, I passed through this town [Williamstown] on a journey to Vermont. While I was here, President Fitch shewed me an insect, about an inch in length, of a brown colour, tinged with orange, with two antennae, or feelers, not unlike a rose bug in form, but in every respect handsomer. This insect came out of a tea-table, made of the boards of an apple-tree, and belonging to Mr. Putnam, one of the inhabitants, and a son of the Hon. Major-General Putnam, late of Brooklyn in Connecticut.

I went with President Fitch to Mr. Putnam's, to examine the spot, whence the insect had emerged into light. We measured the cavity; and found it about two inches in length, nearly horizontal, and inclining upward very little, except at the mouth. Between the hole, and the outside of the leaf of the table, there were forty grains of the wood. Presi-

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<sup>28</sup> Letter to William Franklin, Nov. 3, 1773 (Smyth, *op. cit.*, VI, 153).

<sup>1</sup> T. Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (New Haven, 1821), II, 398.

<sup>2</sup> *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, VII, 465-475 (May, 1856). Reprinted in Melville, *The Apple-Tree Table and Other Sketches* (Princeton, 1922).

dent Fitch supposed, with what I thought a moderate estimate, that the saw-mill, and the cabinetmaker, had cut off at least as many as thirteen more: making sixty from the time, when the egg was deposited in it, out of which the insect was produced. How long a period had intervened between the day, in which the apple-tree was cut down, and that, in which the table was purchased by Mr. Putnam, is unknown. It had been in his possession twenty years. Of course, eighty years had elapsed between the laying of the egg, and the birth of the insect.

After its birth, it was placed under a tumbler, and attempts were made, by offering it for sustenance wood of the apple-tree, and bread, to prolong its life. . . .

An independent account of the same occurrence, expanded slightly from a communication to the *Literary and Philosophical Repertory*,<sup>3</sup> is to be found in Field's *History of Berkshire County*:<sup>4</sup>

In 1806, a strong and beautiful *bug* eat out of a table made from an apple-tree, which grew on the farm of Maj. Gen. Putnam, in Brooklyn, Conn., and which was brought to Williamstown when his son, Mr. P. S. Putnam, removed to that town. It was cut down in 1786, sixty-five years after it was transplanted, and if the tree was then fifteen years old, it was 80 years old when cut down. As the *cortical* layers of the *leaf* of the table are about *sixty*, and extend within about *five* of the heart, as the inner ones are quite convex, about fifteen layers have been cut off from the outside. In 1814, a third bug made his way out, the second having appeared two or three years before. The *last* bug came forth from nearest the heart, and 45 cortical layers distant, on the supposition of its age, from the outside. The tree had now been cut down 28 years. Of course, the egg must have been deposited in the wood *seventy-three* years before. This bug eat about three inches along the grain, till it emerged into the light. The eating of the insect was heard for weeks before its appearance. These *facts* were given by Mr. Putnam, in whose possession the table still remains, and were first published in the *Repertory* at Middlebury, Vt., in 1816. One of the bugs, preserved for some time by the Rev. Dr. Fitch, "was about an inch and one fourth long, and one third inch in diameter; colour, dark glistening brown, with tints of yellow." The facts here mentioned are remarkable, but not solitary; several similar cases are recorded. . . .

The article in the *Repertory* was "Remarkable Fact," a communication from Professor Chester Dewey of Williams College,

<sup>3</sup> *Literary and Philosophical Repertory*, II, 378-379 (March, 1816).

<sup>4</sup> D. D. Field (ed.), *A History of Berkshire County, Mass.* (Pittsfield, 1829).

dated November 27, 1815. The following two sentences omitted from the later version give one additional detail: "The table had been used for some years in ironing clothes. Did the heat, thus communicated hatch the eggs, and bring the bugs into life?"

The story was considered of sufficient importance to be reprinted by Barber in his *Massachusetts Historical Collections*<sup>5</sup> and by Professor A. L. Perry in his *Williamstown and Williams College*.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Perry gives a pleasant side light on the story in the following passage:

... the incident excited the interest of one of the most inquisitive and honest minds of the country at the opening of the new century; it brought together again and repeatedly in pleasant curiosity two presidents of colleges, in most respects extremely unlike each other, who had been associated together at Yale in their younger lives, and who seem to have respected each other so long as the older and abler man survived; and it helped to connect for a while in agreeable relations (soon to become hostile) the simple people of Bee Hill with the College, since the Putnams sent for President Fitch so soon as the insect emerged, and also presented him with the remains when life was extinct, and often thereafter opened their doors and exhibited their table to more scholarly and distinguished visitors than had been accustomed to call at the farmhouse.

In his article "Hawthorne and His Mosses,"<sup>7</sup> Melville mentions having read Dwight's *Travels*; but it is also likely that he read Field's *History of Berkshire County*, because he was always interested in Berkshire County affairs. It is difficult to determine which one of these sources Melville utilized. Each has details which he used that do not appear in the others. Dwight and not Dewey refers to the table as a tea table. Dewey and not Dwight mentions that the gnawing of the bugs was heard for several days before the bugs appeared. It is even possible that Melville looked up the article in the *Repertory*, for he mentions the warmth of the atmosphere and hints that it may have had some connection with the hatching of the eggs.

This story affords a fine opportunity to study Melville the literary artist and his use of sources. Melville places the apple-tree table

<sup>5</sup> J. W. Barber, *Massachusetts Historical Collections* (Worcester, 1839), pp. 108-109.

<sup>6</sup> Norwood, 1899, pp. 331-333.

<sup>7</sup> *Literary World*, VII, 125-126, 145-147 (Aug. 17 and 24, 1850). Reprinted in Melville, *Works* (Standard ed.; London, 1924), XIII, 123.

in his own attic and weaves about it an air of mystery. When the gnawing of the bugs is first heard, Melville and his family regard it as the work of some spirit in the table. The fact that he had been reading Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* helped to prepare the way for such a belief. Melville's description of the bug seems to follow that of Dewey. Dewey described it as "dark glistening brown with tints of yellow," and he later referred to it as a "beautiful bug." Melville speaks of it as "sparkling," "shining," and "beautiful." When he places his bug under a tumbler, however, he is following the story as related by Dwight.

In his explanation of the phenomenon Melville follows Dewey's calculations closely; but he adds to the number of years that the eggs must have been in the wood. The following extract gives Melville's explanation:

The incident was not wholly without example. The wood of the table was apple-tree, a sort of tree much fancied by various insects. The bugs had come from eggs laid inside of the bark of the living tree in the orchard. By careful examination of the position of the hole from which the last bug had emerged; in relation to the cortical layers of the slab, and then allowing for the inch and a half along the grain, ere the bug had eaten its way entirely out, and then computing the whole number of cortical layers in the slab, with a reasonable conjecture for the number cut from the outside, it appeared that the egg must have been laid in the tree some ninety years, more or less, before the tree could have been felled. But, between the felling of the tree and the present time, how long might it be? It was a very old-fashioned table. Allow eighty years for the age of the table, which would make one hundred and fifty years that the bug had lain in the egg. Such, at least, was Professor Johnson's computation."

Thus Melville took a familiar story and, to the old set of facts, added the touch of the literary artist.

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#### HAWTHORNE AND THE BRITISH INCOME TAX

LEROY H. BUCKINGHAM

*University of Newark*

A HITHERTO unpublished letter by Hawthorne, now in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> shows him protesting against the payment of the British income tax during his term of service as consul at Liverpool (1853 to

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 41178. The letters here printed were purchased at Puttick's, May 28, 1924.

1857). Its companion letter, from the foreign minister, Lord Clarendon, indicates the seriousness with which the matter was officially regarded.

Hawthorne's letter is addressed to James Buchanan, United States Minister to Great Britain:

U. S. Consulate,  
LIVERPOOL, May 16th 1854.

SIR,

I beg leave to ask your opinion, whether I ought, in justice, to be burthened with the English income-tax on my official emoluments.

As our general government lays no income, or other direct tax, the positions of consuls in the two countries cannot be exactly compared. But I have ascertained that the British consul in Massachusetts pays no poll-tax, nor any tax whatever on his official revenue, whether accruing in the shape of salary, or derived from fees. I presume the case to be the same in all the other States.

You would greatly oblige me by taking such steps as you may deem expedient, in order to put this matter on a proper footing.

Very Respectfully,  
Your obedient Servant,  
NATH' HAWTHORNE.  
U. S. Consul.

His Excellency,  
James Buchanan.

Three days later Lord Clarendon wrote, presumably from his home in Grosvenor Crescent, to James Wilson, Financial Secretary to the Treasury:

Private

G. C.  
May 19/54

MY DEAR WILSON

The enclosed from M<sup>r</sup> Hawthorne (the American Author & Consul at L.pool) was placed in my hands today by M<sup>r</sup> Buchanan—

We have no right whatever to levy Income Tax upon the fees paid by American Citizens to the American Consul & I conclude there must be some error in the matter, but pray cause it to be rectified forthwith or it will add another to the numerous "difficulties" already existing between this Country & the U. S. & wd.

place the maintenance of friendly relations between the 2 Countries in some danger

Very truly yours  
CLARENDON

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SOME NEW LIGHT ON EDWARD EGGLESTON

JAMES A. RAWLEY  
*Columbia University*

THE SIGNIFICANCE of the letter below, which deals with the youth of Edward Eggleston, lies in the fact that it was upon this period that he drew when writing his most characteristic novels. From the letter one conceives something of the environment and the qualities of the youth who was in afterlife to pioneer in the writing of regional literature and what he called "culture history." Many of the facts in the letter, including those concerning the origin of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, have been retold by the author, George Cary Eggleston, in his *First of the Hoosiers* (Philadelphia, 1903) and his *Recollections of a Varied Life* (New York, 1910).<sup>1</sup>

Los ANGELES CAL.  
27 Nov. 1886

MY DEAR RIDEING:—<sup>2</sup>

Your letter came to me just as we were leaving San Francisco for a trip over the railroad system of the state, and now that we are settled here for a few days I will endeavor to answer your inquiries concerning my brother Edward. First as to his address: he lives at Lake George, his post office address being Lake George, Warren County, N. Y., but he was in New York at the date of my latest advices from him, and his address there is 115 East 10th Street. He was uncertain then whether he would continue in N. Y. throughout the winter or make a western trip, but at any rate a letter addressed to 115 East 10th Street would reach him in time. 2nd as to sketches:—the only fairly good one I know of is that by Washington Gladden, published some years ago in *Scribner's Magazine*.<sup>3</sup> It was written comparatively early in E's literary career, but is reason-

<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter is in the possession of the Indiana State Library, and is published with the Library's permission.

<sup>2</sup> The recipient is undoubtedly William H. Rideing, who published *The Boyhood of Famous Authors* (New York, 1887). For his sketch of Eggleston see pp. 52-63.

<sup>3</sup> Washington Gladden, "Edward Eggleston," *Scribner's Monthly*, VI, 561-564 (Sept., 1873).

ably accurate so far as it goes. Finally as to my own reminiscences; I will give you some in an irregular fashion, and you can make such use as you please of the material if it avails you anything.

Our father was a Virginian who went to the west in early manhood & practiced law in Vevay, Indiana. He died at a little over thirty years of age, but in the meantime he had achieved a place among the foremost men at the bar in the west, and had served a term or two in the State Senate. Our mother was the daughter of a Kentuckian who removed to Indiana very early & became the foremost man in his region, where his name—Craig—remains in local geography as that of the township in which he lived, the bar in the river, the landing etc. He was a great planter of orchards and a breeder of new varieties of fruit, many of which still bear his name in that region.

Edward, who is two years my senior, was born in Vevay on the 10th of December, 1837. Our father died when Edward was nine years old, and our mother, who was a woman of unusual ability, culture and courage, brought up a family of four children upon very small means but always in comfort and seemliness of life.

Edward's health was always feeble, and was rendered more so perhaps, by his enormous nervous energy, which spurred him to endeavors for which his physical strength was insufficient. His school attendance was irregular. He would begin a term & after a few weeks break down so completely as to compel his withdrawal. But when the next term began & he returned to school he was always prepared to rejoin his old class or one in advance of it, his studious habits, in the few hours of strength that illness had left him, having enabled him to accomplish quite as much of actual work as the boys who had been in regular attendance all the time. In all intellectual ways he was always the recognized captain of every school he ever attended. Curiously enough he maintained another sort of ascendancy less easily accounted for. We were a robust race of fellows, rough in sport and energetic in all physical ways, and usually we had pity rather than sympathy or respect for physical weaklings; but Edward always commanded the school as of right, on the play ground as well as elsewhere. His word was as nearly law with us as any thing could be among a rather lawless set of rough playing youngsters. He was never thought of as a weakling at all. He was so full of vigor when he had strength for

it that his illnesses were regarded as accidents, & not as characteristics. Above all he was never guilty of the weakness of self pity; he asked no odds of any body on account of his weakness, and he took all his knocks as manfully as the most robust ruffian of us all, never complaining. If he could join in our games he did so on equal terms with the rest of us; if he was too ill to do so, he simply held aloof, saying nothing about it. But the peculiar regard in which he was held by his companions and the undisputed command he exercised upon occasion, were due in large part to two facts, first that we all recognized him as our superior in knowledge, culture, & ability, and secondly that we knew him to be perfectly just and fair in all judgments, and absolutely without fear or favor. He commanded willing subjects because his rule was known & *felt* to be fairest & best for all and absolutely unselfish. He did not command in fact, as a rule; he simply expressed his opinion & urged the course of action that seemed to him right, or decided points referred to him; but his word was in effect law, all the same. If a disputed point arose in a game his decision was final, whether for or against his own side.

I have said that he was absolutely unselfish; he is so still, and I could tell you a notable incident of his later life in illustration of the point if it were not the secret of other men, which I am not at liberty to reveal. But of his boyish unselfishness I may write more freely. I remember one instance very vividly. Edward had been absent, in Virginia, for a year, and was much less strong than I supposed, on his return. One afternoon he and I were swimming in the Ohio river, which I had often swum across in mere wantonness. I think I could have rivalled Franklin's feat of swimming ten miles at a stretch without weariness, and, without a thought of Edward's lack of strength, I struck out with him toward the middle of the river. After a while he discovered how far we were from the shore and turned his face toward the land, telling me he could go no further without exhaustion. We had not swum far toward shore when the exhaustion came to him, suddenly & completely depriving him of all power to swim. He remained perfectly cool, telling me that he could never swim to the shore. I directed him to place one hand on my shoulder and to let me "tow" him. Thus he did, but, observing the great decrease in my speed which resulted from the addition of his bulk to mine, he conceived the no-

tion that his weight was too much for me, and that there was danger of exhausting and drowning me; he deliberately determined to sacrifice himself and drown at once rather than risk the loss of my life. He informed me of this resolution and was about to carry it into effect, but I managed to convince him that his notion was utter nonsense, and, that while I could not swim so fast when towing him as when swimming without a burden, I could easily "tow" him twice across the river. I remember still what a revelation of his great unselfishness I received out there in the river that day, and so great was the impression made upon me as he briefly explained his reason for deliberately suffering him self to drown, and sought to say good bye to me, that when I am troubled in my sleep even to this day, the scene comes back to me and I look into his eyes with terror at the thought of his sinking to rise no more.

This is but one instance; his whole life has been governed by an unfaltering desire and purpose to do the right at whatever cost to him self, and I think I judge perfectly fairly when I say that he is absolutely the most unselfish and the most righteous man—using the word righteous in the true sense—whom I have ever known. His life has been full of unselfish and secret generosity—the generosity that does and forgets the doing.

As a boy Edward was a voracious and well-nigh an omnivorous reader. We both read Pope and the old dramatists and a deal of history, but he read Charles Lamb to tatters, and rejoiced in Emerson and Theodore Parker at an age at which boys usually have not yet awakened to the smallest appreciation of philosophical writings.

We were great tramps in those days. Sometimes we spent days tramping over the hills in mere wantonness of boyish vigor, reveling in the beauties of woodland and the glories of the landscapes spread out before us from the hill tops, with the silvery river running like a ribbon through them; sometimes we made long journeys with a set purpose. On other occasions we followed a plan of Edward's devising, which was designed to economize strength and to secure the best results of exertion. He had observed that while rest is necessary in cases of prolonged effort, long rests stiffen the muscles and render exertion difficult. He, therefore, determined after experiment, that we should walk steadily for ten minutes, and then rest for three, and this we did, frequently for an entire day, from daylight until dark, without apparent hurt even to him. As

for me, my physical strength was so great & my vitality so super-abundant that the rests were, I think, wholly unnecessary to me. At one time we became greatly interested in geology; that is to say Edward became interested in it and I followed his lead, highly enjoying the geologizing expeditions, and letting him do whatever study of books there was to do. I keenly relished that part of geological study which consisted of climbing hills or hanging over precipices to knock out trilobites from the rocks; but I was content to take his word for the history of trilobites and of the rocks among which we found them.

But I have already given you more of personal reminiscence than you will be able to use. Possibly you may find a use for some parts of it; at any rate what I have written will give you insight into the character of your subject and will show you the kind of life he led in youth. For the rest you will easily find public record of his public life, and he will himself give you any dates you may wish. Let me add one reminiscence, as to the origin of the Hoosier Schoolmaster, the work which has been more widely read than any other of his writings, though it is not by any means his best work even of its class. In the autumn of 1871 he and I were for the first time associated in our work, as editors of *Hearth & Home*. The paper was in a languishing condition when we took control, and we were both engaged in a diligent study of ways & means for making it prosper. One evening he came to my house and said:—“Geordie, I’ve a notion to try my hand at a story, founding it upon your (my) experiences as a teacher on Riker’s Ridge, and calling it *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*.” The experience referred to was a brief & stormy one of my own in a rude neighborhood in Indiana, when I was but sixteen years old, and Edward’s first idea was, I think, to follow it pretty closely, so far as the actual school scenes were concerned; but he was by nature too true an artist to adhere to that photographic plan, and when he got actually at work he created every thing. The story bears no trace of the original on which he at first intended to found it, except perhaps that “Shocky” was vaguely suggested to him by what I had told him of a queerly interesting little fellow in my school. There is no close resemblance, & Shocky is as distinct a creation as any other, but the actual suggested the ideal boy in a general way. The Hoosier Schoolmaster was printed as fast as it was written, & I think even Edward had

only the most general notion of what it was to be until it was done. Its success was remarkable even from the publication of the first instalment. The circulation of the paper increased enormously, and the story was reprinted, by permission, in a score or more of Western papers. When the story came out in book form its sale was phenomenal in rapidity and soon approached 50000 copies. Even now after 15 years it sells every year as well as a successful new novel. The secret, I think, is, that it is a genuine, honest, & successful attempt to reflect a phase of the actual life of the real American people as they are (or were) and not, as a novelist would like to have them. It is realistic fiction, dealing with the common people & not with "society" apes & watering place women.

It grows late. Good night. Tell Edward I said to write to him, & you will need no further introduction; or say I told you to say that I hereby introduce you.

Sincerely yours

GEORGE CARY EGGLESTON.

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#### ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized, through the year 1940, a joint-subscription rate of \$7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature*. All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of \$2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

A Critical Study of W. C. Brownell. Harry Modean Campbell (Vanderbilt).

The Critical Writings of John Burroughs. B. F. Farrar (North Carolina).

Carlyle and Emerson on Great Men. Joseph E. Baker (Iowa).

Emerson as an American. Ernest L. Sandeen (Iowa).

Emerson and Dr. Channing. Lenthiel H. Downs (Iowa).

The Contribution of B. O. Flower and the *Arena* to Critical Thought in America. David A. Dickason (Ohio State).

The Life and Works of William Preston Johnston. A. Marvin Shaw, Jr. (Louisiana).

Herman Melville's *The Confidence-Man*. Elizabeth Foster (Yale).

The Life and Writings of Percival Pollard. George Hummer (New York).

A Critical Study of the Romances and Novels of William Gilmore Simms. Floyd Harrison Deen (Indiana).

### II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

American Authors and the Lyceum. Samuel Boyd Stewart (Vanderbilt).

The American Realistic Theater of the Late Nineteenth Century. Jonathan W. Curvin (Cornell).

Criticisms of American Writings in British Periodicals, 1851-1870. (Change of dates from those in previously listed topic.) H. G. Kincheloe (Duke).

Feminism in American Literature since 1800. Guest Boyd (Wisconsin).

The Influence of Freud on the Autobiographical Novel, 1920-1935. Ruel Elton Foster (Vanderbilt).

Literary Periodicals in Chicago. William H. Riback (Northwestern).

Literary Taste and Culture in Early Washington, D. C. Emmet Walsh (Catholic).

Nineteenth-Century American Shakespearean Criticism. John W. Ashton (Iowa).

The Relation between American Literature and American History. Alexander C. Kern (Iowa).

Sentimentalism in American Periodicals, 1741-1800. Mildred D. Doyle (New York).

The *Southern Literary Messenger*. David K. Jackson (Duke).

A Study of Missouri Writers. Elijah L. Jacobs (Southern California).

Ten American Critics of Shakespeare. Bernard Wirth (Wisconsin).

Ten Spokesmen of Progress in Nineteenth-Century America. James O'Donnell (Wisconsin).

The Theory of the Novel in America before 1870. L. P. Leland (Ohio State).

Traditional and Folk Songs in Ohio. H. L. Ridenour (Western Reserve).

The Vogue and Influence of Richardson in American Fiction to 1900. Reginald Watters (Wisconsin).

### III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

The Autobiography of William J. Grayson, Edited, with an Introduction. Robert Duncan Bass (South Carolina, 1933).

A Bibliography of Controversial Literature Published in the American Revolutionary Period, 1750-1785, Found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Glenn L. Bushey (Temple).

The Business Man in the American Novel, 1865-1903. Edward E. Cassady (California).

The Contribution of Catholic Women to Catholic Thought in the Catholic Literary Periodicals of the United States in the Nineteenth Century. Mary A. McInnis (Boston College).

Emerson and the Conduct of Life: The Early Adult Years. John Paul Abbott (Iowa).

Emerson's Theory of Poetry. Charles Howell Foster (Iowa).

Franklin and Sectarianism. Arthur Stuart Pitt (Yale).

The Frontier Theater in Kansas City, Missouri, before 1900. Louise Jean Rietz (Iowa, Speech and Dramatic Art).

The Gothic Fiction in the American Magazines, 1765-1800. Sister M. Mauritia Redden (Catholic).

The Hawthorne Problem: Another View. Horace C. Terrell (Washington, Seattle).

Indian Place Names in Mississippi. Lea L. Seale (Louisiana).

John Dickinson, Penman of the American Revolution. John H. Powell. (Iowa, History, 1938).

Journalistic Dramatic Criticism: A Survey of Theater Reviews in New York, 1857-1927. Louise A. Blymyer (Louisiana).

The Literary, Political, and Social Theories of Washington Irving. P. K. McCarter (Wisconsin).

Literary References in New England Diaries, 1700-1750. E. A. Evans (Harvard).

Matthew Arnold's "Sweetness and Light" in America, 1848-1938. Seymour G. Link (George Peabody).

The Mind and Art of John Lothrop Motley. Bradford T. Schantz (Wisconsin).

The Negro in American Drama. Hilda J. Lawson (Illinois).

The Plays of Eugene O'Neill: A Psychological Analysis. Vera T. Hahn (Louisiana).

The Proletarian Novel in America. John S. Bowman (Pennsylvania State).

Richard Hovey's Poetry in Its Relation to Certain Dominant Tendencies of the 1890's. Katharine C. Turner (Michigan).

Symbolism and Allegory in the Writing of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Merlin L. Neff (Washington, Seattle).

A Study of Irony in the Plays of Maxwell Anderson. Albert O. Mitchell (Wisconsin).

A Technical Analysis of Hawthorne's Style. Rose E. Weiffenbach (Boston).

Terror in American Prose Fiction Prior to 1830. Marion Payzart Hardman (Minnesota).

The Works of Henry Blake Fuller. Georgia G. Winn (Pittsburgh).

**IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:**

Charles Brockden Brown. William H. Riback (Northwestern).

Hawthorne's Culture. Dorothy B. Cutler (Yale).

The Prosody of Emily Dickinson. Helen R. Adams (Pennsylvania).

William Winter. George Kummer (New York).

The Transition to Realism in American Literature. Frederick Abbuhl (Columbia).

**V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:**

Mr. Herbert Greenberg of 3051 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, is writing a critical and biographical study of Donn Byrne, and Dr. Winthrop Wetherbee, Jr., 24 School St., Boston, is preparing a biography of Donn Byrne.

Harry H. Ranson (University of Texas) is working on "Copyright and Professional Authorship in America."

*University of North Carolina, GREGORY PAINE, Bibliographer.  
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

STUDIES IN LITERARY TYPES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AMERICA (1607-1710). In Two Parts. By Josephine K. Piercy. Yale Studies in English, Vol. XCI. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. xvi, 360 pp. \$3.50.

This book, derived from a doctoral dissertation submitted in 1937, purports to be "a critical analysis of prose writings to determine what forms of literature were established in America before 1710," the date of Cotton Mather's *Essays to Do Good*. Part I is actually a Cook's Tour of the shorter prose writings of the period in terms of the author's concept of the "essay," that literary type which is probably the most elusive of all recognized genres. Part II consists of brief chapters on possible European models, seventeenth-century prose style, and the classical inheritance, together with a conclusion. An eighty-one-page appendix re-prints twenty-nine representative pieces of prose, largely from the almanacs. The subject is attractive, and the author has read a goodly number of books not readily available. The result, however, is disappointing. Uncertainties of purpose and of method—vestiges, perhaps, of the dissertation-writing process—make the study much less of a contribution than it might have been to our knowledge of seventeenth-century American literature.

In the Preface, Miss Piercy states that she has not tried "to gather material for the history of America," and that she realizes that *belles-lettres* were largely lacking in the period of her investigation. Yet two of her strongest chapters—that on the scientific essay and that on dedications, prefaces, and introductions—are plainly historical in nature, despite occasional gestures toward literary matters. Moreover, a distinction between the "literature of knowledge" and the "literature of power" is made at the very beginning, after which Miss Piercy again and again points out what she calls the "creative," "subjective," or "personal" element in the material under consideration, implying clearly that where that element appears one may observe genuine literary charm. In other words, the author makes use of both of the points of view which she specifically disclaims: that of the historian and that of the defensive critic. The latter attitude is especially prevalent, as the concluding paragraph reveals:

. . . though the period of American literature from 1607-1710 [sic] may have failed to produce literature that may be called "great"; though it may be said, in fact, to be practically devoid of the happy spirit that is the inspiration of *belles-lettres*, it did establish a worthy background for later, more sophisticated literature. Our early literature, produced in

a difficult period of settlement, might justifiably have been an unadorned and dutiful record of facts, a "literature of knowledge." But, instead, it was touched by the personal interpretations which lifted it, however naively, into the "literature of power." It had a literary consciousness manifest in its active interest in the world of men and of God, and in its recognition of certain established literary forms. It was perhaps fortunate that the beginnings of our prose occurred simultaneously with the greatest prose period of England, and that, although we had no John Milton or Jeremy Taylor, we were influenced like them by stern moral codes, strict mental discipline, and respect for the past. .

That passage, particularly the last sentence, means very little to the present reviewer, nor does he see its relevance to a study of literary types.

One clause in the chapter on Cotton Mather hints, perhaps, at the weakness of the approach. "His work other than the diary," Miss Piercy writes, "is more *amenable* to literary types," a manner of phrasing which suggests that the author was working with preconceptions, measuring seventeenth-century writings in terms of some notion of the "essay." The well-nigh indeterminable meaning of that term has a good deal to do with her finding some seventeenth-century literature intractable. Some years ago, in an admirably lucid article on "The Field of the *Essay*" (*PMLA*, XXXVI, 551-564), Mr. Charles E. Whitmore pointed out that because of the difficulty of definition "studies of the essay either include so much as to be very indefinite, or else are based on partial views, the upshot, in either case, becoming sufficiently vague." Miss Piercy's troubles arise in large part, apparently, from partial views; despite a good deal of discussion of the "essay" (cf. pp. 27, 33 n., 34, 147, 157, 176, and 197), there is no clear indication of the criteria by which she distinguishes the variations within the type. She appears, however, to use "essay" most readily to describe the informal, personal variety, and is always alert to perceive and to praise writing which has personal content or an egoistic point of view.

In a number of places, moreover, Miss Piercy's investigations do not seem to have gone far enough. Her analysis of that type which she calls the "Pamphlet of Newes" must suffice as an example, although the treatment of the almanac and the sermon are open to the same kind of criticism. Miss Piercy observes in the travel accounts a remarkable similarity of outline: they begin with a geographical description, then describe the commodities of the new world (earth, air, water, fire), then turn to its natural resources (trees, fruits, birds, beasts), then deal with its natural inhabitants, the aborigines, concluding ordinarily with a plea for colonization. This structural likeness shows, Miss Piercy says, that the colonists were following established modes, and she quotes Edward Leigh's "Hints for Travellers," from *Three Diations* (London, 1671), as an illustration of the wonted order of detail in travel books. The pattern she describes, however, may be observed even more clearly in the writings of Albertus

Magnus, since it is, roughly, that of the Scholastic approach to the study of physical science. Nor is it the only pattern which helped determine the form of American travel books. Mr. Fulmer Mood has suggested that John Josselyn's *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (London, 1674) follows closely the plan proposed by the Royal Society of London in their "Directions for Seamen" (*Philosophical Transactions*, Jan. 8, 1665/6). Doubtless other patterns would appear to the investigator who gave this problem of form his continued attention; the subject, in fact, is almost enough for a book by itself.

The chief virtue of Miss Piercy's work is the spirit in which she approaches her material. She writes as if she were discovering seventeenth-century literature, in the way that the early voyagers discovered America. Her pleasure in what she has found is evident and delightful. Enthusiasm and freshness are not qualities to be lightly dismissed, and it is unfortunate that in this case they are not supported by greater clarity of purpose and of method, and by more intensive analysis of the problems raised.

*The University of Texas.*

THEODORE HORNBERGER.

TUDOR PURITANISM: *A Chapter in the History of Idealism*. By M. M. Knappen. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1939. xii, 555 pp. \$4.00.

The roots of American Puritanism, we now realize, reach far back into the past. We can no longer begin to study the literature of early New England with the landing of Pilgrims and Puritans, but must see it as the product of many centuries of Christian thinking and the outcome of a particular century of intense cultivation. Mr. Knappen's work is welcome to the student of American literature as providing the most compact, readable, and complete survey of Puritanism in England from the time of Tyndal to the death of Elizabeth.

At one point Mr. Knappen announces as the general thesis of his work that Tudor Puritanism was an intensification of medieval attitudes rather than an attack upon them. Many recent studies have underlined this moral, which is here made more explicit; accordingly, the book supplies a valuable corrective to the efforts recently made by what Mr. Knappen terms "S. E. Morison and his Harvard group" to reconcile Puritanism with modern academic liberalism. But Mr. Knappen has other theses as well. He subtitles his book "a chapter in the history of idealism," and his preface asserts that by "idealism" he means "a powerful social force, comparable to race, nationalism, and class." We gather that idealism in this connection is roughly some sort of ethical devotion

—“actions done without hope of immediate tangible reward, attitudes in which the interests of others bulk large.” Puritanism, according to Mr. Knappen, was the “best” idealism of its day, and he admires it in so far as it was idealistic, though being an idealist himself he will lean over backward to admit everything that can be said against it.

Mr. Knappen publicly proclaims his bias in order to put his readers on guard against him, and we could not object to this candor if he stopped then and there and got on with his story. The reader whose ardor for idealism is less than his own will be disturbed to find throughout the narrative that this thesis, rather than that of persistent medievalism, receives the major emphasis. Puritanism is spoken of as “organized idealism,” and as such becomes the object of charges similar to those of one idealist against another rather than of the judgments of a historian. To take but one instance out of many, on p. 185 Mr. Knappen concludes his chapter on the Elizabethan settlement by pointing out that here the Puritans commenced their long and costly war against the Established Church. But this, he insists, was not the only alternative: the Church of Rome was mending its ways, Papal bastards no longer ruled Italian states, and had Protestants “consented to co-operate,” further “liberalism” might have been introduced into the Church. Certainly, he declares, they had more to gain from an alliance with Roman Catholics than with the hard-swearing Elizabeth. He admits that it might be asking too much of human nature for Catholics and Puritans suddenly to embrace in 1558, but the leaders of both parties were of “the intelligentsia” and professed to love their enemies; secular politicians can forget past battle-fields in new alliances, according to expediency, and “it is regrettable that the godly are so seldom wise as serpents.”

No doubt it is regrettable, but the point about the godly is that they are godly. As a comment upon the Reformation, particularly as a reflection upon Puritanism, I find this passage puzzling and irrelevant; to my ears it sounds strangely aloof, as though delivered in a non-historical void, and serenely oblivious of the inward meaning of a vehement and embattled creed. The peace of the world assuredly would have been augmented had all Protestants in 1558 returned to the Roman allegiance, but today it is startling to find anyone who argues that they might have or could have done so. Indeed, the most disturbing quality of Mr. Knappen’s whole discussion, coming from one who professes a fundamental sympathy with Puritanism, is his constant air of condescension to his material, his assumption of a lofty and detached complacency, as though the Puritans were well-meaning men who knew not quite what they were doing and only occasionally deserve a commendatory pat on the shoulder. He calmly remarks, for example, that John Calvin

"had a mind that was good, but not too good," declares that "he had the salesman's gifts of absolute confidence in his product," and caps this bizarre tribute with the amazing understatement that to these qualities Calvin "added some sense of political realities"! The style is often wooden and stilted—as when we are told that by putting responsibility upon laymen the Reformed churches became "such efficient instruments for the inculcation of religious attitudes"—and it is not relieved by Mr. Knappen's injection of incongruous modern phrases—such as, that Elizabeth feared "leftist inclinations," that the liberalism of Puritanism does not "come up to modern standards in these fields," that Zwingli "had taken an ascetic line from the start," or such a phrase as "the religio-political landscape." If the reader arrives at any sense of the living spirit of Puritanism, or at any vivid comprehension of the Puritan mind, it is only by overcoming these obstacles; and on some points, particularly the meaning of a few conventional theological terms and the characterization of Ramus's logic as wholly "negative and destructive," I am sure that Mr. Knappen is wrong. He frequently insists that Puritanism of the late sixteenth century was lacking in "leadership," yet within the last year Professor Haller, in *The Rise of Puritanism*, has called the roll of what he has rightly termed the "spiritual brotherhood," the great pastors and magnificent preachers of Elizabethan England, and made their thoughts come to life once more, has interpreted them, we might say, from the inside. The effectiveness of their leadership becomes more evident when viewed from that vantage point, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Knappen's learned and accurate survey did not profit from a similar reading of Puritan writings first of all as writings by Puritans rather than as materials for a chapter in the history of idealism.

*Harvard University.*

PERRY MILLER.

AMERICAN FICTION, 1774-1850: *A Contribution toward a Bibliography.*

By Lyle H. Wright. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1939.  
xviii, 246 pp. \$3.50.

For the student of American literature this is easily one of the most useful books to appear in 1939. No scholar or collector who has anything to do with the first three-quarter century of our fiction can afford to be without it. It supersedes the bibliographies of Wegelin, Loshe, Griswold, and others in scope, accuracy, and fulness. It lists some fourteen hundred different prose tales, novels, romances, and novelettes published in this country by native authors and by foreign-born writers of fiction who claimed the United States as their home. The various editions which appeared before 1850 bring the total number of entries well up to twenty-two hundred.

Dr. Wright has followed the plan of entering the books by authors' names alphabetically. It would have been more helpful to arrange them in chronological order, though the uncertainty about some dates would have made this undertaking hazardous. A book is listed by title only when the author is not known. It might have helped to differentiate anonymous titles from authors' names if a different style of type had been used for them. One difficulty the compiler has overcome surprisingly well by examining personally most of the books in his list; namely, that of distinguishing such things as borderline essays, fictitious biographies, and metrical romances from the generally accepted forms of fiction.

Although the primary purpose of the book is to serve as a guide rather than as an exhaustive bibliography, it is surprisingly informative. It gives the number of pages of each book, indicates whether it is illustrated, states the size of format, names publisher, place, and date of publication, and the locale and date of the story. It further indicates in which of nineteen libraries located in different sections of the country a given book may be found. Whenever a book comprises several short tales, the title of each is listed. Of material aid in running down names are the cross-references and the title index. The Appendix lists titles not definitely assigned. Great strides have been made in identifying authors of anonymous works of fiction, but some sleuthing remains for the future. From time to time additional titles will come to light, and it is possible that careful comparison may establish identical content for still others which bear a later title different from an earlier one.

Dr. Wright has wisely omitted from his list juvenile books, jestbooks, periodicals, and the like, although here, again, it is sometimes difficult to draw the line. For instance, *Amelia; or, The Faithless Briton* is included, although it first appeared in the *Columbian Magazine*, while Whitman's *Franklin Evans* is conspicuous by its absence because it appeared in the *New World*. Again, Willis's *Inklings of Adventure* is included, but his better-known *Pencillings by the Way* is omitted. But this seems like caviling, when so much has been accomplished.

Whoever compares this book with the histories of American fiction by Quinn and Van Doren will be struck by the large proportion, about two thirds of the entries, of works under a hundred pages in length. He will observe, further, that minor novelists wrote the bulk of the novels here represented. The works of T. S. Arthur, Charles E. Averill, M. M. Ballou, Benjamin Barker, Emerson Bennett, Osgood Bradbury, Charles Burdett, Newton M. Curtis, Anna Dorsey, Harry Halyard, H. W. Herbert, Joseph Holt Ingraham, Edward C. Judson, Mrs. Hannah Lee, George Lippard, Lucius M. Sargent, and Mrs. E. D. E. N. South-

worth constitute perhaps half of the list. We know very little about these writers, but as Dr. Wright has pointed out in a statistical survey (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, II, 309-318, April, 1939), they cannot be dismissed by the social historian.

This work, then, is heartily welcome to the student of American fiction. It needs to be extended and supplemented as new information comes in, but scholars may busy themselves also with the riches now placed before them.

*Southern Methodist University.*

ERNEST E. LEISY.

YOUNG LONGFELLOW (1807-1843). By Lawrence Thompson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1938. xxv, 443 pp. \$4.50.

Mr. Thompson was right when he returned, upon Mr. Rusk's advice, to Craigie House after an unpromising first visit. One can hardly blame him for being disappointed. Only recently Mr. Hatfield had worked over the Longfellow manuscripts and had produced a valuable study of the poet's life. Presumably he had done whatever job there was to be done. Besides, the Longfellow family was reluctant to allow the publication of many personal papers, however much they had already been misquoted in print. But in spite of these obstacles, Mr. Thompson's second and succeeding trips resulted in a book which needed to be written. It removes some of the bearded dignity with which Samuel Longfellow endowed the poet, and substitutes a confused and romantic young man with a gift for song. The result neither enhances nor detracts from the generally accepted estimate of man or poet. Rather, by shifting emphasis from the years of calm to the years of storm, it furnishes biographical reasons for many characteristics which were heretofore obvious but not fully explained.

Mr. Thompson carries on the work begun by Mr. Hatfield in re-studying the original manuscripts as a corrective to the editing of the poet's brother. Samuel's massive and stodgy biography has been accepted as authoritative for too many years. Nineteenth-century standards of editorial workmanship allowed too great freedom in excising and revising texts, of which the biographer made generous use. Furthermore, a family biography, particularly of that generation, invariably paints a portrait for the drawing-room wall rather than for the historical society or the literary workshop. What Stanley Williams has done in full to Pierre Irving, Lawrence Thompson has done in part to Samuel Longfellow.

The book is divided into two sections, narrative and notes, the former apparently designed to meet the needs of the general reader, the latter for the scholar. The division is ingenious, though both parts suffer. The narrative at times runs a little thin because it lacks the full interpretive

criticism which is buried in the notes, and the notes are less factual, more critical, than is usually the case in works of this kind. Some notes, like those on Julia Persiani, the inspiration for *Hyperion*, and the Bowdoin appointment, are really essays in specialized scholarship and are far more interesting to the careful reader than are the narrative texts based upon them.

Mr. Thompson's central thesis is clearly defined and fully discussed in both notes and text, although in the former it is more convincing: "Despite his vague gropings, he had not yet (1840) worked out any practical way of living which answered his needs; instead he wavered between a longing to live bravely in the present and a longing to live peacefully in a sweet realm of visions" (p. 306). This conflict is developed through his aimless wanderings in Europe (which Samuel Longfellow represented in the way that the poet and his father had intended them, as years of study), his romantic and sentimental loves, his effort to reconcile himself first to law and then to teaching, and the strong influence of Irving, Byron, and Goethe upon him. "A Psalm of Life" in this context becomes not an assertion of faith by a man of satisfied action, but the cry of a confused youth enmeshed in his own doubts and romantic desires. The proofs are conclusive, and the critical deductions from the facts enlightening. Longfellow, in Mr. Thompson's hands, becomes more likable and understandable because he seems more human.

The reader can only regret with the biographer that the typical family refusal to allow publication of evidence which could only add to the poet's reputation has prevented him from documenting some of his statements. When the facts of an author's life have been fully discussed, it is only fair to allow him to speak for himself. The public invariably draws from such secretiveness inferences far beyond any possible evidence, and the resultant image is distorted. But families seem to act in this way by the force of their very nature. The disclosure of Wordsworth's romantic youth has made *The Prelude* infinitely richer in meaning; the gradual unfolding of Henry Adams's mental conflict is making certain of the place *The Education* will take as one of the world's great books; Longfellow's uncertainties in youth, when more fully understood, will make his attainment of calm a triumph of his spirit rather than a passive stolidity. The most popular poet of his day has lost his contact with the present because living men can obtain guidance only through an understanding of struggle. When his custodians allow him to be revealed as a human, confused soul that found some sort of answer to his perplexities, those who are still struggling will turn to him with renewed and vital interest. Not until then can he find his rightful place in our living literature, whatever that place may eventually be.

*Swarthmore College.*

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

LETTERS OF HENRY ADAMS (1892-1918). Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. x, 672 pp.

The second volume of the *Letters of Henry Adams* has now been out for more than a year and has been widely reviewed. The first volume stopped short in 1892 when Adams was in the South Seas with La Farge; this one picks up the story at that point and carries it down to within a few months of his death in April, 1918. Timed for the centennial of his birth, it therefore appears at a suitable interval after his death and provides source material for a more careful review of the latter part of his life.

The letters themselves were collected from a variety of sources. Those to Hay had been reclaimed by Adams himself, but most of the others were acquired by Mr. Ford from their recipients. The most valuable collections are those to Mrs. Don Cameron and Charles Milnes Gaskell, friends to whom Adams wrote regularly and intimately during the entire period, but the shorter series to Brooks Adams, Henry James, Henry O. Taylor, Cecil Spring-Rice, Mrs. Winthrop Chanler, and William Roscoe Thayer are almost equally revealing and might have been lost had their collection been much longer delayed. Unfortunately absent from the list are Clarence King, John La Farge, Augustus St. Gaudens, and Whitelaw Reid, men with whom Adams undoubtedly corresponded frequently during these years. But we should be grateful to Mr. Ford for what we have rather than too regretful for what he failed to obtain for us.

The general impression created by these letters is not very different from that which Adams himself gave us in *The Education*. Their point of view is intensely personal, detached and disillusioned, yet there is hardly a letter which is not shrewd in its wisdom and airy in its wit, from the matter-of-fact attitude toward Lodge to the cryptic joshing of the letters to Roosevelt. There are many bright spots in these pages, but these were not happy years, especially at their start and finish. Framed between the death of his wife and his own decline, this period, which produced his most significant writing, brought him little personal happiness. If anything, the reader is impressed by an even more profound dejection and despair than is to be found in *The Education*. The friendship of his peers and the adoration of his nieces buoyed him over the deeper waters, while his philosophical fatalism created in his inner consciousness a sort of mystic quietism. At the end he presented a portrait of inward calm while his spoken word brought little hope for civilization or the destiny of man. The paradox of the Virgin and the Dynamo remains unresolved.

As in the first volume, Mr. Ford has selected and cut from his mate-

rial according to his own judgment, even to printing rejected letters in his footnotes. Omissions are indicated and usually occur when mention of private thoughts and feelings is suggested by the context. The notes are otherwise restricted to supplying the full names and dates of persons mentioned in the text.

There is no question as to the editor's care and competence in his task. As a distinguished historian, he may be relied upon for his accuracy and thoroughness in terms of his own conception of his task. But the omissions are disturbing to one who thinks of Adams as a literary man rather than as an historian. The only question one might raise is whether too much preference has not been given to passages of historical and political, too little to those of personal, philosophical, and literary interest. One would expect to find much talk of national and international affairs in letters to Hay, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Henry Cabot Lodge, and even to Taylor, Gaskell, and Sir Robert Cunliffe; but when political gossip and questions of empire fill the pages sent to Mrs. Cameron, the woman who apparently was in closest sympathy with him during these years, one wonders how much has been omitted, and whether the omissions were all necessary. As the wife of a senator, she might be expected to share with him ringside seats in the political arena, but as one of his wife's most intimate friends and as the center of the Washington social set in which he found solace in the later years, she obviously must have shared with him more personal interests as well. Much of the editor's restraint can be justly attributed to taste and to the reserve with which everything connected with Adams is inevitably hemmed, but some also may justly be assigned to his own concern with historical and political matters. Adams has been the property of the historians for too long, and students of literature have been reduced to reading between the lines of his published writings. The personal and philosophical significance of *Mont St-Michel and Chartres* and *The Education* might have been made more clear and full if the letters had fallen into the hands of an editor of somewhat different interests.

Nevertheless, the literary student will find much to occupy his attention in these pages. By 1892 Adams's pattern of symbolism was already taking shape. His final retreat from participation in the world of affairs had been marked by his flight to the Orient with La Farge, and he had returned to a life of constant movement between Washington and Europe with little apparent purpose. His inwardness, which had expressed itself in a sense of personal inadequacy and by a concern for the facts of history, was becoming progressively more speculative and positive. The world, and not only he, had failed. His reading was veering away from state papers and political speeches toward primitive

literature, art, philosophy, and religion. The mystical and intellectual detachment of *Mont St-Michel and Chartres* and *The Education* was in process of maturing.

These letters will help to place Adams in American literary history in so far as they provide evidence for this development. The student will discover, chiefly in passing references, the men, women, books, and places which influenced him. A few passages note the stages in the conception, writing, and publishing of his two great books, together with the *Letter to Teachers* and other lesser works, more definitely than do any other sources. But it is also possible to see the elements of his experience gradually sorting themselves and clustering about two poles: twelfth-century Christianity as he reconstructed it, and nineteenth-century science as he understood it. The paired revelations were not as abrupt as they appear to be in *The Education*; the Virgin and the Dynamo were no sudden discoveries. Actually there was much fumbling and back-stepping before his dualistic pattern of human experience found its symbolic expression. A reading of these letters for their overtones supplies much confirmation of the theory that Adams was temperamentally a literary man who found his first field of intellectual interest in history and politics, rather than an historian *per se*. But much work still remains to be done on the sources of his thought before his writing can be accurately related to scientific skepticism, realism, mysticism, decadence, social revolt, and other literary and cultural trends in late nineteenth-century America.

*Swarthmore College.*

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

JAMES McHENRY (1785-1845): *Playwright and Novelist*. By Robert E. Blanc. Philadelphia: Press of International Printing Co. 1939. 136 pp.

Mr. Blanc has performed a useful service to the history of American literature by bringing together in one volume many scattered facts regarding McHenry's life and work, by providing résumés of inaccessible or unpublished material, and by indicating a critical evaluation of McHenry's literary accomplishment. Mr. Blanc appends to his volume a definitive bibliography of McHenry's publications, lists the sources of his findings, and supplies a check-list of manuscript material.

Although Mr. Blanc's biographical account is the amplest we have, and although it is carefully documented, yet it fails to give the sense of a living personality, especially one characterized by a "vigorous temper," as described by the author. In addition to detailed summaries of novels and plays, Mr. Blanc recounts the main points in McHenry's reviewing, thus giving a clear and informing picture of the latter's likes, dislikes, and critical blind spots. Mr. Blanc also quotes numerous extracts of the

critical reception accorded McHenry, but one is inclined to think that the favorable reviews are given disproportionate emphasis, especially in the field of the drama, where McHenry's failure is not easily explained by the reviews cited (e.g., the accounts of *The Usurper* and *The Maid of Wyoming*). With respect to the poems, for example, the lengthy strictures of the *Edinburgh Magazine* on McHenry's *The Antediluvians* are given very brief treatment.

In Mr. Blanc's own criticism of the poems, novels, and plays he is specific, clear-headed, deliberate; he is alert to say all that can be said in behalf of his subject, and he is inclined to view McHenry's limitations as those of his age: "*The Pleasures of Friendship* [McHenry's major poetical work] is no better nor worse than the average poem of its time" (p. 39). "There is little to differentiate this book [*The Wilderness*] in style or manner from the average romantic novel of the period" (p. 50). In several instances Mr. Blanc speaks of McHenry's "stock" devices, characters, and situations.

One of the critical generalizations in the book is that McHenry is a "classicist living in the Romantic period" (p. 115). To be sure, Mr. Blanc has shown that his subject's theories stemmed largely from the classicists of the eighteenth century, but the above characterization is difficult to reconcile with some of the descriptions of McHenry's own work: ". . . he could never escape from the melodramatic in plot construction" (p. 114); "His love of his native land, which was a life-long passion, his descriptions of scenes of his youth, and his devotion to the girl he loved, but to whom he never dared to speak, are the most noteworthy themes in McHenry's verse" (p. 110).

There are numerous suggestive references to contemporary persons and events, but the book could have been strengthened as literary history had the author correlated McHenry and his work even more fully with the period in which he lived. For example, regarding McHenry's relationship to the development of American criticism the point is made that he had nothing of importance to contribute "except his idea of the connection between poetry and the social conditions of the time, an idea which has had to wait for the present day for its full development" (p. 102). It would seem important in thus orienting McHenry critically to mention such accounts as Emerson's "The American Scholar" and "The Poet" ("I look in vain . . ."); or Whitman's "Preface" to *Leaves of Grass*.

It seems to the present reviewer that there is one serious error of evaluation in the book; in a concluding statement Mr. Blanc says: "For his time, a period when literary excellence was not conspicuous, he had considerable talent" (p. 115). This depreciatory estimate of the period

(McHenry first published in 1808; he died in 1845) will hardly stand when one reflects that it includes most of Irving, Poe, and Cooper; a substantial amount of Bryant; and the early work of Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, and Lowell.

The following mechanical errors may be pointed out: (1) period for a comma, p. 8, n.7; (2) *against* for *again*, p. 15; (3) period for a comma, p. 17, l.15; (4) *Dunlop* for *Dunlap*, p. 124; (5) *oposing* for *opposing*, p. 64; (6) *disappearings* for *disappearing*, p. 66; (7) *foresake* for *forsake*, p. 113.

*Bucknell University.*

ALLAN G. HALLINE.

## BRIEF MENTION

MUSIC AND EDGAR ALLAN POE: *A Bibliographical Study*. By May Garretson Evans. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. 97 pp. \$1.75.

That Edgar Allan Poe has not lacked admirers among musical composers is amply testified by the findings of Miss May Garretson Evans in her contribution to the study of the poet's reputation. She has discovered and catalogued in scholarly fashion two hundred and fifty-two musical treatments of Poe's tales and poems, in such varying forms as the dance symphony, the opera, the ballet, the piano solo, the orchestral piece, and so forth. Interest in composing musical settings for Poe's writings has had its origins not only in English-speaking countries, but also in France, Russia, Lithuania, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Italy, and Rumania, with "Annabel Lee" the most popular poem, and "The Masque of the Red Death" the most popular tale. "The Raven," however, received the earliest musical treatment. As one would expect, the recognition of Poe by musicians has closely paralleled the attention given him by the literati, a wave of enthusiasm coming at the centenary of the birth of the poet. Incidentally, Professor Odell mentions in the recently published Volume XI (p. 244) of his *Annals of the New York Stage* a musical setting for "A Dream within a Dream" which I cannot find in the present compilation. This bibliographical study will no doubt be valuable to students of Poe's reputation, to musicians, and to those who desire to find musical settings for Poe's writings.

*Duke University.*

DAVID K. JACKSON.

PHILOSOPHY IN AMERICA: *From the Puritans to James. With Representative Selections*. By Paul R. Anderson and Max H. Fisch. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co. [1939.] xiii, 570 pp. \$4.00.

This anthology of American philosophical writing bears all the marks of a scissors and paste compilation; original portions by the editors are frequently inaccurate; and the bibliographical sections are by no means complete.

C. G.

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY BEFORE WILLIAM JAMES. By Jay W. Fay. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. [1939.] x, 240 pp. \$2.50.

Rutgers University is to be congratulated upon the fact that it has chosen a pioneer monograph as the first in its series of "Studies in Psychology." After an analysis of the chief psychological theories of the

period of "Theology and Moral Philosophy, 1640-1776," the period of "Intellectual Philosophy, 1776-1861," and the period of "British and German Influence, 1861-1890," the author supplies a "Chronological Table of American Works and Foreign Sources." No student of the history of American ideas can afford to neglect this book.

C. G.

FRANCIS WALKER GILMER: *Life and Learning in Jefferson's Virginia: A Study in Virginia Literary Culture in the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century*. By Richard Beale Davis. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press. 1939. xx, 408 pp. \$5.00.

This interesting study opens up a comparatively unworked field. Although Francis Walker Gilmer (1790-1826) is the subject of W. P. Trent's *English Culture in Virginia* (1889), he has been forgotten by all but the few who remember him as the man whom Jefferson sent to Europe in 1824 to select professors for the University of Virginia. Gilmer was an intelligent and attractive young lawyer of whom his friends expected great things; but he died at the age of thirty-six, and his European mission and a slender volume of *Sketches, Essays, and Translations* (Baltimore, 1828) represent his only solid achievements. He was a protégé of both Jefferson and William Wirt, whose first wife was a sister of Gilmer; and he was a friend of John Randolph, Hugh Swinton Legaré, George Ticknor, and of other men once well known. In the Virginia State Library, the University of Virginia Library, and in private hands Dr. Davis has found a considerable number of manuscripts (although some of those used by Trent seem to be lost), and these he has put to excellent use to give a full account of Gilmer's various activities and to throw light upon the circle in which he moved. Gilmer's own writings are discussed in considerable detail, more fully perhaps than their intrinsic merits justify, but the special student will not object to the detailed treatment given them. The chief unfavorable criticism to be made on this book is that both printer and proofreader have allowed much more than the minimum number of typographical errors to find their way into the published book. The biographer has shown considerable uncertainty in the placing of *sic*, which he often sets off by commas instead of brackets and which as often he relegates to the footnotes. The printer has in too many cases not been able to place the footnotes on the pages where they are called for. Whole lines are misplaced on pp. 30 and 62. Something is apparently dropped between pp. 115 and 116 and again between pp. 231 and 232. On p. 177 Dr. Davis has apparently read "Houghwhims" in a letter in which John Randolph seems obviously referring to the Houyhnhnms of *Gulliver's Travels*. The Nisus

and Euryalus episode on p. 19 should be referred to the *Aeneid* and not to Pope's *Homer*. Most of the essays in *The Rainbow* were not written by Wirt, as Dr. Davis implies, and the volume was published in 1804 and not in 1808 (p. 48).

THE SOUTH TO POSTERITY: *An Introduction to the Writing of Confederate History*. By Douglas Southall Freeman. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. xvi, 235 pp. \$2.50.

In recent years Lee's latest and best biographer has received from readers of *Gone with the Wind* and *Bugles Blow No More* so many requests for suggestions of what books to read next that he has had to prepare a brief bibliography like "A Confederate Book Shelf," included in the present volume. The material in the book took shape when he was asked to deliver the Dancy Lectures at the Alabama State College for Women in April, 1939. As the subtitle suggests, the book is an account of the development of Confederate historiography; it covers official records, formal histories, writings of European journalists and soldiers, biographies and autobiographies of men and women. It throws light upon the development of the romantic attitude toward the Confederacy observed by all readers of American fiction. In the closing chapter, "Yet to Be Written," Mr. Freeman notes among aspects of the Confederacy neglected by the historians the war in the West and the part played by Southern women in the war. He might have noted also that, apart from songs and ballads, the literature and cultural history of the Confederacy have been largely neglected except for an interesting chapter in J. L. King's *George William Bagby*.

A SOUTHERN BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Fiction, 1929-1938*. Compiled by Janet Margaret Agnew. Louisiana State University Bulletin, June, 1939. [Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University. 1939.] 63 pp.

This is a classified list arranged alphabetically by such categories as Novels of Locality, Farm Life, Negroes, etc., followed by Author, State, and Title lists. From this bibliography two kinds of fiction have been excluded: the novels of Southern writers who do not write about the South and "titles commonly grouped as Love Stories, Mystery and Adventure Stories." This pamphlet, which is to be followed by a second dealing with historical fiction, represents an attempt by the Louisiana State University Library School "to make available in print the results of a special study to gather together in one source the bibliography of the southern region."

GOLDEN TALES OF THE SOUTHWEST. Selected, with an Introduction, by May Lamberton Becker. Decorations by Lois Lenski. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1939. xiv, 265 pp. \$2.50.

This volume, which is the seventh in Mrs. Becker's series of Golden Tales, covers New Mexico, Arizona, and portions of the states which border them. In making her selections the editor has borne in mind that the Southwest, like the Far West, has suffered much "from the blight of pattern-making in fiction; its literature is only now recovering from the tendency to stock characters and situations, . . ." The selections, though not all of them are short stories, are well chosen to represent both the older writers and the new.

ELIZABETH LLOYD AND THE WHITTIERs: *A Budget of Letters*. Edited by Thomas Franklin Currier. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1939. xviii, 146 pp. \$3.00.

Since the publication in 1922 of her *Whittier's Unknown Romance*, Miss Marie V. Denervaud (now Mrs. Dun) has discovered other letters from Whittier. These Mr. Currier has published and along with them some letters from Elizabeth Lloyd in the Harvard College Library and the Essex Institute. Four of the Whittier letters in the earlier volume are reprinted "to preserve the continuity of the narrative, and to correct misreadings, . . ." The letters throw light upon Whittier's Philadelphia sojourn, and they reveal in Elizabeth Lloyd an intelligent and attractive Philadelphia Quakeress. Mr. Currier concludes that though Whittier and Elizabeth Lloyd were each greatly attracted by the other, they had at this time no serious thought of becoming engaged. He adds: "Letters printed in Miss Denervaud's book would indicate, however, that later, during Elizabeth's early widowhood, the possibility of matrimony was seriously discussed between them and rejected" (p. xi). Mr. Currier has solved his editorial problems with exemplary skill, and the publishers have given us an attractively printed book.

COLONIAL PANORAMA 1775: *Dr. Robert Honyman's Journal for March and April*. Edited by Philip Padelford. San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library. 1939. xiv, 86 pp. \$2.00.

Robert Honyman, a young Scottish physician who settled in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1772, wishing to see his adopted country, visited the Northern colonies as far north as Boston in the spring of 1775. He had an intelligent curiosity in regard to hospitals, churches, fortifications, and the state of mind of the people whom he met. This well-edited book has a definite value for the historian.

MASSACHUSETTS BROADSIDES, 1699-1711: *Fourteen broadsides previously undescribed by bibliographers, here reproduced in reduced scale from the originals in the Public Record Office, London, together with an introductory note.* By Douglas C. McMurtrie. Chicago: Privately printed. 1939. 21 pp.

The fourteen broadsides are all proclamations, thirteen of them by Governor Dudley. Five of them are Thanksgiving proclamations, and it is interesting to note that the day appointed ranges from October 17 in 1706 to January 24 in 1705.

FOLK SONGS OF OLD NEW ENGLAND. Collected and Edited by Eloise Hubbard Linscott. With an Introduction by James M. Carpenter. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. xxiv, 337 pp. \$5.00.

THE NEW GREEN MOUNTAIN SONGSTER: Traditional Folk Songs of Vermont. Collected, Transcribed, & Edited by Helen Hartness Flanders, Elizabeth Flanders Ballard, George Brown & Phillips Barry. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1939. xx, 278 pp. \$3.50.

BALLADS AND SONGS OF SOUTHERN MICHIGAN. Collected and Edited by Emelyn Elizabeth Gardner and Geraldine Jencks Chickering. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 1939. xx, 501 pp. \$3.50.

FOLK-SONGS OF THE ROANOKE AND THE ALBEMARLE. Edited by Louis W. Chappell. Morgantown, W. Va.: The Ballad Press. 1939. 203 pp. \$3.00.

Here are four excellent collections of folk songs representing three widely separated sections of the country. Only one of them comes from the South, which was once supposed to be the only section in which folk songs were to be found in large numbers. In each of these books the Child ballads form an interesting but comparatively small proportion of the whole, for our folklore collectors have long since learned that the British ballads and songs are not the only ones worth the collector's while. Mrs. Linscott's volume, in which Massachusetts has a large part, has exceptionally interesting sections devoted to singing games and country dances. Professor Chappell's volume brings together an interesting variety of folk songs from the oldest part of North Carolina, which, though little has been published, has one of the richest collections in the United States. *The New Green Mountain Songster* and *Ballads and Songs of Southern Michigan* draw upon large manuscript collections. The introductions to these two volumes are of special interest. The Michigan songs and ballads corroborate historical evidence that the settlers in that state came largely from New England, the Middle Atlantic States, Canada, and Nova Scotia. The editors of the Vermont volume reprint

in facsimile several pages from a Revolutionary soldier's *The Green-Mountain Songster* (1823), which included no less than five Child ballads. *The New Green Mountain Songster* includes a check-list of the writings of the late Phillips Barry, whose work in the ballad field is well known.

**A GOODLY FELLOWSHIP.** By Mary Ellen Chase. New York: The Mac-Millan Company. 1939. xiv, 305 pp. \$2.50.

Miss Chase's *A Goodly Fellowship* is certainly not the least interesting of autobiographies by college teachers of English. One is impressed by her enthusiasm for teaching, which is for her "the good life"; by the variety of her experiences; and by the skill with which she presents them. She is at present Professor of English in Smith College, but her first experience was in a rural school in Maine. She has taught in a Montana public school, in private schools in Wisconsin and in Chicago, and in a Catholic college and a state university in Minnesota. Two of her most vivid experiences concern the Hillside Home School in Wisconsin, which seemed to her almost an ideal school, and Mrs. Moffat's School for Girls in Chicago, a school conducted in the genteel tradition by a very unusual woman. There is an interesting chapter on graduate study in the University of Minnesota which puzzles one a little, for although Miss Chase has nothing but high praise for all who taught her, she is convinced "that the worst teaching known to all ages and states of learning is at present perpetrated in certain of our graduate schools and that the nadir of this teaching is found in the fields of English literature" (p. 200). Other chapters give some account of her experiences as a lecturer and embody some wise observations on the teaching of English literature.

**IDAHO LORE.** Prepared by the Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration, Vardis Fisher, State Director. American Guide Series. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1939. 256 pp. \$2.50.

*Idaho Lore* is the first volume to be published in the folklore series of the Federal Writers' Project under the general editorship of Mr. B. A. Botkin. The scope of the book is indicated in Mr. Fisher's Introduction: "This is not a Sunday school text nor a collection of smokehouse and horror stories. It is simply a batch of yarns and experiences of the early days garnered from a variety of sources. If not all of it is honest-to-goodness folklore, that is because the compilers were interested in good stories rather than in fine distinctions, and because the job of gathering folklore is one for a trained specialist. Some of this volume is folklore

and some of it is only lore; but all of it is significantly pertinent, we believe, to Idaho's past."

**AFTER SUNSET.** By George Sterling. [San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell, Publisher. 1939.] 67 pp. [Edition Limited to 250 Copies.]

"Since 1921, the year of 'Sails & Mirage,' there has been no new collection of George Sterling's mature poetry. Two columns of fin de siecle amatory verse have indeed appeared, but these do not represent the final, most considered phases of his work. Except for a body of sonnets, the present collection embraces all that in the editor's judgment is worthwhile of the poems of Sterling's last decade, and collects for the first time such material as the author himself would have gathered into a final volume" ("Note" by R. H. B.)

**FIVE CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN PLAYS.** Edited by William H. Hildreth and Wilson R. Dumble. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers. [1939.] viii, 410 pp. \$1.25.

A well-edited volume which includes *Ah, Wilderness*, by Eugène O'Neill; *Winterset*, by Maxwell Anderson; *Waiting for Lefty*, by Clifford Odets; *Idiot's Delight*, by Robert E. Sherwood; and *Of Thee I Sing*, by George S. Kaufman and Morrie Ryskind.

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF IRVING BACHELLER.** By A. J. Hanna. *Rollins College Bulletin*, September, 1939. Winter Park, Fla.: Rollins College. [1939.] 48 pp.

This bibliography was prepared for the eightieth birthday of Irving Bacheller, who has lived for many years at Winter Park, Florida. Professor Hanna has included extracts from reviews of Bacheller's various books and, where he could obtain them, has given figures for the sale of the books. He has included also a three-page "Chronology of the Life of Irving Bacheller" and a brief essay by Professor Clarence Hurd Gaines, "Irving Bacheller: An Attempt at Interpretation."

## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), Arthur E. Christy (Columbia University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the March, 1940, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

### I. 1607-1800

(No entries.)

### II. 1800-1870

[BROWNSON, ORESTES] Conroy, Paul R. "The Role of the American Constitution in the Political Philosophy of Orestes A. Brownson." *Catholic Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 271-286 (Oct., 1939).

Mims, Helen Sullivan. "Early American Democratic Theory and Orestes Brownson." *Science and Society*, III, 166-188 (Spring, 1939).

A discussion of Transcendental and Jeffersonian political theory, with an analysis of "Brownson's discussion of the conflict between capitalists and proletariat."

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. "Orestes Brownson: An American Marxist before Marx." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 317-323 (July, 1939).

"In 1838, a decade before the *Communist Manifesto*, Brownson interpreted history in terms of the inescapable conflict between those who profited by the existing order and those on whom the burden chiefly fell."

[EMERSON, R. W.] Flewelling, Ralph Tyler. "Emerson and 'Adolescent America.'" *Personalist*, XX, 343-352 (Oct., 1939).

Stresses Emerson's relation to the intellectual and religious thought of his times.

Richmond, Mrs. Henry L. "Ralph Waldo Emerson in Florida." *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XVIII, 74-93 (Oct., 1939).

A short narrative of Emerson's ten weeks' vacation in St. Augustine, Florida, Jan.-March, 1827, and a *literatim* reprint of his *Little Journal at St. Augustine*, containing prose and poetic observations, never before entirely published.

[HALL, JAMES] Flanagan, John T. "An Early Collection of American Tales." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, III, 103-105 (Oct., 1939).

Descriptive comments about James Hall's *Winter Evenings*, published anonymously in 1829, and a brief summary of the three tales contained therein. A collection of tales not noted by most bibliographers.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] McCarter, Pete Kyle. "The Authorship and Date of 'The Haunted Ship.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 294-295 (Nov., 1939).

A letter written by Irving in 1835 removes all doubt as to his authorship of this nautical anecdote, which was first published in 1836 in an English annual, *Heath's Book of Beauty*.

[MUNFORD, WILLIAM] Davis, Richard Beale. "Homer in Homespun." *Southern Lit. Mes.*, I, 647-651 (Oct., 1939).

Discusses the reception of William Munford's translation of Homer.

[POE, E. A.] Spivey, Herman E. "Poe and Lewis Gaylord Clark." *PMLA*, LIV, 1124-1132 (Dec., 1939).

Presents (1) evidence for establishing Poe's authorship of "the anonymous article on 'Our Magazine Literature' published in the *New World*, March 11, 1843," and (2) "the facts in the background of the bitter enmity between Poe and Lewis Gaylord Clark, for twenty-six years editor and principal owner of the most popular literary magazine in New York, the *Knickerbocker*."

[THOREAU, H. D.] Canby, Henry Seidel. "Thoreau in Search of a Public." *Amer. Scholar*, VIII, 431-444 (Autumn, 1939).

"Thoreau's solution is what every would-be man of letters who is not a predestined best-seller must find for himself—a means of living while one writes, which is something quite different from writing for a living." An abbreviated form of a chapter in Dr. Canby's *Thoreau* (1939).

[WILDE, R. H.] Beall, Chandler B. "Un Tassista americano di cent'anni fa, R. H. Wilde." *Bergomum*, XVII, 91-99 (June, 1939).

### III. 1870-1900

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Blair, Walter. "Mark Twain, New York Correspondent." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 247-259 (Nov., 1939).

A series of travel letters published in the San Francisco *Alta California* in 1867 throws light on Mark Twain's life during the period before the *Innocents Abroad* journey and "vividly recreates the New York of that day."

Brownell, George Hiram. "About Twain in Periodicals." *Twainian*, I, No. 7, 4-5 (1939).

Additions to Merle Johnson's *Bibliography of Mark Twain*.

Ferguson, DeLancey. "The Case for Mark Twain's Wife." *Univ. of Toronto Quar.*, IX, 9-21 (Oct., 1939).

Examines critically Van Wyck Brooks's thesis of suppressed genius as applied to Mark Twain, coming to the conclusion that the humorist "expressed himself more fully than most men are able to in an imperfect world."

Vogelback, Arthur Lawrence. "The Publication and Reception of *Huckleberry Finn* in America." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 260-272 (Nov., 1939).

Expressions of approbation were the exception. Most critics received the book unfavorably and failed to recognize its significant Americanism.

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Webster, H. T. "Wilbur F. Hinman's *Corporal Si Klegg* and Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 285-293 (Nov., 1939).

On Crane's indebtedness to Hinman's historical novel for the "commonplace, unromantic hero" of *The Red Badge of Courage* and his development from a raw recruit into a capable veteran, and for "a good deal of the essential structure of his narrative," as "well as many incidents and details of army life."

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Arms, George Warren. "Further Inquiry into Howells's Socialism." *Science and Society*, III, 245-248 (Spring, 1939).

"Howells knew who Marx was and realized that he was accepted by many as the most profound of the German socialists; evidently he was satisfied to go no further than the diluted (nationalistic) Marxism of Laurence Gronlund."

[JAMES, HENRY] Edel, Leon. "Henry James Discoveries." *Times Lit. Supp.* (London), No. 1956, p. 460 (July 29, 1939).

A letter on the novel, reprinted from the New York *Tribune*, Aug. 4, 1889. An unsigned article on "The London Theatres," in *Scribner's Magazine* for Jan., 1881, is ascribed to James.

[KIRKLAND, JOHN] Flanagan, John T. "John Kirkland, Pioneer Realist." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 273-284 (Nov., 1939).

A discussion of the life, literary work, and position in American letters of "almost the earliest Chicago man of letters" to "choose the farming communities of the Middle West as fictional material,"

thereby anticipating the literature of "the twentieth-century revolt from the village" in his honest and shrewd chronicles of Illinois rural life.

[PORTER, W. S.] O'Quinn, Trueman. "O. Henry in Austin." *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLIII, 143-157.

William Sydney Porter spent fifteen years in Texas and nearly twelve years in Austin.

Robinson, D., Elmquist, K., and Clark, R. "O. Henry's Austin." *Southwest Rev.*, XXIV, 388-410 (July, 1939).

A description of life in Austin during O. Henry's stay there, when it "was a typical small woodland-prairie city blending with a flavor all its own the modes of the South and the West."

#### IV. 1900-1940

[BOYD, JAMES] Stone, Frank. "American First Editions: James Boyd 1888—." *Publishers' Weekly*, CXXXV, 1461 (Apr. 15, 1939).

[DOS PASSOS, JOHN] Footman, Robert H. "John Dos Passos." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 365-382 (July, 1939).

An analysis of the interpretation of present-day America given in his novels.

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Aiken, Conrad. "William Faulkner: The Novel as Form." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLXIV, 650-654 (Nov., 1939).

"Mr. Faulkner's style, which though often brilliant and always interesting, is all too frequently bad."

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Flewelling, Ralph T. "Tragic Drama—Modern Style." *Personalist*, XX, 229-241 (July, 1939).

A comparison of the works of Aeschylus with those of Jeffers.

Miller, Benjamin. "Toward a Religious Philosophy of the Theatre." *Personalist*, XX, 361-376 (Oct., 1939).

Comments by several modern American authors, especially Jeffers, on the religious character of the theater today.

Schwartz, Delmore, and Taylor, Frajam. "The Enigma of Robinson Jeffers." *Poetry*, LV, 30-38 (Oct., 1939).

The World War, the California coast, and the nature of nineteenth-century science are presented as the sources of violence in the poetry of Jeffers.

[LONDON, JACK] Walcott, Charles Child. "Naturalism and the Superman in the Novels of Jack London." *Papers of the Mich. Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, XXIV, Part IV, 89-107 (1938. Published 1939).

Jack London was inconsistent in his use of avowed materialism and scientific determinism because he admitted free will and ethical

judgments into the construction of his plots and characters, resulting in "strange and illogical patterns."

[MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD] Kohler, Dayton. "MacLeish and the Modern Temper." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 416-426 (Oct., 1939).

MacLeish has brought poetry back to the language of public speech, "poetry that is once more a record of man's common fate." Written in an age of crisis, his work is an act of participation in the living world and as such affords "a graphic cross-section of America under the discipline of recent social experience."

[MARQUAND, JOHN] Hatcher, Harlan. "John Phillips Marquand." *College Eng.*, I, 107-118 (Nov., 1939).

A biographical and critical estimate.

[MORE, P. E.] Brown, Stuart Gerry. "Toward an American Tradition." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 476-497 (Oct., 1939).

"The possibilities for establishing some kind of a frame of reference for the whirligigs of American criticism are indicated in this effort at appraisal of the works of Paul Elmer More."

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Carlson, C. Lennart. "Robinsoniana." *Colby Mercury* (Colby College), VI, 281-284 (Dec., 1939).

Includes the publication of several Robinson letters.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Braswell, William. "Thomas Wolfe Lectures and Takes a Holiday." *College Eng.*, I, 11-22 (Oct., 1939).

Intimate personalities.

Kohler, Dayton. "Thomas Wolfe: Prodigal and Lost." *College Eng.*, I, 1-10 (Oct., 1939).

"Wolfe was a prophet because of the personal nature of his search, and his work has moral value for us today." The initial article in *College English*, which succeeds the *English Journal*, College Edition. Simpson, Claude M. "A Note on Wolfe." *Fantasy*, VI, 17-21 (1939).

#### V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Barker, Howard F. "The Family Names of American Negroes." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 163-174 (Oct., 1939).

The history of the Negro acquisition of surnames from 1619 to the present day.

Fiske, Irving. "Pecos Bill, Cyclone Buster." *Amer. Mercury*, XLVIII, 403-407 (Dec., 1939).

"What Paul Bunyan is to the lumberman, Pecos Bill is to the cowboy of the Southwest."

Heflin, Woodford A., Hench, Atkinson L., Dobbie, Elliot V. K., and Treviño, S. N. "Bibliography [of American English]." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 217-230 (Oct., 1939).

Bibliographies of books and articles on Present-Day English, General and Historical Studies, Phonetics.

McCain, John Walker, Jr. "Speech and Speakers Throughout the World." *So. Car. Speech Bul.*, I, 20-32 (May, 1939).  
One of several articles on speech in the first issue of this bulletin of the South Carolina Speech Association.

Randel, William Peirce. "The Place Names of Tioga County, Pennsylvania." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 181-190 (Oct., 1939).

Smith, Harvey, and Phillips, Hosea. "The Influence of English on Louisiana 'Cajun' French in Evangeline Parish." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 198-201 (Oct., 1939).  
Containing lists of English words that have passed into the active vocabulary of the French-speaking Louisianians of French descent who are called Cajuns.

Stewart, George R. "Nomenclature of Stream-Forks on the West Slope of the Sierra Nevada." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 191-197 (Oct., 1939).  
Topographical and historical reasons for the naming of these forks.

Thomas, C. K. "American Dictionaries and Variant Pronunciations." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 175-180 (Oct., 1939).  
Study of American dictionaries shows need of a better record of Southern usage, more satisfactory symbolization, and "more representative emphasis on the most widely used variant pronunciations."

Wentworth, Harold. "'Sandwich' Words and Rime-caused Nonsense Words." *Phil. Studies, W. Va. Univ. Bul.*, III, 65-71 (Sept., 1939).

#### VI. GENERAL

Bacon, Leonard. "Americans and Poetry." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XX, 3-4, 16-17 (Oct. 7, 1939).  
On American lack of interest in poetry, especially since about 1890, and some offered explanations.

Bates, Ernest Sutherland. "The Puritan Mathers." *Amer. Mercury*, XLVI, 400-402 (Apr., 1939).  
An unsympathetic account of the Mather dynasty.

Bentley, Phyllis. "The American Novel To-day." *Times Lit. Supp.* (London), No. 1946, pp. 296, 298 (May 20, 1939).  
Miss Bentley is left with the impressions of "a robust regionalism," "strong consciousness of the American idea," "maximum-scene" technique, "an excess of sentimentality in that large section of American fiction known as 'tough,'" disproportionate length (the characters talk too much), and technical competence of our superficial popular fiction.

Boas, Guy. "The Algebraic School of Modern Poetry." *Blackwood's Mag.*, CCXLV, 632-639 (May, 1939).

The characteristics of "algebraic" poetry are (1) harshness of subject matter and language, (2) unintelligible incoherence, and (3) evasiveness. Both English and American poets are discussed.

Buck, Pearl S. "Introduction to the United States." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XX, 12-13 (May 27, 1939).

Although the regional literature is "the true literature of the United States today," it is "sadly lacking in portraying the people of America."

Cleland, Robert G. "The Research Facilities of the Huntington Library: Americana." *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, III, 135-141 (Oct., 1939).

Classified chiefly under chronological periods.

Farrell, James T. "The End of a Literary Decade." *Amer. Mercury*, XLVIII, 408-414 (Dec., 1939).

The emphasis upon politics in literature and criticism has been increasingly more pronounced in these last ten years.

Hazlitt, Henry. "Literature as Propaganda." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XX, 13-15 (Sept. 16, 1939).

A definition and a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of propagandist literature.

Hintz, Howard W. "The Quaker Influence in American Literature." *Friends Intelligencer* (Philadelphia), XCVI, 455-457; 506-507; 523-524; 555-556; 585-586; 619-620 (July 15; Aug. 5; Sept. 9, 1939).

Studies of William Penn, Thomas Paine, John Woolman, Charles Brockden Brown, and James Fenimore Cooper.

Jones, Howard Mumford. "Nobility Wanted." *Atlantic Mo.*, CLXIV, 641-649 (Nov., 1939).

Answers to the questions: "Why, about twenty-five or thirty years ago, did American literature break with a hundred-year-old tradition, and what can be done to get it back into the tradition to which it belongs?"

Kane, Hope F. "Notes on Early Pennsylvania Promotion Literature." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIII, 144-168 (Apr., 1939).

A brief bibliography and a discussion of the genre.

Lind, L. Robert. "The Crisis in Literature." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 345-364; 524-551 (July, Oct., 1939).

Part III, Literature and Social Consciousness. Part IV, The Literature of the Future.

Smart, George K. "A New England Experiment in Idealism." *Travel*, LXXXIV, 14-16 (Nov., 1939).

An account of Brook Farm during and since the social experiment.

Spencer, Benjamin T. "Wherefore This Southern Fiction?" *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 500-513 (Oct., 1939).

This discussion of notable Southern writers (Faulkner, Caldwell, Stribling, Wolfe, Starke Young, and others) reveals that "diverse as Southern novels have been in the last decade, they issue from the peculiarly Southern passion for order."

Spencer, Theodore. "The Critic's Function." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLVII, 552-558 (Oct., 1939).

"His job, as the trustee of tradition, is to know as fully, as quantitatively, as possible, what is included in human experience, and on the basis of that knowledge to be as dispassionate as he is aware."

Tomlinson, Elisabeth. "The Metaphysical Tradition in Three Modern Poets." *College Eng.*, I, 208-222 (Dec., 1939).

In the poetry of T. S. Eliot, Hart Crane, and John Crowe Ransom.

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